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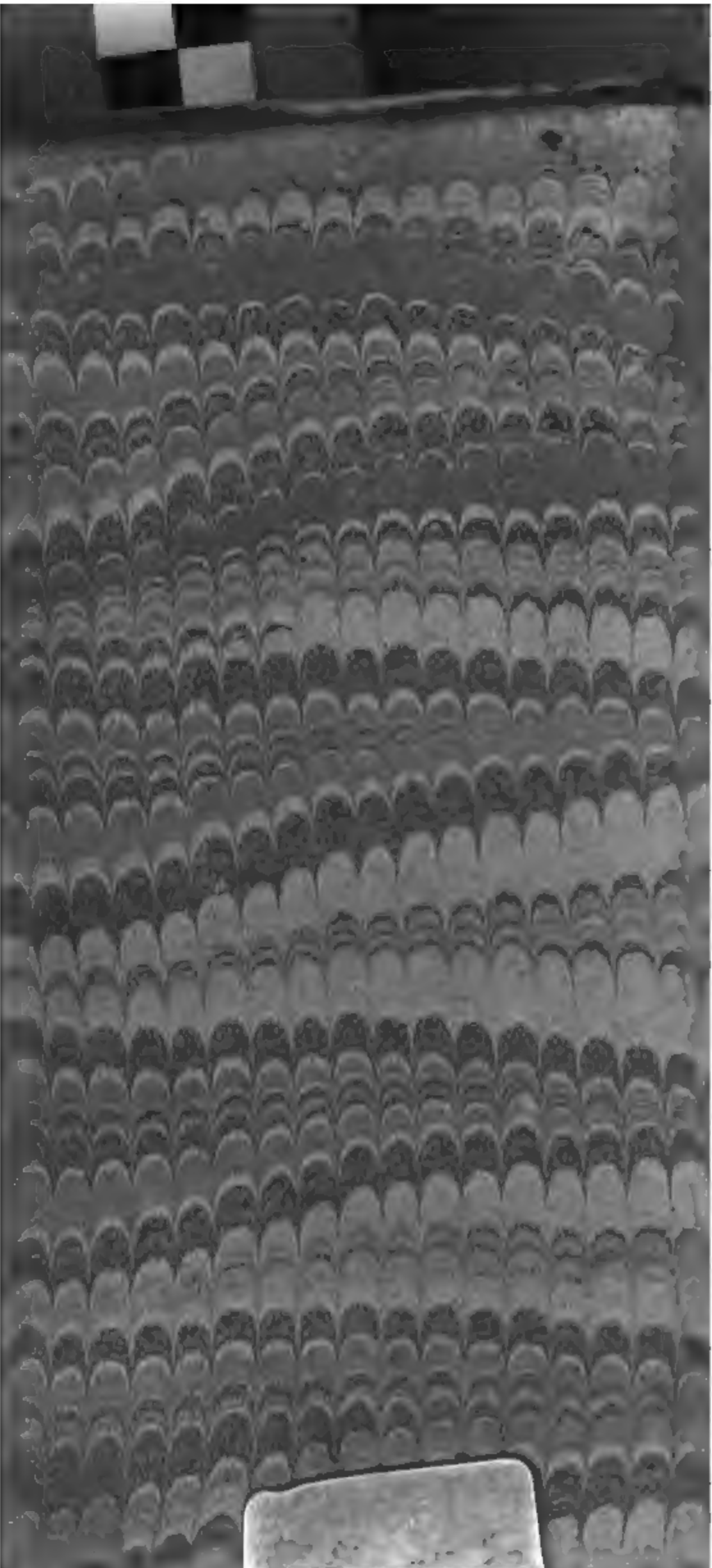
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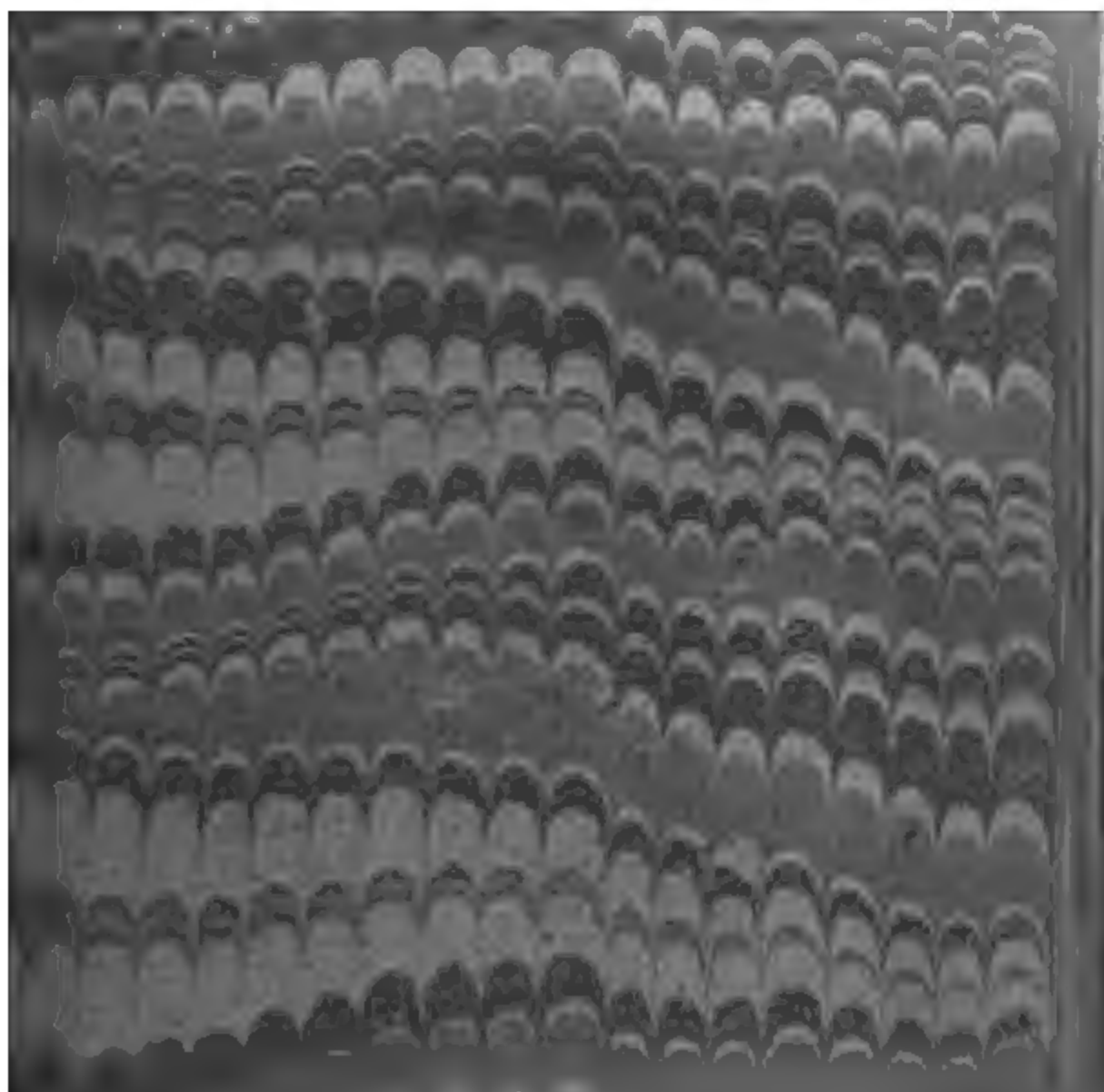
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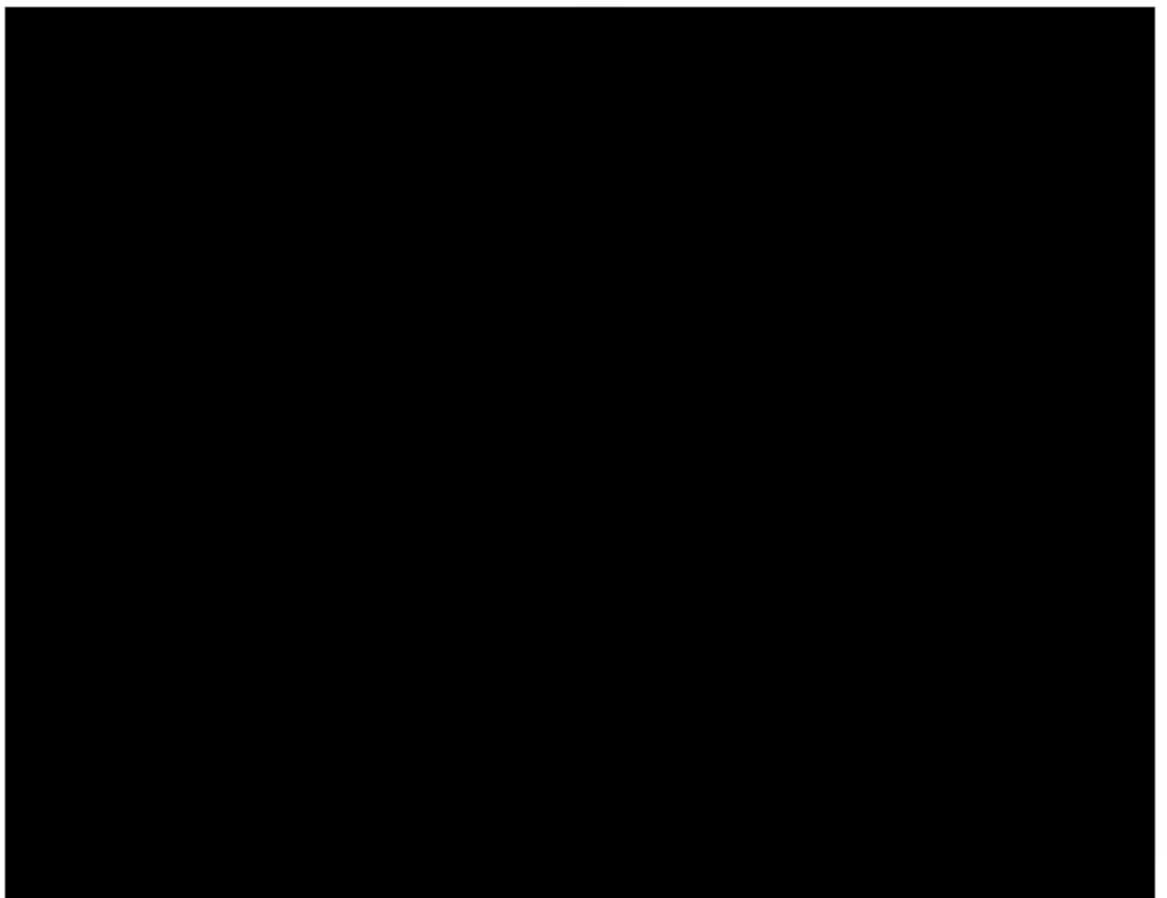


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**A COMPENDIOUS
HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION,
AND OF THE
Reformed CHURCHES in *France*.**

FROM

**The First Beginnings of the REFORMATION,
TO THE**

Repealing of the Edict of *NANTZ*.

WITH

**An ACCOUNT of the late Persecution of the
French Protestants under *Lewis XIV*. Extracted
out of the best Authorities.**

A WORK never before Published.

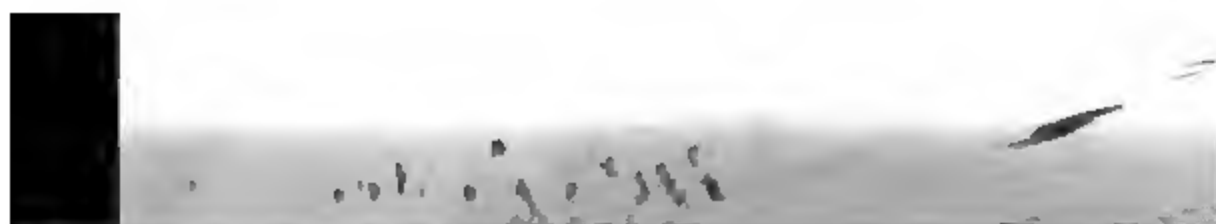
By the Reverend
STEPHEN ABEL LAVAL,
One of the Ministers of the United Chapels of *Castle-Street*
and *Berwick-street*.

VOL. IV. BOOK VIII.

L O N D O N:

**Printed by H. WOODFALL, for the AUTHOR,
M.DCC.XLI.**

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HIST

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ADVERTISEMENT.

*THE Decay and Fall of the Reformed Churches in France, notwithstanding all the Cautions they had taken, and the Sureties given unto them, is a Thing not at all to be wondered at, considering the Circumstances of the Times, and the Spirit of the Roman Religion. The Settlement of the Reformation in that Kingdom, notwithstanding the most powerful and violent Oppositions of its Enemies, is the greatest Wonder of all; our Fore-Fathers have had to struggle against the Pride, Covetousness and Avarice of a haughty, merciless Clergy, and against the Bigotry of a leud, debauch'd Court, (who thought Treason, Perjury and Cruelty, when used against supposed Hereticks, to be a just Compensation before God; for their other manifold Crimes) before they could obtain a tolerable Settlement in their own Country. But the natural Dispositions of their Enemies beighten'd by the cruel and bloody Spirit of Popery, and supported by royal Authority, was more than sufficient to compass their Ruin. It was compleated in a Reign when Perjury, Treachery, &c. in all the publick Transactions were brought to such a pitch, that * FIDES * The PUNICA had never so well denoted those odious Faith of Crimes, as † FIDES GALICA did it in our Days. the Car-*

It is chiefly upon that account that I did not imagine it proper to be so particular in the following Relations, as I have been in the foregoing. I shall enquire only into the true Causes of our Misfor-

tunes, and single out the most remarkable Events which much helped to accelerate our Ruin. Finally, I shall conclude this Work with an Appendix, containing six or seven Ways and Means put in use, under Lewis XIV. to force us to renounce our Religion. But before we proceed, we must briefly say what Effects the King's Death had upon the People's Minds, what Changes it caused at Court, and in the Ministry; and how those who were, or at least ought to be, the most concerned in this Loss, demeaned themselves in the Prosecution of the Authors and Abettors of this most horrid Crime.





HISTORY

OF THE

REFORMATION,

AND OF THE

Reformed CHURCHES in *France*.

BOOK VIII.

Containing the Decay, Fall, and utter Ruin of the Reformed Churches in that Kingdom, under the two Lewis's XIII. and XIV. from the 15th of May 1610, to the 11th of October 1685.

INSTANTLY after the King's Death, Lewis 13. the Lords that attended him in the Coach ^{1610.} having cover'd his Face, and shut the ^{Pope Paul V.} Curtains, came down out of it, and ordered the Coachman to go back to the ^{The deceased King is} Louvre, but to call, as he went in, for a Surgeon ^{sadly lamented by} and some Wine; in order to conceal that sad ^{all true} Accident from the People as long as possible; ^{French-} and by that means it was really concealed for that Day, and part of the next. But when it came to be certainly known that he was dead, that Mixture of Hopes and Fears which kept that large City in suspense, broke out on a sudden, and the Air resounded with the Cries, and lamentations of its Inhabitants; some

Lewis 13. swooned away for Grief, others ran quite dismay'd through the Streets, many were hugging their Friends, without uttering any thing else, but, *Alas! what Misfortune!* Some confined themselves to their own Houses, Women were seen running with their Hair dishevel'd through the Streets, Fathers were heard saying to their Children, *Alas! what will become of you, poor Wretches, since you have lost your best Father!* Those who remembered the dreadful Calamities of the late Wars, dreading for the future, pitied the deplorable Fate of the Kingdom, and said, *That every Frenchman had his own Throat cut, with the same Stroke which had pierc'd the King's Heart.* Nay, it is confidently reported that many broke their Hearts upon this Occasion, and died; some upon the Spot, others in a few days after. Finally, there was such a Mourning, as if the half of Mankind were dead, or as if every private Man had lost his whole Family, his whole Estate and all his Hopes with that great and magnanimous King (a).

These Demonstrations of Sorrow were not pe-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 505

Queen herself was not much troubled at it. She had ^{Lewis 13.} lived with the late King in perpetual Jealousy, and ¹⁶¹⁰ her Ill-humour against him was much heightened ^{Pope Paul V.} by the Tales which her Favourites, *Galigai* and her Husband *Concbini* told her about the amorous Intrigues of *Henry*. That Prince had neither Power enough to command his Passion in that respect, nor Resolution enough to make his Consort sensible of her Fault in giving too much credit to the Reports of her Favourites, and suffering herself to be absolutely governed by their Counsels. Nay, if *Mezeray* be credited, these two Firebrands had carried their Impudence so far, as to threaten the King's Person, if he was ever so daring as to attempt any thing against them (b), as he was solicited to do, either by dispatching them out of the World, or at least by sending them back to *Italy*. Howbeit, as there was no great Union between the King and his Queen, this last was soon consoled, and the very same Day the King died, she was hard at work to secure to herself the Regency of the Kingdom, during her eldest Son's Minority; wherein she succeeded far beyond the Expectations, for which she was chiefly beholden to the Duke of *Espernon*. Indeed the King was no sooner dead, but that Lord took all the necessary Measures for preventing an Insurrection amongst the People, for keeping the Parliament in awe, and obliging them to do whatever he should require of them: for having secured with Troops, not only the *Louvre*, but several of the principal Streets, and even the Avenues of *Austin's Fryars*, where the Parliament kept its Sittings [because the Palace was to serve for the Feast of the Queen's Coronation] and the Parliament being assembled, he

L 1 4

came

(b) *Mezeray*, *Abregé Chronol.* Part III. Tom. vi. p. 367.

History of the Reformation, and of the

came in suddenly, holding his Sword out of the Belt, saying, with a fierce Countenance and a threatening Tone, *It is still in the Scabbard, but if this day the Queen is not declared Regent, sure it shall be drawn out, and I foresee that much Blood will be spilt. Some amongst you, Gentlemen, desire more time to consider, their Prudence is out of season; what I do propose may be done this Day, without Peril; to-morrow, it shall not be done without Slaughter* (c).

Either the Parliament were frightened out of their Wits by such a terrible Threatning, or for some other Cause, they assumed to themselves a Right which had never before belong'd to them; and to the great mischief of the Kingdom, they declared the Queen-Mother Regent during the young King's Minority, without waiting for the Princes of the Blood; for Condé was at Milan, Soissons at one of his Country-Seats, and very little Notice was taken of Conti, who was deemed a silly Prince. The Ceremony was performed the next Day. Lewis, who was but eight Years and eight Months old, went to the Parliament attended by his Mother and the whole Court, and being seated on his Throne, by the Advice of the Princes and Officers of the Crown, and at the Request of his Attorney-General, declared the Queen his Mother Regent of the Kingdom, during his Minority, conformably to the Decree of the Parliament deliver'd the Day before; which being confirmed in this Assembly, was sent to the other Parliaments, and by them ratified. Young Lewis rehearsed well enough a little Speech which he had got by heart, in which the Composer had not forgot to make him say, *that he would follow the good Counsels of his Parliament;*

(c) Vie du Duc D'Espernon, Tom. II. liv. vi. p. 164, &c.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 507

ment ; a Language much in use at the Beginning of a Minority, but quite forgotten as soon as the Authority of a Regent is fully settled. *Ann* of *Austria* and her Son *Lewis XIV.* said the same Thing ; but for all that, how little have they regarded the Authority of a Company, which is the main Support of the Kingdom, and which has been instituted to be a Bridle to the arbitrary Power of the King?

When the Ceremony was over, the King returned to the *Louvre*, all the People which crowded there, shouting and wishing his Majesty a long and happy Reign ; but above all, demanding that the Villain-Parricide should be brought to condign Punishment. Happy would that Prince have been, had the good Wishes of his Subjects been sufficient to obtain for him the Qualifications of Mind and Soul requisite to follow the steps of some of the Kings his Predecessors, especially those of his royal Progenitor ; but he was not naturally endowed with those fine Parts necessary for acquiring the one, and his Mother took great care lest he should be brought up to the other's (d).

The Count of *Soissons* was much surprised when he heard what had been done, during his Absence, to the prejudice of the Princes of the Blood ; nevertheless he thought proper to dissemble, and alighted in the *Louvre*, as he came from *Montigni*, the Monday following the 17th of *May*, and went to pay his Respects to the King and the Queen-Mother, who received him very kindly, and gratified him with the Government of *Normandy* and large Pensions, besides a vast Sum of Money to discharge his Debts.

Then

(d) Le Vassor. Hist. de *Louis XIII.* Tom. I. Liv. i.

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 Pope Paul V. threatening Tone, *It is still in the Scabbard, but*
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BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 507

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Then

(*d*) *Le Vassor. Hist. de Louis XIII. Tom. I. Liv. i.*

Lewis 13. 1610. Pope Paul. V. Then the Regent recompensed those who had been very useful to her. The Pensions given to the Princes of the House of *Lorraine* were small under *Henry, Sulli*, out of Policy, caused them to be raised to one hundred thousand Livres; the Duke of *Guise* was gratified with 200,000 Crowns for discharging his Debts. *Espernon* was in possession of such large Estates, and had so many fine Employments, that he seemed to be above all the Gratuities of the Court; he was recompensed according to his own Fancy; he was loaded with many extraordinary Marks of great Esteem and Veneration; he had an Apartment in the *Louvre*, by the Queen-Mother's Order, *I don't think I am safe here without him*, said that Princess. The Secretaries of State communicated unto him all the Packets and their Answers; in short, he was like to become as great, powerful and dreaded as in the Reign of *Henry the Weak*.

He was courted by the Count of *Soissons*. That Prince was very busy to strengthen himself against the Prince of *Conté* his Nephew.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 509

Count, that his Employment did not allow him ^{Lewis 13.} to suffer any such thing to be perpetrated in the ^{1610.} King's Palace. Tho' the Count was angry at ^{Pope Paul V.} this Repulse, nevertheless, his Ambition obliged him to dissemble, he stood in need of the Duke's Interest to supplant the Prince of Condé his Nephew. *Let a Prince be ever so much distinguished by his Birth and Power, he deserves nothing better than the utmost Scorn and Contempt, whenever he becomes so base as to advise, command or abet any such black Action (e).*

At Court the Jealousies broke out, and the ^{Great Jealousies at Court.} Intrigues were increased on account of the settling the Council of the Regency. Every one pretended to have a Right to be a Member thereof, and the Number of the Pretenders was so great, that it was likely that it would degenerate into a confused Croud. But by the Advice of Chancellor *De Sillery*, the Duke of *Sully*, *Villeroy*, and the President *Jeannin*, the Queen-Regent admitted all the Princes and great Lords who desired to be admitted, 'till the Arrival of the first Prince of the Blood; whereby those old Ministers kept to themselves the chief Management of Affairs, which was what they wanted.

While the Court was busied about these Re- ^{Ravaillac} gulations, the Parliament was about ^{tried.} RAVAILLAC's Tryal. The first President, with another and two Counsellors, had been to interrogate him several times; but they never could oblige him to name his Accomplices, who had set him to work. No wonder indeed, considering ^{Affected Negligence in the Prosecution.} how little Care had been taken to hinder him from speaking with other People since his Confinement. For the two first Days that he was under Arrest in the House of *Retz*, or according to

(e) *Le Vassor. Hist. de Louis XIII. ibid.*

Lewis 13. to others, in *Esperson's* House, every one
 1610. was admitted to see him and converse with
Pope Paul. him; and People resorted thither in vast Crouds,
 V. some out of Curiosity, others out of Fear. Even
 when he was brought to the *Bastille*, several
 suspected Persons were allowed to visit him
 and converse with him, amongst whom was a
 Fryar, who after a long Conference, exhorted
 him *not to accuse Persons of Worth*. The Jesuit
Aubigny, who had received the Confession of
 the Criminal before he perpetrated the Fact,
 came off by barely saying to *Servin*, Attorney-
 General, that *God had given him the Gift to*
forget whatever was declared unto him in Con-
fession. That Impudence is not at all to be won-
 dered at, seeing it is grounded on the com-
 mon Doctrine of the Society concerning the
 Auricular Confession, and on their constant
 Practice. The Jesuit *Cotton* and several others
 bragged of the same Gift, of forgetting what-
 ever was declared to them in Confession. The
 late King having been acquainted with their

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 511

his own Life. But whereas such Strokes depend Lewis 13.
on certain Occasions which offer themselves un- 610.
foreseen, and wherein it may happen that the Pope Paul
Confessor neither ought or can be near his Prince; It V.
is plain enough that this ridiculous Good-will of
the Jesuit could never secure the King's Life
against the Enterpizes of a Murderer. How-
ever, the King was obliged to be satisfied with
this sham Mark of Fidelity, as he could not ex-
pect any other more real; besides that his Ma-
jesty durst not offend that perfidious Society,
being afraid lest he should experience in his own
Person, their dangerous Maxims.

It is confidently said, that the Commissaries,
by orders from above, refused to receive such
Evidences as might have served to dive into
the bottom of that Mystery of Iniquity. A cer-
tain Gentlewoman, *D'Éscoman* by Name, who
had been in the Service of the Marchioness of
Verneuil, and who revealed very strange things,
was silenced, tho' Queen *Margaret of Valois*
the King's first Wife, was of opinion that a
much greater Regard ought to be paid to her
Deposition. Even afterwards, when that Affair
was examined again, that Gentlewoman's Evi-
dence was rejected a-new under many false Pre-
tences; and whereas she persisted positively in
her Deposition, lest a time should come when
she might be more favorably hearkened to, she
was condemned to a close Confinement for the
remainder of her Life. She had charged the
Duke of *Espernon* and the *Marchioness of Ver-*
neuil, as Abettors of the Crime (f). This happened
only in *January* and *July* the next Year.

As

(f) Her Name was, *Jaqueline Le Voyer*, alias *D'Esco-*
man, Wife to *Isaac De Varennes* Esq; Another says that
she was married to one *Lancrock* formerly Taylor to the
Duke of *Mayenne*, condemned to be hang'd for treasonable
Words,

Lewis 13. As to RAVAILLAC himself, on the 18th of
 160. *May*, the Parliament being assembled, they
 Pope Paul. considered what Forms they ought to follow in
 V. his Trial, and what kind of Torture they ought
 Ravail- to make use of, to force him to declare his Ac-
 lac's Trial, complices and Abettors, because every day he
Condemna- grew more and more obstinate, and would con-
 tion and fess nothing. It was proposed to make use of
 Execution. one known at *Geneva* by the name of *Barate*,
 or *Beurriere*; which is so exquisite, that the
 Patient is obliged to speak whether he will or
 not: but that Opinion was opposed by the Ma-
 jority. The 19th he was interrogated by the
 first President; but he constantly refused to
 name any body, and so he did to the last. Fi-
 nally,

Words, but respited by King Henry's Mercy, and banish-
 ed out of the Kingdom. However her Deposition was
 plain and positive; she never vary'd, her Relation of the
 Conspiracy and of *Ravaillac's* Designs were set out with
 all their Circumstances, and she did persist to the last in her
 Charge against the Duke of *Espernon* and the Marchioness
 of *Venduil*. For some Months before the Execution of
 that horrid Plot, she had endeavour'd to be admitted to the

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 513

ally, Sentence was passed upon him on the 27th, whereby he was condemned to the usual Punishment of Traitors like him, and executed accordingly. When he was at the Place of Execution, frightened at the Cries of the People who cursed him, he said, I have been much deceived, when I was told, that the Act which I should perpetrate would be very agreeable to the People, seeing that now they provide Horses to tear me in pieces. He had taken notice, that one of the Spectators who was come on Horseback, was alighted to lend his Horse, which was very strong, and put it in the place of one of those to which he was to be tyed, which was too weak for that Office. But that was a strong Argument that he had been seduced by some other Villain to commit that horrid Crime (g.) But what put that Suspicion out of all doubt, is, that the King's Death upon a certain Day was known in several Parts of *Europe*, before the Parricide had been perpetrated; and that when it was done, it was publickly known at *Brussels* the very same Day before Night, and in other Places more remote from *Paris*; which could not be without a Divine Revelation, or without having received Notice before-hand from the Instigators themselves, that such a thing was to happen at such a Day.

In a word, it was plain enough that those who were at the *Helm* desired no better than to conceal from the People, as much as they could, the true Causes of the King's Death, lest some Persons of the highest Rank should be concerned therein, whom it was too dangerous to attack; especially at a time when the least Pretence was enough to cause an Insurrection. But all these Cautions screened not these Persons from publick

(g) Idem Ibid. pag. 321, 322, 323.

Lewis 13.
1610.
Pope Paul.
V.

Book 13. lick Censure; and the Miseries of the last Years
 1640. of their Life was taken by many as a just Judg-
 ment of God upon them, at least for their Ne-
 glect in the Inquiry after the Authors of so hei-
 nous a Crime, if not for their own Guilt.

Present The Parliament was so far conscious that the
Days of the Doctrine of the Jesuits, if not they themselves,
Parlia- had occasion'd this sad Catastrophe, that, the
ment a- very day of *Ravaillac's* Execution, they order-
ed the ed the Faculty of Divinity at *Paris* to assemble
the themselves without delay, to confirm a-new the
 Censure passed by their Predecessors in the year
 1413, and ratify'd by the Council of *Constance*,
 against those who assert, that a Vassal, or a
 Subject may, and is obliged in Conscience to mur-
 der a Tyrant whoever he should be, and to as-
 sault him by all ways and means; and that such
 an Action is not at all contrary to the Oath of
 Allegiance which Vassals and Subjects take to
 their Sovereign. The Faculty obeyed without
 difficulty. The Parliament issued out another
 Decree on the 10th of *June*, whereby they con-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 515

the Approbation of their *Superiours*, the Authors ^{Lewis 13.} should insert any thing that might offend the ^{1610.} Kingdom; *Unless*, says he, *they would expose* ^{Pope Paul V.} *themselves to Dangers and Perils, from which all* *their Prudence, strengthened with the Authority of* *all their Friends and Patrons, could not deliver* *them.* The Sermon made a great noise. The Society complained thereof to the Queen-Mother. The Bishop of *Paris* was charged to enquire into the matter; *Dubois* had Courage enough to insist upon what he had said. The Bishop had nothing to say, he exhorted the Abbot *to live friendly with all the Servants of God, especially with the JESUITS.* But *Dubois* was so imprudent as to go to *Rome* the next Year, where, upon some false Pretence or other, he was shut up close Prisoner (*b*).

Father *Cotton's* Patience was not proof against the Affront put upon his Brethren, and the almost general Indignation raised against them. Notwithstanding the Advice of his Friends to the contrary, he attempted to justify the Society as to *Mariana's* Book, pretending that his opinions concerning Kings were peculiar to himself, and not the Society's. For that end he published an Apologetical Letter directed to the Queen-Mother. But he was terribly disappointed in his Expectations; far from remedying any thing, he drew upon himself a Voile of Pamphlets, some more satirical than others: and whereas he pretended to disapprove *Mariana's* opinion, they bantered him upon that Confession, as being forced, and only given by the necessity of the Times. *It is a little too late*, did they say, *however, may be this will not be quite unserviceable to the Children of him whom such a Tenet has laid down into his Grave.*

VOL. IV.

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They

(*b*) Le Vassor Hist. de Louis 13. Tom. 1. Liv. 1
pag. 46. 47.

Lewis 13. They were no less severely, tho' justly hand-
1610. led, at the King's Funeral Sermons by most part
Pope Paul of the Preachers. That mournful Ceremony
V. was perform'd on the 23d of *June*; the Royal
The King's Corpse was deposited amongst his Predecessors at
Funeral. *St. Denys* with the usual Pomp, together with
the Corpses of *Henry III.* and the Queen *Catherine of Medicis*, which were then brought to
the same Place. As to his Heart, it was deli-
vered to the Jesuits according to his Orders, and
by them carried to *La Fleche* in *Anjou*. About
a Month after arrived the Prince of *Condé* from
Milan, he made his entrance at *Paris* attended
The Prince by 1500 Gentlemen, the 15th of *July*, ha-
of Condé ving been met at *Senlis* by the Princes of the
arrives at House of *Guise* and the Dukes of *Bouillon* and
Court. *Sully*. Such a great Retinue caused some Jeal-
ousy to the Queen, being afraid lest he should
attempt something against the Government, be-
ing supported by the Lords; especially by the
Duke of *Sully*, Governour of the *Bastile*, Super-
Intendant of the *Exchequer*, and great Master of

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 517

of *France* are concerned therein, I would execute it with more Sincerity and Truth than *Mazarai* has done the Scheme which he proposed to follow, and consider the said Regency under four different States. During the first, which was but of a short Continuance, the Government preserved that Grandeur and Majesty which shining over *HENRY* the Great's Conduct, thro' his heroick Virtues: because the same Ministers who had served the State under the late King's Authority were continued in the Administration, and lived together in good Intelligence, at least outwardly. This period lasted from the King's Death, to the Disgrace of the Duke of *Sully*, that is to say, about eight Months.

Lewis 13.
1610.
Pope Paul
V.

In the second, we find still some Appearances of Strength even in its Weakness, proceeding from the Union that yet subsisted between the Chancellor, President *Jeannin* and *Villeroy*, and from the Profusion of the Treasury under the Administration of the said President, who, tho' a thorough honest Man, was not able to resist the unjust Pretensions and Demands of every body. By which means the great Lords were kept in by extraordinary Gratuities. This Period lasted till the Exchequer was exhausted.

The Third was full of Confusion and Disorder, proceeding from the open Misunderstanding and Division between the Ministers, occasioned by the Death of Lady *de Villeroy*, Niece to the Chancellor; for the Ties which united together these two Ministers being once broken, the Chancellor and his Brother *De Puisieux* carried their Imprudence and Ambition so far, as to side with Marshal *D'Ancre*, and to comply in every thing with his unruly Passions. During these Divisions, the Great Lords got

Lewis 13. the uppermost at Court: *Villeroy* lost his
 1610. Credit, the Chancellor stood his ground still
 Pope Paul V. for a while, thro' the Connivance of the Mar-
 shal and his Wife, who wanted his Assistance
 for compleating the Treaty of Marriage between
 the King and the Infanta of *Spain*. But as soon
 as this Point was over, and the King married,
 the Ministers of the old Court were all disgraced
 through their ill management, as well as thro'
 the exorbitant Power which the Marshal and
 his Wife had usurped at Court.

In the fourth, the Marshal and his Wife bore
 the sway almost absolutely, and by their Credit
 oftentimes defeated the best Counsels. This
 Period lasted to the tragical End of these two
 proud Favourites (i).

But this part of the History has so little re-
 lation, if any at all, with our own, unless it
 should be for the Part which our Great Men
 the Dukes of *Roban*, *Bouillon*, *Sully*, *Lesdi-
 guieres*, &c. play'd upon that Stage, that I shall
 forbear the speaking of it any further than for

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Court of *Spain* having proposed to the late ^{Henry IV.} King a double Match between the *Infanta* and ^{1610.} the *Dauphin*, and between the Prince of ^{Pope Paul V.} *Spain* and Madame of *France*, that Negotiation ought to be renewed; and consequently the Armies, which gave Jealousies to his Catholick Majesty, ought to be disbanded, and a strict Alliance between the two Crowns fomented (k). That Advice was exceedingly pleasing to the Queen, who being prepossessed by her *Italian* Favourites, bribed by the Court of *Madrid*, thought that the Settlement of her Authority depended intirely upon her good Understanding with the Pope and the King of *Spain*.

Nevertheless, the Chancellor's Opinion prevailed on this Occasion, for tho' that Magistrate was one of those who approved of the double Match with *Spain*, yet he thought that the Honour of the Crown of *France* was deeply concerned in disbanding the Armies so soon, which was to betray a Dread of the Court of *Spain*, create a Mistrust in their best Allies, and make them believe they had a mind to forsake them. Therefore he thought proper to keep up the Army of *Champaign*, and to send Troops into *Juliers* to expel Arch-Duke *Leopold* out of it. As to the Army of *Dauphiné*, he thought that it afforded greater Occasion of Jealousy to the King of *Spain*, and considered that it was commanded by a Protestant Marshal of *France*. For which two Causes it ought to be disbanded, but not so soon; at least, they ought to wait 'till the Prince of *Condé*'s Arrival, 'till they knew better the Dispositions of the Court of *Spain*, and 'till the King and the Queen Regent's Authority should be firmly establish'd (l).

M m 3

The

(k) Mezeray ibid.

(l) Idem ibid.

Lewis 13. The Resolution was taken accordingly to
 1610. assist *Juliers*; but new Debates arose about the
 Pope Paul General that was to command those Succours.
 V.

The Marshal Duke of *Bouillon* had very just Pretensions to that Honour, as being the oldest Marshal of *France*. *Villeroy* had given him hopes that his Pretensions should be regarded, nevertheless, the Marshal of *La Châtre* was preferred; it was not thought proper to trust the Duke of *Bouillon*, a Protestant and a Man of the greatest Abilities, with an Army that was to join Prince *Maurice*, his Friend and Brother-in-law. He made a great Noise, but to no purpose; *La Châtre* set out, took about 12,000 Men of the Army of *Champaign* (the rest were disbanded) went to assist *Juliers*, forced *Leopold* to retire, and restored it, in the latter end of *August*, to the Marquis of *Brandenbourg*, and the Duke of *Newbourg*.

That was the only thing of the vast Projects of *Henry the Great*, that was executed according to his Intentions. And indeed it must be

superfeded to the same End, and the Salt-Duties were lower'd a fourth Part. Lewis 13. 1910.

As to the Reformed, it was necessary to secure them against all manner of Mistrust. They had lost their All with the King. One may say, that they had seen two Qualities expiring with him, without which they could not flatter themselves to be maintained; the first was a sincere *Affection* he certainly had for them, on account of their faithful Services in his greatest Exigencies. He looked upon them as Friends on whom he might certainly depend, who deserved to be trusted, and necessary towards the Success of his Enterprizes. The second was his Honesty, wherein he was so strict that it can be positively said, that the like has never been seen in any Prince; he kept his Word so exactly, that more Favour was usually found in the Performance than in the Promise. But now the Reformed found themselves exposed to the Mercy of a Council, which stood ill-affected for them, wherein their ancient Enemies prevailed; and they did not question but that the *Italian* Policy, chiefly grounded on Fraud and Treachery, would soon get the upper hand at Court, and that Promises would only serve as a Mask to surprize the Credulity of People. Therefore the Reformed were looked upon, at Court, as able to do a great deal of Mischief in the Places where they were the strongest, if they had a mind to improve their Advantages. As to those who lived in Places where their small Number exposed them to be insulted, they took Measures which put the Court to a greater Loss, imparting their Fears to those who lived in remote Provinces, that they could no longer expect any Good from the Government. So that several of those who

Pope Paul V.

State of the Reformed.

Lewis 13 thought themselves too weak for a Defence
 1610. retired into Places where they thought to be
 Pope Paul more safe: Just as if they had a new *Baribolo-*
 V. *metu's* Day to dread, at the first Sedition.


Sully's Im- That Dread was not peculiar to the common
 prudence. People only, but some of the greatest Lords
 felt the Impulse thereof, tho' none so much as
 the Duke of Sully. As he was going to the
Louvre, upon the News of the King's Death,
 he met *Bassompierre* and some other Lords in
 his Way, and exhorted them faithfully to serve
 the young King and the Queen-Mother. Why,
 say they, *it is what we do require of others.*
 Struck with Wonder at these Words, which
 he took in their worst Meaning, he immediately
 went back and shut himself up in the *Bastile*:
 a little after, he caused all the Bread that could
 be found at the Bakers of *Paris* to be taken up
 and carried into that *Castle*, as if he had been
 afraid he should be starved there, and was re-
 solved to take in Provisions to hold out a Siege.
 He wrote to the Duke of *Roban* his Son-in-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 523

neither too, because he had engrossed all the ^{Lewis 13.}
 King's Favours to himself, without imparting ^{1610.}
 his good Fortune to any body. Whatever ^{Pope Paul}
 side he turned on, he beheld none but Enemies. ^{V.}
 The Reformed charged him with Want
 of Zeal for Religion, and Neglect in the Per-
 formance of its Duties. The Bigotted amongst
 the Catholicks could not see, without Spite, a
 Hugonot advanced to so many fine and rich
 Preferments. He had offended all the Courtiers
 by his rough and rude Manners; the Queen
 hated him, because he had oftentimes taken
 the late King's part against her; and that her
Italian Favourites had exasperated her against
 him. No wonder then if he found himself at
 a stand, when he recollected his former Beha-
 viour, and considered his present Condition.

His Fears were also increased by the secret
 Advices he received, *to think of himself*. As he
 kept Spies every where, he got Intelligence
 that, as soon as the King's Death had reach'd
 the Court, the Queen and her Favourites had
 let drop some threatening Words against his Per-
 son; and he was credibly informed, that at a se-
 cret Council held at the *Nuncio's*, they had much
 talk'd against him. Nevertheless, he soon al-
 tered his Mind, for the very next Day, upon
 some kind Words that were brought to him
 from the Queen, he went to the *Louvre*; the
 Queen, perfectly well dissembling her Resent-
 ment,

202,200 Livres, yearly Revenue; besides that, his Profits
 amounted, at the King's Death, to 1,230,000 Livres; and
 the King's Gratuities to him, at several times, from the
 Year 1601, to 1,010,000 Livres. An exorbitant Thing
 indeed for the Time! He owns himself, that in the Year
 1595, he and his Wife together could not make of their
 Estate 6 000 Livres a Year, but after the King's Death he
 sold Part only of his Lands for 1,200,000 Livres, and his
 Charges for 1,300,000 Livres. See *Memoires de Sully*,
 Tom. 2. pag. 558. &c. &c.

Lewis 13. ment, received him very graciously ; the King
 1610. was a Child, he did as he was bid. *Sully's*
Pope Paul Demeanour in this first Visit, was one of the
 V.  basest that can be imagined. In order to in-
 gratiate himself into the Queen's Affection, he
 falsely affirmed that he had endeavoured often-
 times to divert the late King from his great
 Enterprize ; but for all his cringing, that could
 not alter the Resolution taken to remove him
 from the Super-Intendancy, and from the Go-
 vernment of the *Bastile*. It was even believed,
 at that time, that he was beholden, for the
 good Reception he then met with at Court, to
 the immense Treasure he kept in his Custody
 in the *Bastile*, lest he should be tempted to
 make use of it for maintaing himself, and may
 be for arming the Reformed in his behalf, if he
 had been disobliged (n).

The Duke of As to the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*, I must
Bouillon's own that he was so alter'd on this Occasion,
Behaviour that he was hardly to be known. His Re-
 sentment against the Duke of *Sully* carried him
 so far, that minding only how he could be re-

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to common Honesty: and to gratify his Re-
venge, he did not scruple to betray the *Common*
Cause, whereby the Reformed were very near
being ruined, as we shall say presently. Tho'
he was dreaded for the great Interest he had at
home and abroad, nevertheless he waited not
'till he was courted, but he came of his own
accord and offered his Service to their Majesties;
which was his Duty to do, but he made the
first Advances towards knitting a Friendship
with the *Italian* Favourites, in such a manner
that those who knew not his Design, thought
very unbecoming his high Quality. He re-
ceived several Gratuities from the Court (o).

Lewis 13.
1610.
Pope Paul
V.

The Lord *Du Plessis Mornay* was very far
from following such bad Examples. He was
solicited by the Court as much as any other.
That great Man was deeply affected when he
understood that the greatest Lords, who, on
this Occasion, ought to have exerted themselves
to promote the publick Welfare, minded only
their own private Interest, the Increase of their
own Wealth and Dignities, just as if the Nation
was become a Prey to their own Covetousness.
As to himself, tho' the Queen-Mother insisted
with him, by a Person purposely sent unto him,
to ask whatever he would, and it should be granted:
God forbid, says he, it shall never be said that I
have made my Profit of the public Misfortune, or
importuned the Queen in her Mourning; or vexed
the King in his Minority. I leave it to the
Queen to judge whether I deserve any thing;
if she is pleased, and if she can commodiously pay
me what is due to me for so many Years Service,
I shall receive it in the present Calamity, as a
free Gift from her Majesty. When he had re-
ceived Notice of the Queen being declared Re-
gent,

Du Plessis
Mornay's
Generosity.

(o) Sally, Tom. IV. Mezeray, Tom. I.

Lewis 13. gent, he convened the Magistrates, Clergy and
 1610. the Officers of *Saumur* and its District; and in
 Pope Paul his Speech he told them, *That the more th*
 V. *wicked Subjects should think to find Weakness in*
the King's Minority, the more he himself would
find Strength and Authority to force them to Obe-
dience; let no body be deceived by the Remembrance
of my former Meekness; it was very seasonable
under such an absolute King; but I know well
how, and I will certainly show my self severe
when the Service of the King shall require it; and
let every one take notice of this, and not come to
a Tryal. As for the rest, he desired them to
forget those invidious Nick-names of HUGO
NOT and PAPIST, that whosoever should prove
a true Frenchman, would be his true Country-
man, his own Brother. Then he tendered to
them the Oath of Allegiance to the King and
the Queen-Regent, which they took unani-

The King's moufly (p).

Declara- But her Majesty knowing perfectly well how
sion con- much she was concerned in keeping the whole

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had not only prov'd ineffectual Means, but very Lewis 13.
prejudicial to themselves, for bringing back into 1610.
the Pale of the Catholick Church, those of their Pope Paul
Subjects who had strayed from it; for which V.
Cause, they had been obliged to make use of milder
Ways, and to grant them the free Exercise of
the Pretended Reformed Religion.

The third, *That by the Ediēt of Nantz, Qui-*
etness and Safety had been settled between the
Subjects of both Religions, which had lasted un-
interrupted since that time.

The fourth, *That the said Ediēt being PER-*
PETUAL and IRREVOCABLE, there was no
need of any new Declaration to confirm it. This
 last Clause shews plainly, that they took the
 Words *perpetual* and *irrevocable*, in their natu-
 ral and obvious Meaning, for denoting a Thing
 which must stand firm and unalterable for ever,
 and not one which can be altered and made
 void by any Man, or by any Set of Men.

At the same time the Council issued out a
 Proclamation forbidding any Person, of what
 Rank and Dignity soever, to rise in Arms, to
 seize upon any Place in the Kingdom. And a
 speedy Obedience was unanimously paid,
 throughout the Kingdom, to the said Ordi-
 nance.

It would have been very proper that all The Reform-
 the Reformed of the Kingdom should have med sent
 deputed, in a Body, to pay the usual Compli- their De-
 ments to their Majesties upon this Occasion; puties to
 and the Deputies-General at Court were not Court.
 wanting in their Duty in this respect, for they
 wrote to the Provinces to assemble themselves
 in order to name proper Persons for the said
 Deputation. But it so happen'd, that the Pro-
 vince of *Xaintonge* being then assembled in a
 Provincial Synod, when they received the
 News

Lewis 13. News of the King's Death, they deputed a
 1610 part without waiting for the Concurrence of
 Pope Paul V. the other Provinces, who were obliged to do
 the same, and send their proper Deputies one
 after another (q).

They think of their own Safety. All the Assurances given by the Queen to the Reformed, hindered them not from thinking about the Means of procuring to themselves a better Security than bare Words. They had too much Reason to suspect her Sincerity in that respect, certainly knowing how she stood affected towards the Courts of *Madrid* and *Rome*, and that following Maxims quite contrary to those of her royal Husband, she thought that her Authority could never be well settled without a strict Alliance with these two Courts, which the Reformed looked upon as their most mortal Enemies, and the Spring of all the Miseries under which the whole Kingdom had groaned for so many Years together. They knew that tho', for certain Considerations, the secret Council, composed of the Queen,

then, as there was, as yet, no apparent Cause Lewis 13. 1610. Pope Paul V. whereupon they could ground the Petition for a License to hold such an Assembly, the Time when they usually met together being not yet expired, the wisest amongst them thought that it was more proper to wait some time longer. Their Reasons were very pertinent. They say,

1. That in the present Situation of Affairs Reasons against it. there was as yet no settled Form in the Government, and consequently they knew not as yet whereupon to deliberate; whereas, if they waited some time longer, they might see plainer into Affairs, what turn they would take, *Day unto Day shewing Knowledge*, whereby they would be better informed of what they were to do or to suffer, to hope for or to fear, and consequently more able to deliberate and resolve.

2. That if they did assemble themselves at a time when the Court thought to have given them a just Satisfaction by the Confirmation of the Edicts, Grants, &c. verified in the Parliaments, they would afford Ground of suspecting that they had a mind to stir, at which every one would be alarmed; their Enemies would take a Pretence to supersede all other Designs in order to ward off our own, and the wisest and best Men would blame us.

3. That then the Court would be obliged to keep the Army standing and assembled together, whereas they were upon the point of sending Part thereof into the Country of *Cleves*, another Part into *Savoy*, and of disbanding most part thereof. And every one knows that it is our Interest that it should be disbanded.

4. The Confederate Princes of *Germany*, in whose Preservation we are so much concerned, will be forsaken, on Pretence that for the just
Suspensions

Lewis 13 Suspensions we give of brewing some Change in the State, they cannot send to their Assistance.

1610.
Pope Paul
V.

5. That the several Factions that are forming at Court will re-unite themselves against us, partly for opposing their Common Enemy, ~~as~~ they say, partly in hopes every one to be employ'd; whereby we shall lose the Advantage which we certainly should reap, by our Prudence, from their Division, which is upon this Point to break out.

6. The *Jesuits* grow daily more odious. *Mariana's* Book has been burnt by the common Executioner's Sentence of the Parliament. All the Preachers of *Paris* are authorised by the Court to make them odious to the People which they do very freely and with great Success. Whereas, as soon as they shall see us asking or convoking an Assembly, they will take that Step as a Signal of Trouble, and consequently, from thence, they will take Occasion to turn the publick Hatred against us (*r*).

They answered the Objections in a very plain Way; they shewed forth, that having, for two Years longer, the keeping of their Cautionary Towns, they had consequently Time enough to consider and deliberate; and had they a little Patience, very likely they would meet with

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up that Place, and being, avowedly, fitly qualified for that Office. Louis 13. 1610.

How far these Arguments prevailed with the Majority, and especially the Lords and other great Men amongst the Reformed, I cannot tell positively, but I find that at the Instances of the Duke of *Bouillon*, the Deputies-General petitioned their Majesties, about the latter end of *August*, for a Licence to hold a Political Assembly, which was granted only on the 15th of *October*, at *Rheims*, where their Majesties were gone for the King's Coronation; and by the Brief which they obtained they were to assemble on the 25th of *May* next, at *Cbatel-beraud*, but the Place was afterwards changed, as we shall say hereafter (s). Pope Paul V. Licence for holding a Political Assembly granted.

On the 17th of *October* the Ceremony of the King's Coronation was performed with the usual Ceremonies at *Rheims*, by the Cardinal of *Joyeuse*. The King's Coronation

All this while the Duke of *Sully* had many Gudgeons to swallow in the Execution of his Offices, especially in the Super-Intendency of the Exchequer. Being not able to bear any longer the Oppositions and Contradictions of the other Ministers, especially of Chancellor de *Sillery* and *Villeroy*, he earnestly solicited the Queen for a Licence of disposing of his Employments, but her Majesty feigned to be unwilling to grant his Request, and to desire the Continuance of his Services. *Mezerey* says, that the Queen did this at *Villeroy's* Instances, because that Minister was a Lover of good Order in the Affairs, and that every one were already used to the Duke of *Sully's* Repulses. However, as the Court was ready

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(s) *Mezerey Hist. de Louis XIII. Tom. I. p. 109. Memoires de la Regence de Marie de Medicis. Tom I. p. 27 and 31.*

Lewis 13. to come back from *Rheims*, *Bullion* was sent to *Pope Paul V.* the Duke to desire him, in their Majesties Name, to resume his Functions as usual, and that they would put as much Confidence in him as the late King had done. The Duke accepted, and continued for about three Weeks; after which Time the same Dispute about the *Switzers* to be put in Garrison at *Lyons*, and upon that Pretence to raise a Fund for the Maintenance of these Troops, which had occasioned his last Quarrel with *Villeroy*, was renewed, whereat the Duke was so far exasperated, that he upbraided the Chancellor with conniving with *Villeroy* at the Ruin of the Kingdom. Several other big Words passed between him and *Villeroy* himself, before the Queen and the whole Council, whereupon all the Ministers and Counsellors of State unanimously conspired his Ruin. I shall not relate here their Intrigues for compassing their Ends; they engaged the Prince of *Condé*, the Count of *Soissons* and *Conchini* (henceforth known by the Title

he was very sorry to hear his Resolution of ^{Lewis 13th} resigning his Employments, especially the ^{1610.} *Sur-* ^{Pope Paul} *Intendancy* and the Government of *Bastille*; that ^{V.} he had been in hopes that he would continue to serve the King her Son, as he had done the late King; that she had and still desired him to consider well his Design before he executed it, and to let her know his last Resolution, that she might take her own.

He answered, that his Resolution was, not to concern himself any more with the Finances or Exchequer. Thereupon the King, on the 16th of the same Month, sent him a Brief of Discharge of the Government of *Bastille*, in very honourable Terms, and the next Day another of 300,000 Livres, as a Recompence for his past Services.

So he was obliged to resign, and he retired as much loaded with the Envy and Jealousy of the Ministers and Courtiers for the great Authority wherewith he had exercised his Offices, and for his rough Temper, as with the immense Riches which he had acquired, during the time of his Administration.

To which we must add this Encomium which *Mezeray* gives him, *That the first Years of his Administration were excellent, and if any one says that he was less scrupulous in the last, he cannot affirm that he has ever got any thing to the prejudice of the State; if his last Years have been profitable unto him, they have been much more so to the State.*

Immediately after this Dismission, they endeavoured to improve his Disgrace, in order to succeed him; *Chateauxvieux* had the Command of the *Bastille* under the Queen-Mother, who kept for herself the Government thereof. The Exchequer was put in Commission, President

Lewis 12. *Ysarnin* was made Comptroller-General, I
 1610. sident *Thuanus* and *Chasteauneuf*, Direct
 P^{re} Paul. They had a mind to ruin him utterly,
 V. which purpose they endeavoured to dist
 the Marriage of the Marquis of *Rasny* with
 Daughter of the Marshal of *Créqui*, Gra
 daughter to the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*,
 the end that this last should not set him
 against them: and they proposed to the D
 of *Beillon* the Government of *Poitou*; wher
Sully was possessed. *Beillon* seeming to lister
 the Proposition, the Marquis *D'Ancres* brow
 him word, from the Queen, that he sho
 have it. However her Majesty altered
 Mind, and that too with much Reason, it be
 very unjust to deal so severely with a Man v
 had so well deserved from the King and
 Kingdom, upon no other Account; but beca
 having been so useful to the Publick he had
 been forgetful of himself (1). We shall
 presently what Course the Duke of *Sully* to
 in order to have justice done to himself.

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asserted several Propositions contrary to the In- Lewis 13.
dependency of Kings, from any other Power, ^{160.} besides God; they condemned it by Sentence, ^{Pope Paul.}
of the 26th of *November*, forbidding, under ^{V.}
Pain of High-Treason, to receive, keep, print,
or sell the said Book. The *Jesuits* were in-
volved in this Storm, which hindered them,
this Year, from opening their College of
Clermont at *Paris*, as they had a mind to do,
notwithstanding the Oppositions of the Uni-
versity (v).

The Pope's Nuncio made very heavy *The Nuncio*
Complaints against that Decree at Court, just *complains*
as if the Parliament were become Hereticks *against*
for asserting the Rights and Prerogatives of *that Decree.*
their Sovereign, against the unjust and tyran-
nical Usurpations of a vile Priest. The Go-
vernment was then so weak, or rather the
Queen-Regent had already so far prostituted the
Honour and Dignity of the Crown of her Son
to the Pleasure of the Courts of *Madrid* and
Rome, that dreading the Resentment of this
last, she ordered that the Execution of the
Decree of the Parliament should be super-
seded (u).

Nn 3

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him to suppress that Book, or else he would go himself to
Rome to suppress it. *L'Etoile*, Mem. pour Servir a l'Hist.
de *France*. Tom. II. p. 350.

(v) *Mezeray* Hist. de *Louis XIII.* Tom I. p. 81, 82.
It is true that, in that respect, they were involved in the
same Storm, as holding the same Doctrine with *Bellarmino*;
but it must be observed, that at the same time they had a
Law-Suit with the University, who opposed the opening of
their College, which was to be decided the 18th, but had
been put off to the 28th of *November*, when the Queen,
of her own Authority, forbade the Court to take any fur-
ther Cognizance of their Affairs. *L'Etoile* ibid.

(u) *Memoires* de *L'Etoile* ibid. *Mezeray* ibid. p. 82.
Memoires de la Regence de *Marie de Medicis*, Tom. I.
p. 36, 37.

Lewis 13.

1610.

Pope Paul
V.Jesuit Aubigny's
sudden
Death.

I found that at this very time Father *Aubigny*, who had been *Ravaillac's* Confessor, as mentioned before, died suddenly; and that it was publickly rumour'd that he had been dispatch'd out of the World by his good Brethren, in order to prevent his confronting with certain *Carmelites*. And it was added, that the Advice they received from *England* of the Deposition of *Baudouin* had hastened his Death (x).

Prepara-

tions for the
Political
Assembly of
the Reformed.

The Political Assembly of the Reformed is the most remarkable Occurrence of this Year, upon which I shall dwell a little longer, because from thence have chiefly proceeded all the Misfortunes of our Churches under this Reign.

The Queen, as above said, had appointed the 25th of *May* for opening the said Political Assembly at *Chatelheraud*. The Duke of *Bouillon*, who had been one of the most eager in the Pursuit of this Assembly, having not been able to persuade the Prince of *Condé* to embrace the Reformed Religion and to declare himself Head and Protector of that Party, had a mind to purchase that Dignity for himself. With this View he sent *Bellujon*, Governour of *Villemur*, to the Lord *Du Plessis*, and shewing forth, at least outwardly, a great Zeal for the Welfare of the Churches, he desired him to draw up and send him a Memorandum of the Articles that ought to be proposed in the provincial Assemblies that were to be convened, in order to name the Deputies to the General, and to draw up their Instructions. *Du Plessis* complied, and the Marshal Duke was so well pleased with those Articles, that he sent them to the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, who was no less pleased with them than the Duke, and wrote to the Author that he approved of them all, without Exception or Reservation; and caused them

(x) Mem. de Du Plessis Mornay, Tom. III. p. 267, 268.

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them to be the Rule whereupon the Provinces of ^{Lewis 13.} *Dauphiné, Low Languedoc, Vivarez and Provence,* ^{1611.} drew the Instructions they gave to their Representatives, ^{Pope Paul V.} *mutatis mutandis.* *Du Plessis* seeing this Approbation, did not scruple to send the same Articles to the Duke of *Roban* in *Brittany*, and to some others of his Friends in the Provinces of *Poitou, La Rochelle, Xaintonge, Low Guienne, Normandy, Berry and Burgundy*, and in *Anjou*, where he resided; in this last he was named President of the Provincial Assembly, and was desired with some other Gentlemen well qualified, to be their Representative in the General Assembly. Note, what I have observed above, that at the time when the Duke of *Bouillon* sent to *Du Plessis*, he was dissatisfied with the Court, and was gone to *Sedan*, and the Duke of *Sully* was still in his Offices. Now when these Articles had been sent into the Provinces, the Marshal of *Bouillon* was reconciled, and the Duke of *Sully* disgraced.

This last was willing to make, of his private Interest, a general Concern of all the Reformed Party, just as if he had been deprived on account of his Religion, his Son-in-law, was of the same Opinion; and having considered together with their Friends what Course they were to take, in order to succeed; they agreed that there was no better way than to back the same Articles drawn up by *Du Plessis*, and sent throughout the Provinces by the Duke of *Bouillon*, and to make the best of them.

But now the Duke of *Bouillon* had altered his Mind, and being reconciled with the Court, he desired earnestly to do some Service or other whereby he might deserve its Favours, or at least, whereby he might show forth the great Interest he had, or pretended to have in the

Lewis 13.
1610.
Pope Paul
V.

Reformed Party, therefore he was very sorry for what he had done, and would have given any thing to recall these Articles; he sent to the Provinces, and endeavoured to persuade them that the Court was much altered in their behalf, ready to grant them all their just Demands. But the Reasons of this Change were so obvious to every one, that no body mistook them, but those only who were willing to be deceived. Vexed at it, he took another Course, and in order to exclude the Duke of *Sully* from the Presidentship of the Assembly, he sent several Messages to *Du Plessis*, nay, he desired the Duchess Dowager of *La Tremouille*, his Sister-in-law, to let him know, that for avoiding all manner of Jealousies between the greatest Lords of the Party, it was very proper to give them all the Exclusion from the Presidentship. That was very cunningly devised for putting a stop to the Sollicitations, either secret or open, of those who could pretend to that Honour, and so to secure the Votes to himself, when on a sudden he should appear and set up his House.

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at least it is certain that there was no talk about Lewis 13.
before his Reconciliation with the Court, and 1610.
is coming back from *Sedan*. Pope Paul
V.

Such were the Dispositions of these three Dukes, *Bouillon*, *Roban* and *Sully*, when, the Time of the Assembly being near at an end, the Deputies arrived at *Saumur*; the Dukes of *Roban* and *Soubize* the 22d of *May*, the Duke of *Sully* the 23d, and the Duke of *Bouillon* the 25th. This last was no sooner arrived but he let Monsieur *Du Plessis* know what were his real intentions as to the Presidency, that that Honour could not be bestowed upon any other but himself without Injustice; that after so many Services done to the Party, it would be an Affront put upon him, was he put in competition with the Duke of *Sully*, and that certainly he would instantly set out was he not unanimously elected President of the Assembly. The Governour of *Saumur* was vexed at this sudden Change, he sent him one of his most trusty to represent unto him that it was very late now to undertake to alter the Opinions of the Deputies, which they had grounded upon his own strong Remonstrances on that score. Nevertheless, he sent, at the same time, for those Deputies whom he knew to have the greatest Interest in the Assembly, and intreated, nay, he besought them to use their best Endeavours, that the Duke might have the Satisfaction he desired; he set forth, in a moving Manner, the Inconveniences which might ensue on the Denial. Whereupon they told him, that it was better to open the Assembly; and, after having called solemnly upon God, to submit the Votes and the Election unto his all-wise Direction: and he could never engage them to promise any thing further.

The

Lewis 13. The Assembly was opened the 26th. *Du*
 1610. *Plessis*, desiring earnestly to give the Duke the
Pope Paul. Satisfaction he desired, declined to accept the
 V. Presidency, for he was elected in the Morning;
The Assen- out of sixteen Votes [for the Reformed had
bly opens its divided the Kingdom into so many Provinces,
Session. and each Province, in this Case, had but one
Their Pro- Vote] six were for the Duke of *Bouillon* and ten
ceedings. for *Du Plessis*; he insisted that a new Election
 should be made in the Afternoon, which ac-
 cordingly was done, and *Du Plessis*, having
 still the same Number of Votes, was declared
 duly elected, and obliged to accept it, notwith-
 standing his Instances to the contrary. The
 Reverend Mr. *Chamier* was named his Assistant;
 and *Des Bordes Mercerus*, Son to the renowned
Mercerus, celebrated for his great Skill in the
Hebrew Tongue, was named Secretary.

The Marshal Duke, thinking to be slighted
 by this Proceeding, plainly threatened to resent
 it, and to set out from *Saumur* the very next
 Day. Nevertheless, at *Du Plessis's* Intreaties,
 he relented a little, and did not set out. But

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several Occasions his Counsels were prudent Lewis 13.
and vigorous, especially in the Affair of Baron 1610
de Senevieres, Governour of *Chatillon* upon Pope Paul
Judre. That Gentleman had of late turned V.
Reformed, whereupon the Catholick Inhabi-
tants had risen in arms against him, and at-
tempted to destroy all the Fences of the Castle,
and all the Places wherein he might dwell com-
modiously. Notwithstanding all the Care which
the Marshal Duke took to pacify them, *Senevi-
eres* was like to be reduced to great Straits had
not the Assembly taken his part.

Indeed they were too much concerned in that
Affair to neglect it. *Chatillon* was a new Place
which *Senevieres* put into their hands, according
to the Edict. It was their Interest to protect those
who embraced their Religion, lest those who
should have a mind to do the same for the fu-
ture, should be deterred from it thro' Fear of
losing their Employments; and at that very
time they knew that another Governour was
willing to abjure the *Roman* Religion, but was
afraid of being immediately turned out if he fol-
lowed his Inclination. For these Considerations
the Assembly took in hand *Senevieres's* Affair,
and by the Duke of *Bouillon's* Advice they
sent to Court to demand Satisfaction, and re-
solved not to treat of any thing with the King's
Commissaries before they had obtained it.

But these mighty Resolutions came to nought,
the Court eluded the Instances of the Assembly,
and the Marshal of *Bouillon* having talked with
the King's Commissaries, relented, and could
not thenceforward be moved by any Intreaties
to support the Cause which he had so vigorously
undertaken. As to the other Governour, he
was exhorted by the Assembly not to delay any
longer

Lewis 13. longer to declare himself openly, and that they
 1611. would support him with all their Might.

Pope Paul.
 V.

The Affair of *Senevieres* was brought upon
 the Carpet the very first Day of the Assembly.
 The next Day they renewed the Oath of Union,
 and they drew up a Form thereof, the Purport
 of which amounted to these two Articles, Obe-
 dience to the King; and Concord, Impartiality
 and Disinterestedness amongst themselves, for
 their common Preservation under the King's Pro-
 tection and Obedience. All the Deputies took it,
 the Duke of *Sully* himself, who had been so much
 against it under the last Reign, was now one of the
 first that entered into it, knowing very well that
 the Common Cause was the Security of his own.
 They took likewise another Oath, whereby
 they promised not to make any Interest for
 being named General Deputy, or for being
 employed in any particular Deputation from
 one or more Provinces at Court, even not so
 much as for being named Candidate. But I
 am asham'd to say that all these Oaths, which

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and which had been so well relished by Marshal Lewis 13.
De Les Diguieres, and are as follow. 1611.

They were to demand the Restitution of the *Edict of Nantz* in its full, and such as it had been agreed upon between the King's Commissioners and the Deputies of the Reformed, before it had been signed by his Majesty at *Nantz*; That the Brief for the Cautionary Towns should be likewise restored in its full Extent; that such of these Towns which had been lost by the Defection of their Governors from the Reformed to the *Roman* Religion, or by any other Means, should be restored; that the keeping of these Places should be continued unto them for ten Years longer; that the Sum promised at first for the Substantance of the Garrisons, and which had been reduced to the half, should be restored to its full; that the Payment of them should be made quarterly, without any Deficiency, and at the very Places; that some Methods should be found out for preventing the Cheats that might be committed in filling up the vacant Places of Governours; that they should have leave to repair and fortify the Places which fell to Decay thro' Length of Time; that Complaints should be made of the Injustice done to the Reformed, who were excluded from all other Employment and Dignity on Pretence of their being provided with a Government of some of these Towns; That they should require that the Resignations of the Government of any of these Places should be accepted only with the Consent of the Churches, and the same be done as to the Counsellorship or Presidentship in any of the Chambers; that they should be licensed to compose, print, sell and publish all manner of Books concerning the Reformed Religion; that the Places granted to certain

Pope Paul
V.

Lewis 13. certain Towns for their publick, religious Meet-
1611. ings, and which were too far distant from the
Pope Paul Town, should be exchanged with another
V. that was nearer; to the end that they might be
at hand to enjoy the Protection of the Ma-
gistrate against the Insults of the Rabble; That
the Article about the Burial-Place, which oc-
casioned so many Barbarities, should be refor-
med; that the Preachers and Confessors, who
thought that those who had ever any Commu-
nication with the Reformed, serve, or assist
them, were all damned, should be punish'd like
Seditious, and Infringers of the Edicts; that the
Reformed might have two Offices of Masters
of Request, the first time without Fee, and a
Notary-Publick in every royal Seat, or at least
in every Cautionary Town, but paying a mo-
derate Fee; that the Jesuits should not reside in
any of the Cautionary Towns; that, in the Pro-
vinces where there was no such Town, and
where the Reformed were in great Numbers,
they might have some one; that they may hold
a Political Assembly once every two Years;

asserted, that the Preservation of the Reformed Churches was necessary to that of the State, and assured them of their Majesties Good-Will, who would be favourable unto them in all their Demands and Petitions, cause their Edicts and Concessions to be maintained and executed in what they had not been as yet, explain to their Advantage what was still obscure; and finally they leave it to the Choice of the Assembly, either to put their general Petitions into their Hands, or to send them express by their own Deputies, affirming that whatever Method they took they would be speedily and favourably answered.

Lewis 13.
1611.
Pope Paul
V.

Upon such fine Promises, the Assembly began to hope well for the Success of their Meeting, and they drew up their Petitions after the Instructions above-mentioned, without any Opposition from the Marshal of *Bouillon*, for he had been himself the Author of such Demands. *De Lusignan*, *D'Aubigné* and some others were named to confer upon some of the principal Articles thereof with the King's Commissaries; who, after some Debate, declared that they were not empowered to resolve any thing; and being come to the Assembly they advised them to address themselves to her Majesty, and that they would support them with all their Interest, to which the Assembly agreed. But when they came to name the Deputies, some were very busy in making great Interest to be named; whereupon the Assembly resolved not to draw up the Instructions and Powers of the said Deputies, till they knew upon whom the Choice would fall, to the end that they might give a greater or less Extension to their Powers, according to the Character of the Persons who should be elected, which were the Reverend
Mr.

Lewis 13 Mr. Ferrier, Messieurs *La Case*, *Courtaumer*,
 1611. *Mirande* and *Armet*. They were not em-
 Pope Paul power'd to conclude any thing, but only to
 V. confer upon the Articles, and after having ex-
 plained them, to send the Assembly Notice of
 whatever they had transacted, whereupon the
 Assembly would give their final Resolution.
 That Restriction did not please at all some of
 the Deputies, much less the Marshal of *Bouillon*,
 because he saw plainly his Designs defeated
 thereby.

While the general Petitions were drawing up,
 two things happened which deserve to be taken
 notice of. The first was the Opposition of the
 Marshal of *Bouillon* to the Duke of *Sully's* Pur-
 suit; that the Assembly should take his Affair
 in hand, because he pretended to be deprived
 of his Charges on account of his Religion:
 Nay, he went so far that he solicited the Son-
 in-law [*the Duke of Rohan, Author of these*
Memoirs] to forsake his Father-in-Law. He
 came one day when he was sick to visit him,
 and told him amongst other Things, that it

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Services did not deserve that he should be ex-posed to be a Prey to those who had hurt-
 the State, and that his Administration, free from Corruption and Misdemeanour, could not be examined but by the Court of Peers, because of his Quality; and if he was otherwise served, all his Relations, and especially his Son-in-law with all his Friends, would support his Cause. So that after several Sitzings the Assembly proceeding upon that Article, at the Request of the Provinces, exhorted the Duke of Sully not to treat for his Charges for any Sum of Money; and above all not to resign his Great Mastership of the Ordnance; and if he was molested on that account by undue, unlawful and extraordinary Means, they would shew forth that they took his Cause to be one wherein all the Reformed Churches were concerned, and they expressly charg'd their Deputies to insist upon it (x).

Louis 13.
 1611.
 Pope Paul
 V.

The

(x) There are two Things to be observed in this Affair concerning the Duke of Sully. (1.) In the Speech he made to the Assembly, he pretended that he was not as yet determined as to the Recompense he might pretend to for his Offices, so that there was time yet to take advice; and he required it upon these four Things. 1. Whether he was to speak no more, either of his being restored to his Places, or of his Recompenses. *'But I don't know how to make this agree with his Letters to her Majesty of the Months of March and April, whereby he solicits the Payment of what had been promised unto him for his Charges, and in Consideration of his past Services. Nor with the two Briefs of the King, the first of the 27th of January for 300,000 Livres, once paid; the 2d of the 20th of May, for an Augmentation of 48,400 Livres Pension. Which he had accepted since the Payment of the first Sum, by the abovesaid Letters to the Queen.'* See his *Memoirs*, Tom. IV. p 47—56. (2) supposing that he ought to petition again, whether he ought to ask only to be restored. *'If our former Observation is good, this Duke had nothing now to petition for, on account of his Places.'* (3) Whether, having no hopes of being restored, he ought to accept the Recompense

Lewis 13. the Assembly, having named their General Deputies, should put an end to their Session. Nothing could be more displeasing than that News, and indeed the Court broke, on this Occasion, thro' all the ordinary Rules. Therefore the Assembly unanimously resolved to insist on having their Petitions answered before they should break up. The Duke of *Bouillon* feigned to approve that Resolution, and promised to write to Court. Which he did indeed, but quite in another Strain than he had promised; and to deceive more easily the Assembly, he shewed a Copy widely different from the Letter he had sent. At last, the Deputies being not able to obtain any thing more, returned to *Saumur*, and made the Report of their Negotiation, acquainting them that *Bullion*, Counsellor of State, was coming with the Answers to their Petitions; but that their Majesties desired them to proceed to the Nomination of their general Deputies before his Arrival, which however was superseded for that time.

Bullion being arrived confirmed the Deputies

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to the Nomination; he play'd a very foul ^{Lew 13.} Trick, for tho' he juggled together with *Bullion*, ^{1611. Pope Paul V.} nevertheless, they feigned to be of a different Opinion, this last affirming that it would be Time and Trouble lost if they sent again to Court; and the Marshal on the contrary flattering the Assembly with a good Success, he thought that by the length of time he should tire the Patience of some, and corrupt the others, and that in the mean while he ought to show himself zealous, that he might more easily impose upon the Simple. Nevertheless, seeing that this would not do, he, with the said *Bullion* and their Confidents, advised the Queen to write to the Assembly, commanding them to break up instantly, revoking the Permission of being assembled any longer, and declaring void whatever Deliberations and Resolutions they should take henceforward, and sent the Minute of the said Letter to her Majesty by *Bellegeon*, who was Agent of Mareschal *De Les Diguieres* in the Assembly, a Man every way qualified for such a foul Business; being not over-scrupulous, nay, sticking at nothing whenever his Self-Interest lay at stake. He, under a false Pretence of visiting his Wife's Brother in *Berry*, and of settling some Family-Business, obtained leave of the Assembly to absent for some Days; nay, in order to impose the better, he went out of *Saumur*, riding a fine Genet, but was no sooner out of sight but he took Post and went to *Paris*, where he delivered his Message and conferred with the State-Ministers. The Queen, by these Means being informed of the Dispositions of the Assembly, and that some of them were not so stiff as the rest, followed the Directions of the Duke; she wrote a threatening Letter to the said Assembly, declaring

Lewis 13. them Rebels if they refused any longer to obey ;

1611. and, what was never seen or heard of before,

Pope Paul V. SHE AUTHORISED THE LESSER NUMBER

AGAINST THE GREATER, and commanded the Duke of *Bouillon's* Adherents to proceed to the Nomination of the General Deputies, without waiting for the Concurrence of their Brethren, and to receive of *Bullion* the Answers to their Petitions ; then to break up without any further Delay. *Bullion* received the Letter, and imparted it to the Duke of *Bouillon*. That Lord came to the Castle, and shew'd it to the Lords *De La Force* and *Du Plessis*. They read it with the utmost Abhorrence, they made fruitless Remonstrances to the Duke, who told them that they might impart the Contents thereof to those whom they should think proper. Which having done, most part of the Representatives fretted at it, and were with great difficulty prevailed upon not to set out from *Saumur*. *Bullion* being informed of their Dispositions, desired a Conference with *Du Plessis* ; they agreed together upon certain Means


Castle, to the Number of 55, amongst whom ^{Lewis 13} were the Dukes of Sully, Roban, Soubize, the ^{1611.} Lord of *La Force*, several other Persons of ^{Pope Paul V.} Quality and all the Ministers, to consult with *Du Plessis* what Course they ought to take. Most part insisted on parting from the Assembly without delay. But the wise *Du Plessis* persuaded them to the contrary. *The Author of this Mischief*, says, he, is not unknown unto us, without him never any such thing would have been attempted; but since he has begun, let us not flatter ourselves that he will not go any further. He may glory himself to have made a Breach in our Union, to have done what the most fierce Persecutions, the most cruel Civil-Wars, even the most bloody Massacres have not been able to do. Let God be Judge between us and him, and touch him with a quick Remorse of his Crime. In the meanwhile, here is the Judgment of Solomon, let us prove ourselves to be the true Mother of the Child; let us show that we feel the Bowels of Christ renting themselves; nay, that they rent them themselves so much the more cruelly that some of us don't feel it. It don't belong to such People to teach us Obedience due to the King, we are well acquainted one with another. However, let us proceed to the Nomination of our Deputies, as the Queen desires it. Our Churches will forgive us for not having followed their Instructions when they shall know what Danger we have been near to fall in, thro' a wicked Counsel. The Schism is ready to break out; that is enough to justify our Proceeding. By that prudent and religious Speech, *Du Plessis* appeased the most provoked, they unanimously agreed to follow his Opinion and to keep secret their Resolution.

Bullion came the next day to the Assembly, he presented the Letter of the Queen-Regent, and required that the King's Orders should be

Lewis 13. executed. So they will be, answered Du Plessis
 1611. Since we are so unhappy as not to be hearkened
 Pope Paul V. to in our just Remonstrances; But we hope
 that their Majesties will consider our Sub-
 mission and our just Petitions. Then, directing
 his Speech to the Commissary, Give me leave,
 Sir, says he, to tell you here, that those who
 have sown this Division among us, don't mind much
 the King's Service. Our Union has settled the
 late King upon the Throne of his Ancestors. He
 was so far sensible of the Utility thereof, that that
 great Prince approved of that which was renewed
 and sworn in his Presence, and amidst his Court at
 Nantes, God grants the King a peaceable Minority,
 and the Queen a happy Regency. The more the Re-
 formed shall be strictly united together, the more
 they shall be in a Condition to do better Service to
 the King. Three or four of those who had been
 bribed got up in order to execute their wicked
 Design of compleating the Division; but being
 not countenanced, they were obliged to sit down
 again. On the 5th of September they proceeded
 to the Nomination of the six Deputies, and
 notwithstanding the Cabals, the wholesomest
 Part of the Assembly prevailed; the Lords of
Montbrun, de Rouvrai and *De Berteville* were
 named for the Nobility, and Messieurs *De*
Maniald, Boisseuil and *De la Milletiere* for the
 Commons. The Lord *de Rouvrai* and Mon-
 sieur *De la Milletiere* were chosen by the Queen.
 The Marshal of *Bouillon* was vexed to the Quick
 for that none of the Six named by the Assem-
 bly were at his Devotion; he endeavoured to
 engage Monsieur *Maniald* and *Boisseuil* to de-
 cline their Nomination, and make room for
 one Mr. *Armet* a Burgundian, who was in his
 Interest. He offered them 2000 Pistoles or a
 Counsellorship in the Parliament of *Bordeaux*;
 but he had the Mortification of being repuls'd.

When

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When the Nomination was over, *Bullion* ^{Lewis 13th} delivered to the Assembly the Answers of the ^{1611.} Court to their Petitions; at the reading of ^{Pope Paul V.} which they were all exasperated to that degree,  that some of them cried out, that they ought to die rather than to suffer it; and indeed these Answers were very far from being satisfactory, as they had been made to expect. But now it was too late, the Nomination being once over, they were not allowed by their Warrant to continue their Sessions any longer. Therefore *Du Plessis* was of Opinion to break it up, which he did accordingly, exhorting the Members to leave their Animosities and Jealousies upon the Spot, and not to carry them along with them into the Provinces. *Every one, says he, has failed, and every one has well done; We must turn over a new Leaf, and what the Queen has refused to our Request and Remonstrances, let us try whether, she being so magnanimous as she is, we could not obtain it from her by our Silence and Patience.* The Cautionary Towns were continued unto them for five Years longer, with the Substinance of their Garrisons: An Augmentation for the Service of the Churches of 45,000 Livres yearly, so that they were to receive every Year 180,000 Livres. The Court made unto them some other Concessions of smaller Importance (y).

So ended one of the most solemn Assemblies of the *French* Reformed that was ever held in ^{Some Con-} ^{siderations} ^{about this} the ^{Assembly.}

(y) See upon the whole Relation of this Assembly. *Memoires du Duc de Rohan.* Tom. I. Liv. i. p. 5, 6, 7, &c. to the 21st. *Vie de Du Plessis Mornay*, Liv. III. the 12 first Pages. *Lettres & Mem. du même*, Tom. III. p. 258—325. *Mezeray Hist de Louis 13.* Tom. I, p. 136 to 148. *Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis*, Tom. I. p. 69, &c. But these two last, out of Passion, or thro' Ignorance, have misrepresented that Transaction.

Lewis 13. the Kingdom, after above three Months sitting;
1611. it was composed of the most distinguished a-
Pope Paul mongst them, either by their Birth, or Capacity
V. and Experience in Affairs. Certainly they
would have laboured more usefully for the
Welfare of their Churches, had they not them-
selves shewn the Court the Ways and Means
to divide and ruin them by degrees, some of
the greatest amongst them carrying their Am-
bition and Avarice so far, as to sacrifice every
thing to the Gratification of their unruly Ap-
petites.

It was generally believed that the Duke of
Bouillon had promis'd the Queen to manage
that Assembly at her pleasure; and indeed his
Departments, from the Beginning to the End
thereof, fully evinced that that Suspicion was
but too well grounded. The Duke of *Sully*,
always wavering in his Opinions and Re-
solutions, show'd that his Fortune was uncer-
tain and fickle: as to the Duke of *Roban*, he
constantly adhered to the greatest Number.
All the excellent Regulations that were made in

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 Provinces to serve as a Model for the Instruc- Lewis 13.
 tions to be given to their Representatives, and 1611.
 whereof the Court had Notice by its Pensioners, Pope Paul
 helped much to confirm that Rumour. The V.
 Demands of some Provincial Assemblies added
 a new Strength to that Report. The Assembly
 of *Milbau*, held in 1573, was remembered by
 those who had lived at that time. They ob-
 served, that of five Things which that Assem-
 bly had proposed, there remained but two not
 obtained as yet, namely two Cautionary Towns
 in each Province where the Reformed had none;
 and that the Tythes which they paid should be
 allowed for the Subsistence of their Ministers.
 They magnified the Consequences of the Union,
 which the Assembly was to swear, and whereby,
 as they say, the Reformed were to oblige
 themselves to support one another reciprocally
 in all the Governments and Offices which the
 late King had bestowed upon them; even in
 the Towns and other Places which they held,
 besides those contained in the Brief of the Cau-
 tionary Towns. But as it was not likely that
 the Court would tamely comply with these
 Demands, from thence they inferred that the
 Reformed would immediately rise in arms.
 What is the more strange is, that some of the
 Reformed countenanced these extravagant Ru-
 mours; amongst whom the Marshal of *Bouillon*
 was the most remarkable, for he was publicly
 upbraided by the Duke of *Roban* for having
 told to some Catholicks, as he set out from
Saumur, that at last Peace was made, but it
 was not without much Trouble and great Diffi-
 culty. Very likely he designed only to ingra-
 tiate himself more and more with the Queen, by
 making her sensible that he had done her very
 great Services, and that she stood much in need

Lewis 13. of him to keep the Reformed in the bounds of
 1618. their Duty. Tho' there was not a Word of
 Pope Paul Truth in these Reports, nevertheless, it can't
 V. be imagin'd what wonderful Impression it
 made upon People's Minds.

The antient Enemies of the Reformed, who from that very time devised their Ruin, improved them the best they could, and in several Places alarmed the People and obliged the Catholics to take such extraordinary Precautions, that at last they gave great Jealousies to the Reformed, who knew not from whence proceeded these Panicks. The Court itself made some Preparations against all Events, either that it believed the Truth of these Reports, or for some other Reasons.

During the Sessions of the Assembly an Answer to the Duke of Sully's Speech was published. It was properly a Satyr against him, which, on pretence of telling what the Assembly ought to have answered to his four Queries, turned him into ridicule in a very scornful Manner.

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the Great Mastership are but Commissions which depend only upon the King's Pleasure, and which he may bestow or take away whenever he pleases:] and exhorted them to keep themselves within the Bounds of Humility, Modesty and Allegiance.

Lewis 13.
1611.
Pope Paul
V.

Works of this nature were very much in vogue during the Session of the Assembly. Several Satires were published against the Reformed Religion and against those who had been in the Employments under the last Reign. The Catholics were inclined to be reveng'd on the *Catholicon of Spain* [a satirical Book written by *D'Aubigné*] which had very agreeably disclosed the Ridicule of the Designs and Actions of the League. Pamphlets came out daily in imitation of it, Speeches, Pictures, Tapestry Work, &c. We may place in that Number a Letter published under the Name of a Reformed, and with the Printer's Name, which spoke very ill of the Assembly of *Saumur*. The Author divided the Reformed into three Orders, THE MALICIOUS, who breathed nothing but War, in order to gratify their Ambition or Avarice; THE JEALOUS, who being always mistrustful became easily the Sport of the Malicious, who met in them fit Instruments to serve their Ambition or Avarice; THE JUDICIOUS, who dreading nothing more than a Civil War, kept within the Bounds of Obedience in order to avoid it.

But, as the Reverend Mr. *Benoit* very judiciously observes, the Author would have made a more exact Distribution of the Reformed had he divided them into three; THE LORDS OF EMINENT QUALITY, who made use of others for their private Ends; THE PERSONS OF STRICT HONOUR AND INTEGRITY, who

Causes of our Misfortune. 1. Ambition and Avarice of the great Men.

Lewis 13. were sensible that no Good could be expected
1611. from a Council governed by *Spain, Rome* and
Pope Paul the *Jesuits*; and who, for that Reason endea-
V. voured by all lawful Means to screen themselves
from perfidious and implacable Enemies; THE
TIMOROUS, who were either naturally weak
and indifferent, or softened and made tractable
by the Court's Artifices. The first and last oc-
casioned all the Mischiefs which befel our
Churches under this Reign.

The first, such as the Marshal Duke of
Bouillon, the Marshal Duke of *Les Diguieres*,
[*He was created Duke this Year by a Warrant of*
his Majesty] Nay, the Duke of *Roban* himself
and some others of the same Stamp, made use
of the Zeal of the Session to make themselves
considerable at Court; they engaged their Vas-
sals and Dependants to side with them either
for or against the Court, as their private Views
led them, for which purpose they did not scru-
ple oftentimes to pretend the Publick Good,
Liberty of Conscience, &c. when Self-Interest,
Denial of Preferment, Slight at Court, and such

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 561

Les Diguieres, it is so plain that he made the best he could of his Party for the Advancement of his own Fortune, to which at last he sacrificed his Religion, that we need not to insist upon it any longer. No wonder if most part of them persevered to their last in the open Profession of the Reformed Religion; what could they have got by their Change? They could at the most have only a Place amongst the Male-Contents, and obey instead of commanding.

Lewis 13.
1611.
Pope Paul
V.

As to the last, I mean the Timorous, which were particularly to be found in the Provinces bordering on the Court, and on this side the *Loire*, and in those Places where the Reformed were in small Numbers, either dazzled by the Promises or frightened by the Threats of the Court, they durst not openly declare themselves, and were fain to forsake their Brethren, nay, very often to fight against them. Let us add to this, that even amongst the Well-minded there were some too hot; who carried things to Extreame, which would have been amicably compos'd or patiently born, without any great Prejudice to the Liberties and Privileges of the Churches. That Temper and these Dispositions of our great Men were the first Cause of our Misfortunes.

We may find the second in the Character of the Queen Regent and of the King her Son. She was of a turbulent, revengeful, ambitious Temper, which could not be restrained. One may say truly, that she had all the ill Qualifications of *Catherine of Medicis*, but none of her great and royal Inclinations. She was as profuse as her, and like her prepossessed in favour of Astrology, and the Counsels of the best Politicians could not prevail over the Observations of

2. *The King and Queen-Mother's Character.*

Lewis 13. of one *Fabroni*, who drew Figures of the State of
1611. the *Heavens* upon all things of Importance that
Pope Paul related to that Princess; and she had as much
V. Faith in his Predictions, as if they had been
so many Oracles. This Credulity ruined all
her Affairs, and she experienced the same
Things which usually befall those who are go-
vern'd by like Maxims; that is, she could
never obtain the Advantages promised to her
by the Stars, nor avoid the Misfortunes she
was threatened with. If we compare the Lives
of these two Queens we shall find the one much
happier than the other. *Catherine*, who so
many times expos'd the State to the Brink of
its utter Ruin, in order to gratify her unruly
Ambition, maintained however her Credit and
Authority almost to the last Moments of her
Life; but *Mary* soon lost her Authority, and
even her Liberty, and ended her Days in a mi-
serable Exile. *Catherine* had Wit and Expe-
rience enough to lay herself her Schemes, and
a great Resolution and Courage to pursue the
Execution of them, being never dishearten'd

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 563

Agreement, and whereas there was two other ^{Lewis 13.} Candidates, namely *De Jambeville* and *De* ^{1611.} *Verdun*, she desired His Holiness's Advice ^{Pope Paul V.} upon the Choice she ought to make. He answered in these Words, *Il primo Heretico, il secondo Cattino, il terzo non cognosco.* Whereupon *Du Verdun* was chosen, the two first having the Pope's Exclusion, tho' they were Men, especially *Tbuanus*, of a greater Capacity and Integrity. What Good then could the Reformed expect from a Princess who stood so favourably inclined in behalf of their most implacable Enemies? and who hated them secretly on account of their holding the *Pope* for the *Antichrist*; for she had been made to believe that by such a Tenet they called in question the Validity of King *Henry's* Divorce from his first Wife, and of his Marriage with her, and consequently of the Legitimacy of their Children. And that Notion, how false soever it was, had made such an Impression upon her Mind, that the strongest Assurances of their Loyalty and Attachment to the King, to herself, and the whole Royal Family, were not capable to blot it out.

As to the King her Son, he was not naturally endowed with any of those Parts requisite to make a great Prince; he was of a narrow Understanding, very obstinate in his Childhood. I don't know upon what Foundation an Author has said of him, that he would have prov'd a great and good King had he only believed that he was capable to govern his Kingdom himself. His Mother took very little care to have him educated in a way suitable to his high Station; almost since the King's Death to the Catastrophe of the Marshal *D'Ancre*, he spent his Time in making Castles of Cards, catching

Lewis 13. Birds with two *Pigriſches* † in the Gardens
 1611. of *Tuilleries*, and other Paſtimes not much
 Pope Paul V. worthy of a King of *France*; and as ſhe
 was very careful to keep him always very
 † a Kind low and under Subjection, cauſing him ſome-
 of Bird of times to be whip'd, tho' he was a crown'd
 Prey. King; no wonder if ſuch an Education had an
 influence upon him: he was always timorous,
 dreading his own Miniſters, daring not to op-
 poſe the Views of their Ambition and Avarice,
 nay, ſacrificing unto them the natural Affection
 which a Son owes to his Mother, and a Bro-
 ther to his Brother and Siſters, and the Duties
 of a King unto his Subjects, rather than to
 take a generous Reſolution for freeing himſelf
 from the Bondage whereunder he was ſhamefully
 detained.

It was under the Name of that King, whoſe
 Love and Affection was as much impotent as
 his Hatred and Indignation, when they were
 not approved by his Favourites; that *De Luines*,
 and after him *Richelieu*, deprived the Reformed

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 565

boundless Ambition and Avarice of their Prime Ministers, have been the second Cause of our Misfortunes. Lewis 13.
1611.
Pope Paul
V.

I shall not subjoin here the powerful Instances of the Clergy and other Satellites of the Pope, especially the *Jesuits*. It is too well known that it is their Interest to oppose TRUTH with all their Might, and No-body will wonder at the Ways and Means which those SONS OF DARKNESS put in use to subvert it; Perfidiousness, Treasons, Perjury, Fire and Blood, &c. for every one knows that it is natural for them to copy the Works of THEIR FATHER.

So then quite contrary Causes to those which had contributed towards our Settlement in our own Country concurred to our Ruin, and chang'd those *Halcyonian Days*, whereof our Churches had enjoyed under a mighty King, who lov'd them and who never gloried in any thing so much as in the strict Performance of his Word, into gloomy Days, Fore-runners of that dreadful Hurricane, wherein our poor Vessel was miserably split to pieces. The Disinterestedness and strict Union of our Forefathers made their Force under the Protection of a great King so qualified. Their Self-Interest, Ambition, Avarice, &c. caused their Division, which Division made them despicable, and accelerated their Ruin, under the Ill-will of such a Prince as *Lewis XIII.* was, incapable to know the true Interest of his Kingdom, more incapable to pursue it, even when he had been made sensible of it. But without dwelling any longer upon that melancholy Subject, I shall proceed to other Matters.

Notwithstanding all the Civilities and Respects which *Du Plessis* paid to the Duke of *Bouillon*, the pretended Affronts he thought he III. Offices
of the Duke
of Bouillon
to Du
had Plessis.

^{1611.}
Pope Paul.
V. Lewis 13. had received in the Assembly, by his not having been elected President, and bore the sway in every thing during the Sessions, stuck too much at his Heart to be so soon forgiven and forgotten. He carried his Revenge so far and so indecently, as to reflect a Blemish on his own Character, which all the Brightness of his Birth, and all the Grandeurs wherewith he was surrounded, cannot nor shall ever blot out. Calumny is a Vice of so black a Dye, as not to be fetch'd out by any Ingredient. He joined with *Bullion* in charging that upright Gentleman with having opposed their Majesties Intention, and having himself raised against the Court the Suspicions and Jealousies which the Assembly had all along entertained, from the Beginning to the End. By which means a gloomy Storm was raising against the Governour of *Saumur*, which must have proved fatal to him, had not his Humility and Prudence prevented the dire Effects thereof. He answered the Queen's threatening Letter with such a Calmness of Temper and such a Strength of Reason, that he

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 567

was nothing very extraordinary in the Attempt, ^{Lewis 13^o}
 tho' the *Roman* Catholicks ought to have been ^{1611.}
 enur'd to this Controversy, nevertheless, it is ^{Pope Paul.}
 hardly to be conceived what Noise they made ^{V.}
 about this Book. But what exasperated them
 the more, was the Cut put at the Front thereof;
 it exhibited the Form of the Tower of *Babel*,
 a prodigious Fabrick which drew the Admira-
 tion of the Spectators, but it was supported
 only with some wooden Sticks, which a Man
 set on fire; two *Latin* Verses warning the Be-
 holders that they ought not so much to admire
 the Fabrick, seeing it was to be utterly destroyed
 as soon as its weak Props should have been
 consumed with Fire. The two Lines run thus,

*Falleris æternam qui suspicis ebrius Arcem,
 Subruta succensis mox corruet ima tigillis.*

Then there was a Print representing Pope *Paul*
V. with Inscriptions so lofty, proud and impious,
 that had they designed to give hold to the *Re-*
formed, they could not do it better. They ap-
 plied to that Pontiff the most flattering Encomiums
 that could be bestowed upon an earthly Prince;
 and the greatest Titles which the Holy Scrip-
 ture ascribes to *our Lord Jesus Christ*; and un-
 derneath the Figure there was a Motto which
 gave him the Title of *VICE-GOD*; that was
 copied from a Picture drawn in *Italy* to adorn
 a Triumphant Arch raised in honour of that
 Pope. But that which was most remarkable,
 was, that the Name of *Paul V.* joined to that
 of *Vice-God* in *Latin*, in the Case which be-
 long'd to the Inscriptions, filled up the famous
 Number of 666, which, according to *St. John*
 in the *Apocalypse*, is the Number of the
Antichrist; joining the Value of the Numerical
 Letters of that Name, according to the Use of
 the *Latins*, made up that mystical Number.

Lewis 13. The *Reformed*, who were great Admirers of these sort of Observations, were almost persuaded to a Certainty of the approaching Fall of the *Roman See*, which manifested its *Antichristianity* by such evident Characters. But the *Catholicks* were strangely mov'd at the said Book, the *Pope* made heavy Complaints about it, the *Sorbonne* pass'd a rash and impious Censure upon it, as being *heretical, most furious, most seditious, contrary to the divine, natural and canonical Laws, &c. &c.* But had the same Book been extant, and examin'd by *Gerson* himself, sure I am that he could not have refrain'd his Indignation against the Censure itself; and would have declared it *most heretical, most furious, most seditious, most Antichristian, subverting all divine, natural and canonical Laws.* And indeed how shall they prove that *Papedom* is of *natural Right*? Is there any thing in Nature which could induce us to believe, that we must submit ourselves to the Judgment of a single Man in Matters re-

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be, and as they were before the 16th Century, ^{Lewis 13.} the ancient Code of Canons, framed or received ^{1611.} in the first general Councils, then the most ^{Pope Paul V.} learned and the most sincere Canonists and Divines of *Paris* own that there is nothing in them which may support the usurped *Primacy* and *Monarchy* of the *Pope*.

Howbeit, this Book was very prejudicial to its Author, as to his temporal Concerns; for, if what *Villeroy* wrote to him is true, all Thoughts of advancing him, as it was intended, were laid aside; but long ago that generous and truly Christian Nobleman, after having maturely considered every thing, chose rather to suffer Affliction with the People of God, than to enjoy the Pleasures of Sin for a Season; esteeming the Reproach of Christ greater Riches than the Treasures in Egypt: for he had respect unto the Recompense of the Reward. So that he stood unmov'd at all these Frowns of the Court, and at the ridiculous Attempt of one *De Brai St. Germain*, who endeavoured to apply to him the same mysterious Number of 666, for which Purpose he turned his Name as many Ways as he could imagine (a).

Before I leave this Year I must take notice of ^{The Duke} an Event wherein the City of *Geneva* was very ^{of Savoy's} nearly concern'd. The Duke of *Savoy* having ^{Designs} mis'd his Aim against that City, in the Year ^{upon Ge-} 1602, in such shameful Manner, as we have ^{neva.} said in its proper Place, flattered himself with a better Success at another time; therefore, in 1609 he attempted to surprize this City on the *Lake's* side; for which purpose he caused some Lighters loaded with Wood, under which a good Number of Soldiers were concealed, to come to *Geneva*, keeping close to the Shore.

P p 4

But

(a) *Vic de Du Plessis*, Liv. II l.

Lewis 13 But this Attempt was sooner discovered than
 1611. the former, and *Du Terrail* and *La Bastide*, the
 Pope Paul V. Contrivers thereof, having been seized at
 { *Yverdon*, were brought to *Geneva*. At first
 they denied the Fact, therefore *La Bastide* was
 put upon the Rack and confessed all, and was
 condemned to be hang'd, and executed; and
Du Terrail was beheaded (*b*).

At last, the Duke thinking to have met with
 a proper Opportunity for righting himself, a-
 bout his chimerical Pretensions upon that City,
 during the King's Minority, he resolved to at-
 tack it with open Force, this Year in the Spring.
 He caused his Troops to march from *Piedmont*
 into *Savoy*. Upon these Rumours, the City
 wrote to the Duke of *Les Diguieres*, desiring
 his Protection and Assistance; that Lord, after
 several fruitless Intreaties with the Duke of
Savoy for obliging him to desist, sent to Court,
 insisting with the Queen and Council that, ac-
 cording to the Treaty of *Soleurre*, he would un-
 dertake effectually the Protection of *Geneva*;
 which at last was granted, and her Majesty

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the General *; and have occasion to declare them ^{Lewis 13.} unlawful, in case they should proceed, and thwart ^{1612.} the Resolutions which might be taken in them. ^{Pope Paul V.}

Accordingly the Court named the Commissaries of the Reformed Religion; but of the Duke of *Bouillon's* Choice, most part or all of them were at his devotion, and consequently so much the more suspected by the *Reformed Churches*. *Du Plessis* considering that such a Step would certainly give great Jealousies to the Provinces, and being afraid lest they should carry too far their Resentment, endeavoured to heal that Disease the best way he could. On one hand, he wrote to the principal Churches in every Province, and let them know how and by what Arguments they ought to apologize for their *Provincial Assemblies*; to wit, that they were grounded upon the Queen's last Letters to the General Assembly of *Saumur*, and upon the very Instructions given to the King's Commissaries, wherein such Assemblies were plainly presupposed; and indeed these Reasons were so pertinent, that the Court had nothing to say against them. On the other hand, he advised them to suffer the Commissaries to execute their Charge without Opposition. Whereby, if they were authorised to do them good, the Churches that were distressed would be relieved; if not, they would plainly see, by that, that they were sent upon some other Account, and consequently they would have a just Occasion to sue directly to their Majesties.

This last Advice was little hearkened to, for those of the *Low Guienne*, who were the first that held such Assemblies, suffered themselves

to

* These Provincial Assemblies were absolutely necessary to hear and receive the Account which their Representatives were to give them of what had been transacted in the General, and nothing could be worse than the Duke of *Bouillon's* Advice to the Queen to hinder them.

Lewis 13. to be carried beyond Bounds through the Heat
1612. of their Temper; and refused to receive the
Pope Commissaries. Their Example was followed
Paul V. by those of *Xaintonge, Poitou, Anjou, Brittany,*
 &c. Not that but several of them approved *Du*
Plessis's Counsel, but they were afraid to create
 a new Division amongst themselves, thro' that
 Diversity in their Conduct. And indeed, in
 the very Province of *Low Guienne*, who had
 the first declared themselves against the Recep-
 tion of the Commissaries, several private Cities
 admitted them. Wherefore the other Provin-
 ces who had refused, were very uneasy about it.
 Now, ten of these Provincial Assemblies were
 unanimous in this Point, to send Deputies in the
 name of the whole Body to their Majesties, to
 complain of the hard Usage they had received
 in the last general Assembly, and most humbly
 to require a Redress of their Grievances specifi-
 ed in their Petitions.

They sent They were received by the general Deputies,
Deputies to as if they had been sent by the whole Body, be-
Court. cause they were sent by the greatest Number.

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But that was all the Favour they could get : for tho' the Ministers, after having consulted *Du Plessis* by *Du Maurier*, whom they sent express for that purpose, to know what could be granted unto them as to the Grievances they complained of, were well disposed at first to follow his Advice : Nevertheless, thro' the Insinuations of the Duke of *Bouillon*, they altered their Mind ; for he remonstrated, that, to give them any Satisfaction in that way, would prove a Disparagement to himself and his Party, as if their Interest was so inconsiderable at Court as not to be able to obtain any Favour ; besides that it would be an Encouragement to Disobedience, were those private and unlawful Assemblies treated like the General. These illusory Remonstrances, had their desired Effect ; the Deputies were dismissed without an Answer to their Petitions ; nay, they received their Dismission in writing, without being admitted to an Audience of Leave ; which Writing, being framed after the Duke of *Bouillon's* Taste, was scandalous and defamatory. And whereas the Council was sensible of the Mischief wherewith such an extraordinary Proceeding may be attended, they thought to put a Plaster upon that Wound, but indeed it was a Plaster worse than the Wound it self. They issued out a Proclamation, abolishing what was past, whereby, on pretence of abolishing the sham Crime, they rendered them actually criminal. All the *Reformed Churches*, being conscious of their own Innocence and strict Fidelity, exclaimed against this Act of Oblivion, more than they had ever done against any Persecution. But more of this in the Sequel of the Events of this Year.

It is a common saying, that what is more excellent grows the worse, when it falls into Corruption

Lewis 13.
1612.
Pope Paul
V.

And ill received and dismissed.

Some Reflections upon the Marshal of Bouillon's Conduct.

Lewis 13 1612. **Pope Paul V.** ruption. This was the Duke of *Bouillon's* Case; he carried his unjust Revenge against *Du Plessis*, far beyond the common Rules of Honesty, and was not ashamed even to forge notorious Calumnies against that upright Man; for he did not scruple to publish that he kept Correspondence with foreign Princes, and that only because he had dedicated a Book of Meditations to King *James I.* and had sent one of his Gentlemen to present it to His *British* Majesty who was a Friend and Ally of the Crown of *France*, as were likewise the Elector *Palatine*, Prince *Maurice* of *Orange*, and some other protestant Princes; with whom, indeed, he kept Correspondence, not only with the Permission, but even at the Command of the late King. Nay, the said Duke went further, for he libelled that good Gentleman, and endeavoured to render him suspected amongst the *Reformed Churches*, giving them to understand by a Libel which he published, that *Du Plessis* was the only Occasion of the Repulse they had met at Court, &c. Tho' *Du Plessis*

how dangerous it is, to suffer one's self to be carried away through the Passion of Revenge ; there is nothing too base for a Man who will indulge himself that way ; his Passion clouds his Understanding to that degree, that things appear unto him under a quite different Shape than naturally they are ; the frantick Violence of that Passion represents things unto him as just and praise-worthy, which he would himself deem the most unjust and unworthy, did he consider them soberly and calmly. The Duke of *Bouillon* was certainly a Lord endowed of all these Qualifications which adorn a truly *Great Man*, and enable him to be most useful and serviceable to the Party which he does espouse ; and indeed none had better deserved esteem than him, either from the King or the Kingdom, before this time we are now speaking of. But, how small, how base, how despicable did he become for several years together, when he suffered himself to be enslaved by that tyrannical Passion ; he kindled a fire which could never be smothered but under the Ruins of our Liberties and Privileges.

All the Reformed and Protestants within and without the Kingdom, dreading the Mischiefs which might insue from these Divisions, endeavoured to compose them and reconcile together the Heads of the Party. The Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, the Embassadors of *Great-Britain*, of the *Low Countries*, of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, and others, wrote to *Du Plessis* upon that account, rather as to a Mediator, than to an offended Party, desiring his Advice upon it. He let them know, that for his own part, he was ready to do and to suffer any thing for obtaining the desired End, but that the Obstinacy of some and the Partiality of others started every day

Lewis 13.
1612.
Pope Paul
V.

Endea-
vours to
procure a
Reconcili-
ation.

Lewis 13-day new Difficulties in the way. However he
 1612. thought proper to refer the whole Matter to
 Pope Paul V. the *National Synod* which was to meet in *May*
 this Year at *Privaz*, in *Low Languedoc*; and
 accordingly the Deputies of the Provinces of
Anjou, *Maine*, and *Touraine*, were charged to
 require the *National Synod* to interpose its Au-
 thority to procure that Reconciliation. (d)

Rashness of But while they were making these Preparati-
of the Duke ons, *Du Pleffis* was put to fresh troubles, through
of Roban. the Duke of *Roban* and his Brother the Duke of
Soubize's Rashness. If we believe the Duke of
Roban, the Duke of *Bouillon* was so much ex-
 asperated against him on account of what had
 passed at *Saumur*, that he made an ill use of his
 Interest with the Queen to ruin him, and endea-
 voured to turn him out of his Government of
St. John of Angely, which the late King had be-
 stowed upon him. Being well informed of the
 ill Offices that were done to him at Court, the
 Duke of *Roban* went thither at the King's
 first Summons, in order to justify himself. All
 his Apologies were not sufficient to dispel the

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 577

Business; when the Duke was arrived, he sent him word, forbidding him to come again into the Town, and at the same time, he dispatched *Tenis* to Court, to acquaint their Majesties with the Reasons of his Conduct. Lewis 13.
1612.
Pope Paul
V.

Now the time of the Election of a Mayor being come, a Messenger arrived from Court with Orders to continue the ancient Mayor a Year longer, because of the Divisions which were rise in the Town, with Promises however that this would not be drawn as a Precedent for the future, and that the Privileges of the Townsmen should be inviolably kept intire. Thereupon the Duke of *Roban* not considering enough the rashness of such an Attempt upon the Royal Authority, protested against that Order, saying that the King's Name had been abused, and that it concerned his Majesty's Service, and the publick Safety to proceed to the Election of a new Mayor, being in hopes to have it agreed at Court, where he was sending his Secretary.

Now the Marshal of *Bouillon* thinking rightly that the Duke of *Roban* would oppose to the least Continuation of the ancient Mayor, as a thing very prejudicial to his Interest, engaged the Queen Regent to send more positive Orders upon that Subject, which arrived at *St. John* two days after the first. But the said Duke * *considering that his own Loss would be of course the Consequence of St. John*, thought that the least Danger for him was to secure well the Town; which having done, he did not scruple to oppose the Court's Orders, as prejudicial to the King's Service, and to proceed to the Election of a Mayor, with the usual Formalities, that is, three

* This has been always the chief Inducement for the Head of a Party to begin Hostilities against the other;
LEARN DEAREST SELF-INTEREST!

Lewis 13. three Burgesſes were named, and their Names ſent to the King, in order to pick one out of them; and for the greater Security of the Town the Keys of the Gates were put into the ſh Sheriff's hands.

1612.
Pope Paul
V.

This Proceeding of the Duke, made a great noiſe at Court, and provoked the Queen ſufficiently to that degree, that ſhe ordered his two Deputies to be clapt into the *Baſtile*; and ſhe had the *Dutcheſſes* of *Roban*, Mother and Comfort, and his own ſiſter, to go out of *Paris*, as it was propoſed in the Council to ſend *Troc* againſt him, and beſiege the Town of *St. Jol*. On the other hand, the Duke knowing very well the Intereſt his Enemies had at Court, and that they would not fail to ſurpriſe him if they could, took care to ſend notice of his Affairs to the Reformed Churches throughout ſeveral Provinces of the Kingdom, and gave them to underſtand * *that the Hatred conceived at him, proceeded from his Zeal for their Welfare; that his own Ruin, and the Loſs of St. Jol*

and more to exasperate the Queen against him. (f) Lewis 13.
1612. §
Pope Paul
V.

However, without relaxing the warlike Preparations, the Court thought proper to try the way of Negotiation, for which purpose the Queen sent Mr. *De Tbemines* Seneschal of *Quercy* to the Duke, to endeavour to make him sensible of his Fault, and to compose that Difference in a way suitable to the King's Dignity.

Du Pleffis, having had timely notice of this Message, joined his Intreaties to the Duchess Dowager of *Roban's*, to oblige him to prevent the Danger wherewith he was threatned, by a reasonable Treaty, yielding to the King what he oweth to his Sovereign, and preserving *St. John* safe. *Tbemines* was a Gentleman very fit for the Business he had taken upon him, he managed the Duke with such a Dexterity, that he persuaded him to yield to the good Advices and earnest Intreaties of his best Friends, and dearest Relations; so that notwithstanding the Uneasiness of the Youth that surrounded him, who breathed nothing else but War, it was at last agreed, that the Keys of the Town should be put again for eight days into the hands of the ancient Mayor; that they should make a new Election of three, whereof the King should pick one out to be Mayor; that before all, *Rochebeaucourt* and *Foucault* should come into the Town, and perform the Duties of their respective Charge, but that *Foucault* should go out of the Town instantly after. Thus the King's Authority was satisfied, and the Town secured to the Duke. But as he mistrusted *La Rochebeaucourt*, who was his Lieutenant, every day some new Accidents galled him, which always created new Troubles

Qq

to

(f) Vie de *Du Pleffis*. Liv. iii. p. 361. 62. Mem. & Lettres du même Tom. iii. p. 351—379.

Lewis 13. to the good *Du Plessis* through the Injustice of
 the Court, especially the Duke of *Bouillon's* Ma-
 lice. (g)

1612.
Pope Paul
V.

I have plainly enough intimated my Thoughts about that Affair in the two Notes of the foregoing Page, grounded upon *Du Plessis's* own Opinion, who tho' very little satisfied with the Court's Proceedings, either in general towards the whole Body of the Reformed, or in particular towards the Duke of *Roban*; nevertheless could not forbear blaming this Lord's Conduct as too forward and rash.

The Duke
of Bouil-
lon Am-
bassador in
England.

During these Transactions the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon* was sent Embassador into *England*; he was charged to give King *James* Notice of the double Marriage between *France* and *Spain*, and assure His *British* Majesty, that this double Alliance would cause no Alteration to that subsisting between the two Crowns of *Great Britain* and *France*. He had taken upon himself to engage that Prince to condemn the Proceedings of the Assembly of *Saumur*, and to prepossess him against

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the Marriage of the young Elector *Palatine*, his Nephew by his Lady, with the Princess of *England*, which was accomplished about the latter end of this year. Howbeit, it is to be observed that the Duke of *Roban* questioning not in the least, but that the Marshal would play him some foul Trick, had bribed to his Interest a Gentleman of the Ambassador's Retinue, by whom he got King *James* thoroughly informed of the truth of the Transactions at *Saumur*; so that when the Ambassador spoke to his Majesty upon that Score, he answered him, *If the Queen your Mistress has a mind to infringe the Edicts granted to the Reformed of her Kingdom, I don't pretend that the Alliance done and ratified by me with France, should binder me from assisting and protecting them. Whenever my Neighbours are aggrieved by a Cause wherein I am my self concerned, the Natural Right requires of me, that I should prevent the Evil which might therefrom befall me. Believe me, M. Marshal, added he, you must be reconciled with the Duke of Rohan. I will let him know, that I desire that you should live friendly together.* Oh! That he should have had always such a Heart and such a Mind! This happened at *London* in *April*; but not a word thereof in *Rapin's History* (b).

Now the 20th National Synod met at *Privaz* on the 23d of *May*, according to Appointment. The Revd. Mr *Chamier*, Minister at *Montelimar*, was chosen Moderator; the Revd. Mr. *Peter Du Moulin*, Minister at *Charenton*, Assessor; the Revd. Mr. *Stephen Montsanglard*, Minister at *Corbigny*, and Mr. *Stephen Maniald*, Elder of the Church of *Bourdeaux*, Secretaries. But before they proceeded to that Election, the Minister of *Privaz* was impower'd to tender an

Q q 2

Oath

(b) Mem. du Duc De Roban, Liv. 1. p. 27.

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Lewis 13. Oath to all the Deputies, whereby they declared, that neither directly nor indirectly they had not procured to be deputed to the said Synod by their Principals. After the Election was over, they took an Oath of Union, promising to have it ratified, in, and by, all the Provinces who had deputed them. After the reading and approving of the Confession of Faith and Church-Discipline, with some inconsiderable Alterations and Additions, the Revd. Mr. *Chamier* presented his *Panstratia Catholica* unto the Synod, and received the Thanks of the Assembly for the great Progress he had made in that Work, and was earnestly intreated to finish it, and to print the three first Volumes at once; and to help him to support the necessary Charges, the Sum of two Thousand Livres was ordered to be paid him out of hand. The Revd. Mr. *Perrin* presenting likewise his History of the *Waldenses* and *Albigenses*, received the Thanks of the Assembly, and a Gratuity of three Hundred Livres. But in the next National Synod held at *Ton-*
neuse in May 1614, both these Books were

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this very Synod to itself, but *being better ad-* Lewis 13.
sised, and considering; because of a Decree pas- 1612.
 sed for translating the Revd. *Jeremiab Fer-* Pope Paul
rier from the Church of *Nimes*, where he served V.
 as Minister and Professor, to another; and that
 on account of some Misdemeanours of his, and
 Suspicion of something worse: I shall account
 for the whole Affair, when I shall relate the
 Transactions of the next National Synod, where-
 in he was deposed and excommunicated. Then
 they took into their Consideration His Majesty's
 Letters of Pardon, published on the 24th of *A-*
pril, in behalf of those who had called or assist-
 ed at the Provincial Assemblies held in most
 parts of the Provinces after the General, stiling
 them unlawful, as being held without Royal
 Permission.

To understand this, one must observe, that
 it had always been usual amongst the Reform-
 ed, after their general political Assemblies, to hold
 Provincial Ones, without waiting for the Court's
 Licence, there to give an account of what had
 been done in the General, how the Representa-
 tives had acquitted themselves of the Trust re-
 posed in them by their Principals, what Ob-
 structions they had met, what Concessions they
 had obtained, what Regulations had been made,
 &c. &c. That was very necessary to be done,
 and it could not be done in any other way. The
 late King had been so sensible of this, that he
 never took amiss these Provincial Assemblies,
 tho' they were all held without his Special Li-
 cence. That was supposed in the dismissory
 Letters, whereby the King put an end to the Ses-
 sions of the General; the Representatives were
 exhorted to break up, and to go and inform
 their respective Provinces of what they had
 transacted: These were the very Words of the

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Queen Regent's dismissory Letters to the Assembly of *Saumur*, nay, the King's Officers had convened in several Provinces these Assemblies, as soon as the Representatives were arrived home from *Saumur*. What more? The very Instructions given to the Commissaries sent by the Court into the several Provinces, to cause, as they pretended, the Edicts and other Concessions to be executed, and supposed them as plain as the Light at Mid-day. So that this was but a wicked and malicious Device of the Marshal of *Bouillon*, to compleat, if he could, his Revenge, by rendering Criminals those whose Fidelity and strict Adherence to the welfare of the common Cause, made them less obsequious to his Will, and put an Obstacle to his ambitious Prospects. No wonder then, if the Reformed who were conscious of having done nothing against the Edicts of the former Kings, exclaimed so much against the said Proclamation, and if they refused, few excepted, to take any advantage from, or to make any use of it.

When it was read in the Synod. it raised

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might hereafter deprive them of that true ho- Lewis 13.
nour and glory which was ever ascribed to them, 1612.
of being true *Frenchmen*, and to be reputed by Pope Paul
Foreigners, the most loyal and most faithful V.
Subjects of his Majesty, and the most affection-
ate unto his Government.

Moreover they did declare, that they would not in the least make any use of these Letters of Abolition and Pardon, and that they did disavow those Persons, if there be any such, as had accepted, and consented to them. And they declared those Persons, whoever they be, who had demanded, or shall demand them or approve them, to have acted or to act contrary to the sincerity of their Intentions, and to their approved Loyalty and Fidelity, &c.

Another weighty Affair, which they undertook was the Reconciliation between the great Lords of their Party, after having maturely considered the properest Means to obtain that most desired end. They drew up an Act, the Preamble thereof runs thus :

“ The present National Synod of the Re-
“ formed Churches in this Kingdom, desiring
“ to secure the Peace and Union of the said
“ Churches, and burning with the Zeal of the
“ House and Glory of God, and grieved to see
“ Satan sowing the Seeds of Discord amongus,
“ which redound to the infamy and the weak-
“ ning of the said Churches, and may hereafter
“ produce worse, and more dangerous Effects ;
“ moved with Charity towards the Members
“ of our Body, and being willing to make some
“ Provision for a fraternal Concord, as being an
“ indispensable Duty of all the Faithful, hath,
“ and doth now resolve to exert it self, even to
“ the utmost, for obtaining a blessed and holy

Lewis 13. "Peace and Re-Union among ourselves under
1612. "their Majesties Authority"

Pope Paul
V.

Then they proceed by declaring those whom they had chosen to be Mediators, namely the two general Deputies, the Revd. Messieurs *De Moulin* and *Durant*, and *De L'Isle Grosset* Esq; Elder of the Church of *Orleans*. Then they exhort all Persons to endeavour to have the Memory of what was past buried in Oblivion, and in the name of all the Reformed Churches to become Peace-makers, that so the several Humours and different Opinions risen up in the Assembly of *Saumur* may be allayed and composed, &c. and this to be done according to the Methods and Advices prescribed by this Assembly, whereunto they may make such Additions as their Zeal and Prudence shall suggest; and they shall diligently and conjointly inform the Provinces of their Progress herein, together with the result and success of their Mediation. It was also resolved to exhort by Letters the Marshals of *Bouillon* and *Les Diguieres*, that they

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Letters to those to whom they were directed. Lewis 13.

After having given the necessary Instructions to these several Commissaries, according to the Temper of those near whom they were to act as Mediators in the Synod's Name ; settled the Accounts of the Sums of Money allowed for the Churches ; expressly charged the general Deputies at Court, to insist upon the Redress of the Grievances complained of in the Bill presented by the Assembly of *Saumur*, and which remained till then unredrest ; and made such other Regulations usual in such like Assemblies ; they put an end to their Sessions the fourth of July, having sat for about six Weeks (j).

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Pope Paul
V.

The five Commissaries Mediators were no sooner arrived at *Paris*, but they began to discharge their Commission ; for which end, having concerted and drawn up an Act of Re-union, they did all their Endeavours to persuade the Marshals of *Bouillon* and *Les Diguieres*, who started every day some new Difficulty, but at last were prevailed upon to sign the said Act ; the Count of *Chatillon* signed likewise : Then the Lord *De Rouvray*, and the Revd. Mr. *Durant* set out upon the same Errand for *St. John of Angely*, and took their way through *Saumur*, where *Du Plessis* very readily signed the said Act, and promised them, at their Instances, to join his good Offices to engage the Duke of *Roban* to sign likewise, if the said Duke required his Presence. Indeed the violent Means they put in use on both sides (the Court and the Duke of *Roban*) fomented and increased the Disease every day. *Roban*, in order to secure himself, expelled out of the Town those whom he suspected ; and the Queen, in order to pre-serve

Success of
the Media-
tors Nego-
tiation.

(j) *Quick's Synodicon*, Tom. i. *Aymond Synodes Nationaux*, Tom. i.

Lewis 3. serve the Royal Dignity, used all the Rigours
 1612 of Justice against those who fell into her hands,
 Pope Paul and was ready to take the Field to march a-
 V. gainst the Duke; for none of the Articles of
 the Treaty made with *Themines* had been exe-
 cuted, so that a War seemed unavoidable.

When the two Commissaries Mediators had opened their Commission, and presented to the Duke the Act of Re-union, he made no great difficulty, but desired only to confer with *Du Plessis* upon that Subject, and the present Situation of his Affairs. He sent a Messenger express to him, to desire him to come to *St. John*, whereunto having complied, the Duke signed the said Act. I can't imagine where the Revd. Mr. *Benoit* found what he says, that the Duke refused to sign that Instrument; contrary, not only to the Duke's own Memoirs, but likewise to what *Du Plessis* affirms positively in his Letter to the Pastors, Professors, and Elders of the Church of *Montauban*, dated at *St. John* the 10th of September, 1612. wherein he says that *Messes De Rohan* and *De*

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That when any of the Provinces should be aggrieved, and could not obtain a just and reasonable Satisfaction, that Province should require the Neighbouring to send their Deputies at a certain Place of its own appointment, to consult together about means of obtaining a Redress. But then, that was to be done only upon the greatest Emergencies: (which indeed was not the Case of the Duke of Rohan.) Much surprized at this unexpected Turn, *Du Plessis* remonstrated to the Duke, the two Commissioners present, that he had involved himself in an Affair, whereof it was his Interest to be rid as soon as possible; that neither Conscience nor Prudence could allow him to determine for War, as long as there were some other Means left to be tried; that without an absolute necessity, War will neither be supported at home, nor approved abroad, and consequently it could be but detrimental to himself. Then he desired him to let him know what Terms he could require, that his Friends and Servants would endeavour to obtain them for him. He told them that he desired that the Queen should deprive *La Rubebaucourt* and *Foucault* of their Places in *St. John*, and give him the company of the first, and liberty to name himself a Lieutenant-Governour of the Town; that his own, his Brother and their Friends Pensions, should be restored unto them with the Arrears; that those who had been put to trouble upon his Account, should be released. As to the first Article, *Du Plessis* told him, that it would be hard to the Queen, in a manner to degrade those whom she thought had well deserved of her; nevertheless that they ought to try all possible Means to persuade her Majesty to grant these Demands.

Therefore, having obtained of the Duke that the

Lewis 13. the Assembly of the Circle *, which was appointed for the 20th of *September*, should be put off to the 20th of *October*; he wrote to the Queen, to the Princes of the Blood, and to the principal Ministers of State, and told them with his usual Freedom, “that they were very much deceived by those who gave them to understand that the Affairs of *St. John* was a private one; for the security of a Place granted to the whole Reformed Body as a Cautionary Town, lies at stake; and that the Duke of *Roban* was not considered amongst them as a private, but as a publick Person; that all the neighbouring Provinces were concerned in the preservation of the Place, as if it were their Ravelin, and that the further distant joined every day their Interest with it; that he was not ignorant that his Advices were rendered suspected at Court, but he questioned not, but at last they would be proved faithful and true.” These Letters had their Effects in due time, notwithstanding

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V.

* So they
called the
six confederate
Provinces.

being advised by *Montjoy* himself, was left almost for dead upon the place ; the Queen understanding, she was justly killed at, and ordered the Horse to march in all haste into *Anjou*, and charged the Duke of *Bois Dauphin*, Governour of the Province to provide them with good Quarters. Upon *Du Plessis's* Remonstrances and at his solicitation, these Troops were countermand-

ed and several other Broils at Court kept the Affairs at a stand, so that the general Estates could not obtain a definitive Answer to the Pretensions of the Duke of *Roban*, and several Articles, whereupon the Synod of *Paris* had expressly charged them to demand a Parliament, at the time appointed for the meeting of the Circle ; therefore a further delay of the Parliament was obtained, which was put off to the 15th of *November*, under promise that the King would give them full Satisfaction before the expiration of that Term.

Accordingly, *Marbault* one of the King's

Lewis 13. Town for eight or ten Days only, after which
1612. Term her Majesty would provide for him else-
Pope Paul where. (She gave him the Government of *Cha-*
IV. *telberaud*, which became vacant just at that
time.) As to the Reformed in general, his Ma-
jesty promised to relieve them of the Obligation
of subscribing themselves *of the pretended Re-*
formed Religion; that he would exempt the Mi-
nisters from all manner of Taxes and Subsidies,
as the Roman Clergy were; that he would re-
store to the Synods National and Provincial, the
same Liberty they had formerly enjoyed, and
the free Exercise of their Discipline; that he
would abrogate all Acts, Letters, Decrees, and
Expeditions published against the Reformed
since the Assembly of *Saumur*; that even he
would allow them their Provincial Councils,
provided they should use modesty of them, as
they did under the late King; as for the rest of
the Grievances of the other Provinces, especial-
ly of *Languedoc*, *Roüergue*, and *Guienne*, they
should be speedily redressed.

: Duke of *Roban*, and the Reformed of his
, because being one of the Representatives
: said Assembly of *Saumur*, he had sided
the Duke of *Bouillon*. That was not, say
e only occasion of *Saugeon's* Journey into
Ledoc, *Guienne*, and *Gascony*, but he had
e also from *Roban* to confer with the prin-
Lords and Gentlemen of these Provinces,
o know how far they may be depended
in case he was obliged to take up Arms ;
e to say, to speak plainly, that he was en-
tering to cause an Insurrection in those Pro-
e. The Queen having got Intelligence of
sent Orders to the Constable who was then
Government of *Languedoc*, and to others
er Places, to stop the said Baron of *Sauge-*
herever he could be arrested ; which Or-
ould not be executed but at his Return, as
me back from *Languedoc*, he was stopt
Argne, and brought Prisoner of State to
ranche. The Duke of *Roban* had just
received that News, when he received *Du*
Letter, and was quite out of his Wits at

Lewis 13. *Saugeron* would receive no harm; the whole up
 1612. on this Condition that there would be no meet-
 Pope Paul V. ing of the Assembly, neither at *St. John*, or at
Rochelle.

He took his way through *Saumur*, and engaged the Governour to come along with him they went to *St. John*, but could not prevail with the Duke of *Roban* either to give them any positive Word, or to come with them to *Rochelle*, tho' he pretended to desire Peace earnestly.

In this last City they were very honourably received by the Lord-Mayor and the Common-Council, and all the People, but not so well by the Assembly, where *Hautefontaine* and the other Agents of the Duke, and other hot-brain'd Men like them, did their utmost Efforts to bring things to sad Extremities, and did every thing with such a hurry in their Conventicles, that it was plain enough that the Lords *Du Plais* and *De Rouvray* were become odious unto them, only because they opposed their rash

puty-General promised at their Instances, that he should endeavour to procure several other Articles, which it did not belong unto them, but to a General Assembly, to require.

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Two Things happened at the same time, which gave Suspicions to some, and fomented them in others. The Dutcheſs of *La Trimouille* coming to *Taillebourg*, a Strong-Hold upon the River *Charente*, three Leagues diſtant from *St. John d'Angely*, found Means to put out of the Caſtle one *La Sauſaye*, who commanded therein, but was in the Intereſt of the Duke of *Roban*, and eſtabliſhed in his ſtead one *De La Garenne*; which Change cauſed ſome Uneaſineſs to the *Rocheleſe*: But *Du Pleſſis* kept them up upon that ſcore. The other Thing was, That four Ships which had been fitted out in *Normandy* for a long Voyage, were forced by contrary Winds to enter the Port of *Brouage*, where they lay in order to reſit; but the Malecontents gave it out, that they were there in order to ſurpriſe *Rochele*: Which Calumny, however, was very eaſily confuted. The Lords *Du Pleſſis* and *Rou-vray* ſet out from *Rochele*; the firſt for *Saumur*, where he went without going to *St. John*; and the other went Poſt to *Paris* with *Du Pleſſis's* Letters to the Queen, beſeeching her Majeſty, for the ſake of her own Intereſt, to command, that the Things which ſhe had been graciously pleaſed to grant ſhould be punctually executed in due Time.

The Court was ſomething provoked at the Rudeneſs of the Deputies of the Circle, which was entirely aſcribed to the Duke of *Roban*; nevertheless, upon the Remonſtrances of *Du Pleſſis*, and of the Deputies General, the Queen reſolved to perform the Promiſes made in her Name to the ſaid Aſſembly by the Lord *De*

Lewis 13. *Rouvray*: Only, being offended at the Proceed-
1612. ing of these Provincial Councils, she forbid them
Pope Paul expressly, and came to a Resolution to force the
V. *saïd Duke* and his Adherents to Obedience if
 they persisted obstinate; and for that End to
 take the Field at the Head of an Army, assist-
 ed by the Marshals of *Bouillon* and *Brissac*, and
 march directly to *Poitiers*, and from thence to
Saintes, or *Angoulême*; protecting those who
 should persist in their Allegiance, and seizing
 upon the Places who should offer any Resist-
 ance, and putting in them other Governours, to
 the liking of the Churches: Whereby indeed
 they would have been more and more divided
 among themselves, and by that Division would
 have been effectually ruined.

This threatening Danger obliged the General-
 Deputies to write to those who were already
 come to *Rochelle*, in order to open an Assembly
 on the 25th of *December*, "That the Queen
 " performed what she had promised; that if
 " they did not accept her Offers, the War was

Arguments that could be imagined to persuade him: Conscience, Religion, his own Reputation, the heaviest Judgment of God; all these Things were set before his Eyes, to oblige him to desist, but all in vain. He told *Bouchereau*, That he would consider these Reasons; and that there were others against it: But that, at all Events, he was resolved to follow the Opinions and Motions of those that were assembled at *Rockelle*, without letting them know his own Sentiments, because he would not lose his Credit. It is pretended, that he was much moved at the reading *Du Plessis's* Letter, and hearing the Revd. Mr. *Bouchereau's* Speech; nay, that he let some Tears drop from his Eyes.

However, seeing that Inflexibility, *Du Plessis* wrote to the Lord Mayor of *Rockelle*, and to the President, who were lately come from Court. He wrote likewise to the Deputies of *Anjou*, desiring them to show his Letters to the most notable, and the most understanding and capable of Reason of the Assembly. These Letters, conjointly with the prudent Management of the said Deputies, effectually worked upon the Minds of the City's Council; who, notwithstanding the Rage of the Rabble, which had been excited by *Roban's* Adherents, declared, That there was no further Occasion for holding that Assembly; *That they ought to avoid whatever should conduce directly or indirectly to Trouble, and accept with all Humility and Thankfulness the Things graciously granted by her Majesty, and send Deputies to thank her on that account: And that as to the Duke of Rohan, proper Persons ought to be sent unto him, to exhort him to submit himself to this Declaration.*

But the Duke's Adherents, vexed at this Turn of Affairs, so much contrary to their Ex-

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V.

pectation, sent him word, that he must come himself to *Rochelle*, they being not strong enough to oppose the Stream. He came, and did what he could, by the means of the Rabble, to force the Magistrates to retract their Declaration. The Sedition went so far, that they were very near to cut one another's Throats: But by the Prudence and Courage of the Lord Mayor, who prevailed with the principal Wards, the Evil was prevented, and *Roban* himself at last was forced to yield to the abovesaid Declaration. He sent an Agent to Court, to ask pardon for his past Follies, which was readily granted; and every thing which had been promised unto him were punctually performed, as well as the Articles wherein the Reformed in general were concerned; as he himself acknowledges it in his *Memoirs*. As to the Article concerning the Provincial Councils, for which the Queen Regent shew'd so great a Reluctancy, she consented at last to suffer them, though only by word of Mouth, provided they should keep themselves in that Moderation usual among them

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the following Reflexions, which I submit to the ^{Lewis 13.}
judicious Reader's Consideration. ^{1612.}

The first is, That Power without Prudence, ^{Pope Paul V.}
is as a Knife in the hands of a Mad-man. The ^{Some Re-}
Queen, not considering from what Cause the ^{flexions up-}
violent Counsels of the Marshal of *Bouillon* pro- ^{on the}
ceeded, in order to make a show of her Autho- ^{whole Af-}
rity, attempted to incroach upon the Rights and ^{fair.}
Privileges, and to invade the Liberties and Pro-
perties, which the Inhabitants of *Rockelle*, *St.*
John, and other Cities, had enjoyed from Time
out of Mind; and which had been confirmed
unto them by several Edicts and Declarations
of the Kings, Predecessors of his Majesty, and
that at a Time when the Court was divided in-
to several Parties, and that a general Discontent
against the Government was prevailing all over
the Kingdom. She exposed, without any just
Cause, the Royal Authority. Indeed that is a
piece of Folly unpardonable in a Princess, who
set up herself for a Wit and a great Politician;
and those State-Ministers and Courtiers, who,
for gratifying their own Avarice, Ambition or
Revenge, put their Masters upon Attempts, the
Issue whereof, considering the Circumstances, can
be only shameful to them and their Crown, de-
serve the utmost Severity of the Law.

The Princes who blindly suffer themselves to
be imposed upon by the private Passions of their
Ministers, Courtiers and Favourites, without con-
sidering the Justice and Reasonableness of their
Undertaking, justly deserve the Troubles and
Vexations they are put into, and which are but
the natural Result of their rash Attempts. When
Bouillon persuaded the Queen to interfere in the
Elections of *St. John* and *Rockelle*, he had a
mind to be revenged of the Injury he falsely pre-
tended to have received at *Saumur*. He did not

Lewis 13. care whether he wronged his Brethren in one of
 1612. the tenderest Points of their Liberties or not;
 Pope Paul provided he could gratify his Passion: He was
 V. not also out of hopes of making his best of these
 Broils, and of fishing in troubled Waters; but
 when he saw that, after having engaged, *mal-à-propos*, the King's Authority, the Affairs took
 another Turn than he had expected, then, for
 avoiding the Reproaches of the Court, he went
 to *Sedan*, and left the imprudent Queen in
 the Lurch, to extricate herself the best way she
 could out of the Maze wherein he had led her
 himself; for which purpose she was obliged to
 grant several Things, which she had refused to
 the Assembly of *Saumur*.

Secondly, But these Proceedings of the Court
 cannot any ways justify the Duke of *Roban's*
 Behaviour. A faithful Subject is at all times
 obliged to pay a great Regard to the Royal Au-
 thority, and more especially during the Prince's
 Minority. And it is to no purpose to say, that
 it is sometimes proper to prevent, to avoid the
 being prevented; such a Foresight, on such an
 Occasion, when the Respect and Obedience due

Charity, which hath no Motives in view but the Glory of God, and the Happiness of the Society whereof he is a Member; and another whose Zeal is conducted only by a certain Heat of Temper, and animated by Pride, Ambition, Avarice, and such other inordinate Appetites. The first makes every thing he is master of subservient to the promoting of the great End he proposes to himself, the Glory of God, and the Happiness of Society; nay, he thinks to buy these Advantages at a cheap Rate, if it is only at the Loss of his own Fortune, and even of his own Life. The second makes every thing subservient to the Gratification of his own Desires, the Glory of God, Honour of Religion, Peace and Welfare of the Society; nothing is too dear for compassing his Ends. Of this we have a great Instance in the different Conduct of *Du Plessis*, and the Duke of *Roban*: They were both exposed to the Frowns of the Court, and had to suffer several Wrongs and Injustices from the Ministers and the Courtiers; though it is certain, that *Du Plessis* had a far greater Share to bear in them than the Duke. Nevertheless, what wide Difference in their Sentiments and Conduct! Let us hear *Du Plessis*, at the Beginning of these Broils, when, through the Duke of *Bouillon*, and other his Enemies, he was like to be involved under the Duke of *Roban*'s Disobedience, and threatned with a Royal Army, which might easily seize upon *Saumur* in its way to *St. John*. “ If I do fortify myself, *did he*
“ *say to his Friends*, if I do call my Friends to
“ assist me, I shall be attacked under pretence
“ of Rebellion. On the other hand, if I do
“ not take the necessary Precautions, I leave
“ a cautionary Town, trusted to my Care, to
“ the Mercy of our Enemies. However, let

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Lewis 13. " us run the risk to sink under their Force or
 1612. " Injustice, rather than to increase the Hatred
 Pope Paul " they are already animated with against our
 V. " Religion, by affording them a new Pretence
 " to charge us with Rebellion. What Crime
 " can I be upbraided with? I fear neither
 " the Perquisitions nor the Informations. Why
 " should they tax me with the present Broils?
 " I have no hand at all in the Duke of *Roban's*
 " Affair. To attack me on account of my Re-
 " ligion, that would be to have a mind to set
 " the whole Kingdom in a blaze (*l*).^o So speak-
 eth that judicious Gentleman: His Zeal for the
 Honour of Religion did not allow him to ap-
 prove of any violent Method for obtaining the
 Redress of some Grievances, without the highest
 Provocation, and when all other Methods pro-
 ved ineffectual.

On the contrary, the Zeal of the Duke of
Roban being guided by Pride and Ambition, he
 followed the Impulses of his Passion; he acts
 the King at *St. John*, he tramples upon the Royal
 Authority of his Sovereign: not contented with

murdered at the Battle of *Jarnac* in

By his Death, which had happened at
beginning of *November* last Year, several
ignities and Preferments became vacant,
governments of *Dauphiné* and *Normandy*,
the Great Mastership of the King's House-
his Son succeeded to this last, and to the
governement of *Dauphiné*: As to that of *Nor-*
it was the Subject of several Intrigues,
having no relation at all to our Histo-
shall omit them.

the Prince had formed very vast Designs in
and, when he was surprised by Death. It
that he kept a very strict Correspondence
Henry, Prince of *Wales*, (who died but a few
before him) *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, the
of *Savoy*, and the Reformed Party, at
those who adhered to the Duke of *Roban*;
at this last, seeing that he was dissatisfied
the present Government, sent him Offers of
Interests and Services. It is further said,
he had so much insisted upon the Grant of
private Government of *Quillebeuf* in *Nor-*
only that he might be in better condi-

Lewis 13. more formidable to the Ministers and Courtiers,
 1613. than the Prince of Condé his Nephew.
 Pope Paul V.

The Reconciliation of the Duke of Rohan
 with *Du Plessis*, &c. is another Occurrence of
 this Year: For though that Duke had signed,
Reconcili- as above said, the Act of Re-union tendered un-
ation of to him by the Deputies of the Synod of *Privas*,
Du Plessis nevertheless his Heart agreed not with his Hand,
with because of the Circumstances he was then in; and
Rohan. whereas *Du Plessis* had openly opposed his De-
 signs, when his private Admonitions and In-
 treaties could not do, that had begotten a Cold-
 ness between them both; which however was
 easily made up through the Cares of the Du-
 chess Dowager of *Rohan*, at a Conference in one
 of her Houses in *Poitou*. As they talk'd to-
 gether, the Duke owned to *Du Plessis*, that in or-
 der to keep up his Interest amongst those who
 had assisted him, and mistrusting the Court, he
 had been carried out by his own Adherents far
 beyond what he intended. He agreed to cor-
 respond together for the future, as they had done
 before these Breach. And upon *Du Plessis's* Re-

the *Jesuits* into that City, had sent for one to ^{Lewis 1613.} preach upon a Holy-day. The Governour sent ^{Pope Paul V.} for the Sheriffs, and told them, that they ought not to have attempted such a thing without his own Approbation; that they could not be ignorant of the bad Opinion which the most sober People entertained of the *Jesuits*, after so many sinister Proofs they had given of their Wickedness, &c. The Sheriffs at first would deny the Fact, but at last they owned it, but promised withal, that nothing should be done in that respect but what he pleased. *Du Plessis*, in order to a full Conviction, shewed them one of the Articles of the late Edict; whereby it was expressly said, That no *Jesuit* should erect College, or have Habitation, or confess, or preach in any of the Cautionary Towns. Nevertheless that Affair was not at an end: The Sheriffs having acquainted the Officers with what they had done and heard, the said Officers came the next day to the Castle, with the Seneschal at their head, they insisted warmly upon the same thing, but *Du Plessis* stood inflexible; and whereas they endeavoured to wrest the Sense of that Article above-mentioned, he told them, *That the King in his Council would himself explain his own Law.* And having dismissed them, he sent an Express to the General-Deputies at Court, and four days after he had the Pleasure to receive the Approbation of their Majesties for what he had done (o).

There happened this Year an Insurrection at *Nîmes* on account of the Minister *Ferrier*, whereof I shall speak in the next Year, when I shall relate his Affair all in a Thread.

The Chamber of the Edict at *Paris* reversed the Sentence of the Judge of *Orleans*, who had ^{Justice done by the Chamber of the Edict at Paris.} adjudged

(o) Idem Ibid.

Lewis 13. adjudged to the Hospitals of this last City, and
1613. of *Remorantin*, a Legacy left by a Lady of
Pope Paul V. Quality, for the Maintenance of the Minister
 and Poor of the Church of this last Place. It
 was still a good Time, and the Judges that
 composed the Chambers of the Edict were still
 Men conspicuous for their Equity and Modera-
 tion, who had no Inclination to countenance the
 superstitious Iniquity of the inferior Magistrates.
 But that Time lasted not long.

*An Edict
 in behalf
 of the Bi-
 shop of
 Montpel-
 lier.*

The King granted an Edict to the Bishop of
Montpellier, (*his Name was Fenouillet, and he
 was beholden to the Duke of Sully for his Prefer-
 ment*) whereof the Reformed Inhabitants of that
 City heavily complained. That Edict gave
 him, or confirmed unto him, the Right of ma-
 king Regulations for the Government or Refor-
 mation of the University, of tendering the Oath
 to all those who were admitted into its Body,
 or who were provided of some Office in it; and
 generally of authorising and giving Sanction to
 all its Acts. The Reformed, who were the far

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 607

fair to be of greater Consequence than they had ^{Lewis 13.} imagined at first. ^{1613.}

This Year affords us several Occurrences well deserving our Attention; the Broils of the Court, the Consequences thereof, the National ^{Pope Paul V.} Synod of *Tonneins*, the King's Majority declared in Parliament, the Assembly of the States-General opened at *Paris*, are the principal Events which I shall summarily relate. ^{1614.}

The Princes were then very much dissatisfied with the Ministry, and that with some reason. ^{The Prince of Condé,} The extraordinary Favours which the Queen ^{with his} continually heaped upon the Marquis *D'Ancre*, ^{Adherents,} an *Italian* of little Worth, of obscure Birth, ^{absent from} and who could not so much as speak *French*, and his Wife *Galigai*, went so far that every body murmured at it; the Princes having no share in the Affairs, and these Foreigners alone governing at their own pleasure. The Prince of *Condé*, the Dukes of *Vendôme*, *Longueville*, *Mayenne*, Son to the famous Head of the *League*, and the Dukes of *Nevers* and *Piney Luxembourg*, with some others, made a League together against the Favourite. The Marshal of *Bouillon* was the hottest of them all, and the Manager of the said Union. He had entertained great Hopes of Preferment by his base Complaisance to the Court, and by shamefully betraying the Interest of the Reformed, and was deeply affected by the Disappointment he met with: for he was neglected by the Queen, whether it were that she observed that his Interest in the Reformed Party was far less than he bragg'd of, having been obliged to grant several things, at several times, which, at his Instigation, she had refused to the Assembly of *Saumur*; or that she dreaded the restless Spirit of that Lord, and did not care to entrust him with the Management.

Lewis 13. Management of any Affair of too great Importance. Howbeit, *Bouillon* found no better Means to shew his Resentment, than by engaging the Prince of *Condé* and the other great Lords above-named to form a Party against the Court. They all separated, each going a different Way, and appointed their *Rendezvous* at *Fismes* in *Champaign*, a Place not far from *Sedan*, and very conveniently situated, either to receive foreign Succours, in case they could obtain any, or to fly out of the Kingdom, if they were reduced to that Extremity. The Duke of *Vendôme* having been arrested at *Paris* and confined in the *Louvre*, could not follow them; but he found means to make his escape a few days after, and went into *Britanny*. The Marshal of *Bouillon* was the last who set out from *Paris*, and went to join the Confederates; he was cunning enough to make the Court believe that he was going to engage the Prince to come to a Reconciliation, when, on the contrary, he was the Man that hindered him from listening to any Treaty 'till he could find his own private

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 609

Nothing new was contained in it besides what ^{Lewis 13.} other Ring-leaders in a State-Party, who seek ^{1614.} nothing else but to subvert every thing in a ^{Pope Paul V.} Government, that they may fish in troubled Waters, in order to gratify their Ambition, or their Avarice, are used to say. The Show of an extraordinary Zeal for the publick Good ; and in order to be deemed sincere and disinterested, an Offer to resign his Pensions and other Gratuities into the King's hands, as soon as the States-General shall be assembled and in a Condition to act freely. In a word, if the METEMPSYCOSIS was a Truth to be believed, one would easily think, on reading this Manifesto, that the Soul of some of those honest *Grecians*, or *Romans*, of old times, nay the very Soul of *Henry of Condé*, who went for his Father, animated the Body of the Son. But if his Words shew'd forth the Hero, his Actions betrayed the selfish, base interested Man. His Complaints against the Government were but too well grounded : The vast Treasures of the Exchequer had been most prodigally squandered away ; the first Dignities and Employments bestowed upon the most unworthy People, most of them of the worst Character ; the State-Ministers bore the sway in every thing to the prejudice of the Princes of the Blood ; very little Regard was paid to the Princes, to the Peers of the Realm, to the great Officers of the Crown ; the Parliaments met with Obstructions in the Exercise of their Jurisdiction ; the Nobility was ruined ; the Offices of Judicature were sold at an extravagant Price ; the People groaned under Oppression ; a Neglect of calling the States-General ; a strange Hurry in concluding the King's Marriage before his Majority ; the Non-Performance and even the Violation of the

2

Edicts

... than the Queen's
some others, such as the wasting c
fury, the bestowing of Places upo
Subjects, &c. had been occasio
Prince's own Greediness ; so that
very difficult for the Queen to justify
to several of the Charges which Con
her Administration, as she did indeed,
swer, which was likewise a kind of

The Prince wrote also upon the
picks to the Parliament of *Paris*,
others, to the Governours of Prov
to several Princes, Officers of the C
other Lords of the first Quality ; but
very little Purpose, for the Parliam
most part of the Governours, &c.
refused to open his Letters, and sen
the Queen herself. *Le Vassor's* l
upon this Subject are quite misplac
King's Minority being so near at an
the States-General to be summoned,
where it was to be supposed that th
stration of the Government would
upon a better footing ; the Parliamen
its Duties.

and to delay the Ceremony of the King's Marriage 'till after the Sessions of the said States; these were two of the three Things whereupon *Condé* had insisted: the third was almost impracticable, to wit, that none but Persons of known Probity should be admitted to wait upon the King's Person; for how could that be done in such a degenerate Age?

Lewis 13.
1614.
Pope Paul
V.

Though the Queen took, from the Beginning, the Way of Negociation, to bring Matters to an Accommodation, nevertheless, it was thought proper in the King's Council, to make necessary Preparations to be ready at all Even's; accordingly, Colonel *Galatis* was sent into *Switzerland* to raise six thousand Men; and whereas the Duke of *Roban* was, by the late King's Appointment, Colonel-General of the *Switzers* in the Crown's Pay, and that the Queen mistrusted him, she found Means to engage him to resign that Place of his own accord, and to accept in lieu thereof a round Sum of Money, which *Bassompierre* (who succeeded him by the Queen's Favour) took care to have him paid out of hand*.

She prepares to oppose the Prince.

Now the better to engage the Prince and the Lords of his Party to enter into that Quarrel, the Marshal of *Bouillon* had been so forward as

The Prince
solicits the
Reformed.

* The Reverend Mr. *Benoit* mistakes much the Case, when he says, that the Queen resolved to deprive the Duke of his Charge, and that the Duke resigned of his own accord, lest he should be forced to do it without reaping any Advantage. The Queen was too good a Politician to afford the Reformed any Pretence to declare themselves for the Prince. The truth is, that the Duke himself was very glad of having an Opportunity of disposing advantageously of a Charge, which, in certain Circumstances like this, obliged him to attend the Court. He wanted Money to put himself in a Condition of executing the Design he had to head the discontented Reformed, whenever the Occasion should offer itself.

character of the Chief; so that it was difficult for *Du Plessis* to dissuade him. Nevertheless, the Prince was so well persuaded of the favour of the *Huguenots* towards him, which he wrote to their General at *Paris*, he extolled to the States for them, which had prompt care of their Concerns in his Majesty's Service. But the wise *Du Plessis* had been conversant with him, and had forewarned him how the Reformed ought to behave on this Occasion. He said, verily, on that Subject, reflecting upon the Prince's conduct, that the Prince had taken from him a Rule, *That a Man who balts as he comes out of House, is not in a capacity to go to Court; one who begins a Law-Suit by readily accepting of a Rule.* When the Prince's Manifesto, he was in conjunction with Mr. *Vander Myle*, the States to the Court of France, not imagine from whence proceeded the Prince of Condé's ...

But in vain.

respect, the Steps of their Ancestors. So that Lewis 13.
it will be always in the Pope's power to reconcile 1614.
them together whenever he will; in which case, Pope Paul
having too rashly shewed forth our Intentions, we V.
shall afford them a Pretence of questioning our Fi-
delity, so many times approved by the late King.
The Pope and his Followers will have occasion to
render us odious to their Majesties. But on the
contrary, if, during these Troubles, we do shew
forth that we are unwilling to take advantage of
them, we shall force even our Enemies to confess,
as they have done heretofore, that the Reformed
have helped to save the State. (p.)

The Marquis of Villarnoux was come to visit his Father-in-law Du Plessis, at the first Rumour of the Prince of Condé's Motion. He dispatched him back to Paris with Instructions for the General Deputies, tending to this Effect; that the Reformed Churches ought not to draw upon themselves the Reproach of having stirred on any other account besides the obtaining Liberty of Conscience; or else that it would be to betray the good Cause, did they mix with it some other Concerns purely civil; and that the Reformed, considered as such, ought not to concern themselves with the Reformation of the State. Tho', adds he, we should think ourselves obliged, considered as French-men, to join with them for obtaining such a Reformation, nevertheless, the time is not proper now. Very likely the Prince's Scheme will not take place. His Retreat from Court will be looked upon as a piece of his Inconstance, or as a Design of embroiling the State. The Queen will very easily break

S f 2

through

(p) Lettres & Mem. de Du Plessis, Tom. III. ad Annum 1614. N. B. Le Vassor has mistaken the Letter of Vander Myle to Du Plessis for a Letter of this last to the

¹⁶¹⁴
Lewis 13. *through all their Measures, promising to convene the General States, and to delay the King's Marriage. What do they mean by throwing themselves into a Corner of the Kingdom, as they have done? People whom the King may attack without making any diversion of his Forces, will be soon obliged to call upon his Clemency. The Event fully justified the Exactness of Du Plessis's Reasoning; Condé himself would not have got off so advantageously, had not the Marshal D'Ancre been afraid lest he should be overpower'd by the Duke of Guise, should the Command of the Army be trusted unto him.*

When the Marshal of Bouillon had joined the Prince in Champaign, he advised him to depute some Gentlemen of his Household to the Chiefs of the Reformed, to induce them to take up Arms. Condé and Bouillon had each of them their own private View. The first was in hopes to treat more advantageously with the Regent, if the Reformed shewed themselves ready to declare for him. The other thought

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 615

to his wonted Prudence and Sagacity, and let him know, “ That the best Cities of the Kingdom dreaded so much a Civil War, that they would never declare for him: That he even undertook to reform some Abuses, in the Forbearance whereof the Cities were concerned: That those who made him believe that the *Reformed* would stir in his Behalf, did not know them, or had a mind to deceive his *Highness*; they did offer him People which were not at their disposal. *We do*, says he, *complain of some Grievances, that is true; nevertheless we shall keep our Peace as long as the Edicts shall be maintained. The foreign Powers allied with this Crown shall not approve the Prince’s Motion. FRANCE is the only Power able to oppose the Greatness of the SPANISH Monarchy. If the Kingdom falls into a Civil War, who shall be able to thwart the ambitious Projects of the House of AUSTRIA?* ”

Lewis 13.
1614.
Pope Paul
V.

Such were the Sentiments of *Du Plessis*. But the Duke of *Rohan* was not of such strict Principles in Policy. The Prince’s Agent was better entertained at *St. John*, than he had been at *Saumur*. The Duke gave him a favourable Audience; but, mistrusting the Marshal of *Bouillon*, he was somewhat reserved, and would not enter into any Engagement without having sent previously a Gentleman to the Prince, in order to know better what were the real Sentiments of his *Highness*, and the Lords his Adherents.

When *Du Plessis* understood that the Duke was about treating with the Prince, he said, *Monsieur De Rohan don’t consider that he will pacify all Troubles, by designing to take share in them. The Queen will more easily give satisfac-*

... but that his Master offered a
and eight thousand Foot. The
Court, which was already in g
was instantly concluded and si
neboud in *Champaign*, on the 15
Queen promised to convene th
hand, to delay the double M
Conclusion of the said States,
the Army. The Prince of
Castle of *Amboise* till the sitting
States ; the Marshal of *Bouillon* re
Sum of Money : Every other Lo
in the same proportion. The Du
was the only Loser in that barga
and the other Places in *Britanny*,
fortified of late, were to be distr
he could be restored to his Govern
other Charges. He made very
plaints against the Prince of *Con*
so much neglected his Concerns
with the Court : He refused to f
he saw the King and the Queen I
the Field in order to force him to
was done about the tenth of *July*.

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 617

gain to raise some new Broils before the holding of the States ; but not having taken better measures than before, he was forced to submit (r). Lewis 13
1614
Pope Paul
V.

During the Broils above-mentioned, was held the 21st National Synod of the Reformed Churches in *France*, at *Tonneins* in *Lower Guienne*. The Reverend Dr. *John Gigord*, Minister of the Church of *Montpellier*, and Professor in Divinity in its Academy, was chosen Moderator ; and the Reverend *John Gardefi*, Minister of the Church of *Mauvesin*, Assessor ; and the Reverend *Andrew Rivet*, Minister of *Tbouars*, Secretary. They began their Sessions on the 2^d of *May*. Several things of moment passed in this Assembly, which I shall relate as briefly as possible. The 21st
National
Synod.

First, They are much to be commended for yielding to the prudent Advice of the judicious and pious *Du Plessis*, not to meddle themselves with any Affair of a political nature. To understand this, it must be observed, that the Duke of *Roban* had attempted to have a general political Assembly of the Reformed, held at *Tonneins*, at the same time with the Synod ; for which purpose he had directed the private Council of *Lower Guienne*, to summon the General Assembly for the 1st of *May* at the said place, in order to consider about their general Concerns, and even what Party they ought to take in the present juncture ; which Letters were accordingly directed to the several Provinces of the Kingdom, by that of the *Lower Guienne*. They designed to corroborate the Resolutions, taken in this political Assembly, with those taken in the Ecclesiastical, questioning not but that they would agree together,


S f 4

But

(r) Eidem Ibid.

Lewis 13. But *Du Plessis*, who could not endure to see the
 1614.
 Pope Paul Reformed Churches represented by a National
 V. Synod, interfering in those matters merely political, took the opportunity of the Provincial Synod of *Anjou*, then sitting at *Saumur*, to remonstrate that the above-said Convocation was unlawful, without Authority, and contrary to their Constitution, and plunging the Churches into the greatest Difficulties. He argued the point with such strength of Reasons, that he made them all sensible of the Danger, and they resolved not to send any Deputies to the said Assembly, if it took place. Furthermore, they charged their Deputies to the National Synod with very strong Remonstrances, drawn up for the purpose by *Du Plessis* himself; beside which, he wrote upon the same Subject unto several Provinces: so that that Design was defeated, and the Council of *Low Guienne* was called to account for their Conduct in the Synod, and very nearly escaped the Censure. But for all that the Church of *Pujols* in *Agénois*

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 619

other with heretical Opinions concerning the ^{Lewis 13.} Mystery of the hypostatical Union of *Christ's* ^{1614.} human Nature with his divine Person. The ^{Pope Paul V.} Dispute had been carried on with so much  Heat and Animosity for two or three Years, to the great Scandal of the Weak, and the Delight of the Enemies of the Reformed, that indeed it was high time to put an end to it. Therefore the Synod taking that Matter into their consideration, thought proper to refer it to the Decision of the Lord *Du Plessis*, and charged him with the Care to reconcile them; which he did effectually, having appointed them to meet at *Saumur*, on the 8th of *October*. And here I can't refrain from admiring the extensive good Character of that Lord, nor from gladly subscribing *Le Vassor's* Encomium of him. Let one read over and over the History of the World ancient and modern, I don't know whether another Gentleman like this could be met with, equally well read in the Sciences and experienced in the Business of the World; he defends his Religion, and discusses the most arduous Points of Divinity; he maintains the Reformed Churches by his Prudence; he negotiates the most intricate Affairs; he gives wholesome Advices to the Ministers of State, to Princes and Kings, who receive them with pleasure.

Thirdly, An Account was given unto them of the means that had been used to reconcile the Lords, and they received Letters from the Dukes of *Roban*, *Sully*, &c. and from *Du Plessis*, whereby they desired the Synod to acquaint the Provinces with their good Intentions, and their Zeal for the Service of the Churches. The Mayor of *Bergerac* having declared in the Name of that Church and Town, that it never

^{1614.}
Pope Paul
V.
Lewis 13. was their intention to depart from the Union of the Churches, or to procure their own private Good to the prejudice of the Publick, & the Censure of the late National Synod: *Privaz* insinuated it, and disavowing the Brief of 1500 Livres, which the King had granted them for the Maintenance of their College, to be taken out of the 15000 Crowns of Augmentation, which his Majesty had allowed to the Churches; the Synod granted them 1200 /. This Husbandry was very necessary, because the Funds were wanting every where for the Payment of the Ministers; so that several of them were reduced to great straits, whereby they were rendered incapable of performing the Duties of their Office, and were more tempted to be seduced by the Court's Bribes, or grew despicable for their Poverty. The Sum of 15,000 Crowns granted by *Lewis XIII.* was not sufficient for relieving all their Wants, because of the too many occasions the Synod had for that Money, to lay it out to o-

7, therefore the Synod ordered the De-
nigral to insist upon it ; but, notwith-
; their Instances, they could never ob-
ill satisfaction. The General Deputies
sined leave to hold a political Assembly ;
time and the place being not of their
they charged the said Deputies to insist
them changed. We shall see in a more
place what success they had.

ly, We may gather from the Acts of
nod, that there were Churches esta-
by the Dispositions of the Edicts, of
the Settlement was not as yet made,
of the Oppositions of the Catholics,
it were upon the account of the Po-
those that were to be Members of these
m, or on account of the Negligence of
nt were charged with the Care of pur-
he said Settlement ? However, some of
t there was in *Auvergne*, and *Issoire* was
hem. They had for a long time pur-
at Affair at Court, but without Success.

, being informed of their deplorable

Lewis 13. had suffered so great an Alteration in their condition since that time, having been most violently persecuted, that they deserved the Pity and Charity of their Brethren; nevertheless, the Circumstances of the Synod were so narrow, that for the present they could do nothing better for them, than recommend their Case to the General Deputies, and intercede with his Majesty that he would be their Mediator with the *Pope*, to obtain some rest and quietness for them.

1614
Pope Paul
 V

The Reformed of *Gex*, were severely censured, because refusing to submit to the Regulation of the provincial Synod of *Burgundy*, of which that Bayliwick was a Dependency, they had applied themselves to the King's Council for a Redress of a pretended Wrong done to them by the said Synod, in that they had adjudged them for their College but 60 Livres. Their Proceeding was dangerous, both as to the Example, which authorised those who were not content to appeal from the Judgments given

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 623

of the Condition which was annexed unto it, ^{Lewis 13.} to wit, That they should submit to the Deci- ^{1614.} sions of the Synods that should be held in the ^{Pope Paul V.} Kingdom of *France*; which Condition, had they accepted, might prejudice their own Privileges, which entitled them to have all their Cases examined and tried by their own natural Judges in their own Country. The City of *Metz* enjoyed a much like Privilege; for which cause the Church of that City hold no other Communion but of Doctrine with the Churches of *France*.

Sixtly, The Oath of Union was renewed in that Assembly with the usual Forms of Obedience and Fealty to the King, THE KINGDOM OF GOD REMAINING WHOLE. The Deputies promised to have it ratified by their respective Provinces. They answer'd the Letters they had received from *H. B. M.* and sent him at his request a Scheme for reuniting into the same Confession of Faith all the Protestant Churches of *Europe*, of what Denomination soever, *Anglican, Presbyterian, Lutherian, Zwinglian, Calvinian*; which Scheme for its Simplicity, Perspicuity, Prudence and Charitableness cannot be sufficiently commended. They had received a Letter from the Church and Academy of *Geneva*, wherein the Authors took occasion from the Apostacy of *Jeremiab Ferrier*, to exhort the Synod not to suffer any longer the Ministers to intermeddle with Civil Affairs, and consequently to assist in political Assemblies, or accept to be deputed to Court or elsewhere upon these Accounts, unless in cases of the most urgent Necessity; and then, say they, let them lament with the Spouse in the Canticles, that they have been made Keepers of other Vineyards, but their own Vineyard they have not kept.

They

624. *History of the Reformation and of the*

Lewis 13. They drew up a Memoir of the Grievances
 1614. the Churches groaned under, and of the several
 Pope Paul Bills that were to be presented to the Provin-
 V. } cial Assemblies for their Examination, and by
 them brought unto the National Political As-
 sembly, and recommended to their Considera-
 tion by all the Provinces; and particularly to
 the special Care of the General Deputies, till
 the National Assembly should meet. They
 wrote likewise to the King and the Queen
 Regent, insisting upon some other place than
Grenoble for their political Assembly, and upon
 the Redress of their manifold Grievances.

Some Ac- Lastly, The Affair of the Reverend *Jeremiab Ferrier*, Minister at *Nimes*, and Professor
 count of in Divinity in their Academy, came under the
 Ferrier. Synod's consideration. He was the same, who,
 eleven or twelve Years before, had so rashly
 asserted in some publick Theses, that *Clement*
VIII. the Pope then sitting was the Antichrist
 foretold by *St. Paul* and *St. John*; and who
 had engaged the Synods of *Gap*, *Rochele*, and

adhered, thought to find better his In-
s in the Court-Party. He was one of
deputies named by the said Assembly to
their Bills of Grievances to Court, where
gan those Intrigues, which exposed him
wards to shame, and obliged him to re-
a Religion and a Church, the Discipline
of was so much contrary and averse to his
d Principles. The Party he had taken
mur, had made him odious in his Pro-
, and to one part of his Church at *Nimes*.
as sensible that he should be prosecuted
e next National Synod. The Disposition
in he found the Provincial one of *Lou-*
vedoc gave him just room for suspecting
he would be exposed to some shameful
ure. But the means he used to prevent it,
d only to render it unavoidable. He took
il suspicious Journeys to Court, without
Consent of his own Church. The Mini-
of *Paris*, who looked upon him as a dan-
n Man, used their utmost endeavours to
n. They thought to flatter his Am-

Lewis 13. nisters of that Capital were Men whose Integrity was equal to their vast Learning and Capacity, who having a watchful Eye over his Actions and Deportment, would perhaps have prevented his utter Ruin. At first he accepted the Offers, and submitted himself to the Censure passed against his Conduct with great marks of Repentance. He confessed all; he condemned himself; he wept. But after having promised, he broke his word in a very unhandsome manner, and without the least Provocation; nay, without so much as taking his leave of the Ministers of that Church, who had been so kind and so tender to him, he set out for *Nîmes*.

The National Synod of *Privaz* took all this into their consideration. The Reverend Mr. *Du Moulin*, who had been an Eye-witness, gave a particular Account of his Misbehaviour. Several other things were laid to his charge; such as Neglect of Duty as Professor in Divinity, the preaching of unsound Doctrine, the embezzling of the Monies entrusted with him

ministers Deputies were severely rebuked
And lest the Magistrate of *Nîmes*, who
ed *Ferrier*, should attempt to restore
the Church of that City, notwithstanding
the Synod's Orders, it was enacted, That
if he did not instantly submit to the Sy-
nods, Nevertheless, as they had no mind to
assist him, as the Synod had presented
him to the Church and Academy of
Nîmes, they sent *Ferrier* to *Montelimar* in
1612. That happened in 1612.
that Indulgence of the Synod did not
satisfy the Man's Heart; for not being satisfied
with the Church of *Montelimar*, he resolved to
ask the Court would assist him in order
to be restored, or give him some Recompense
for what he had lost for their sake. He obtain-
ed a Counsellor's Place in the Presidial See of
Nîmes, and, having received his Patent, he re-
solved to officiate himself. When he arrived at
Nîmes in order to be received in his new Of-
fice, the Consistory endeavoured to oppose him;

Lewis 13. the Presbital could not delay his Reception ; :
 1614. that he was admitted notwithstanding these O
 Pope Paul positions : Whereupon, after several Consult
 V. tions with the Ministers and Elders of the neigl
 bouring Churches, the Consistory of *Nim*
 thundered a dreadful Excommunication again
 him from the Pulpit, on the 14th Day of *Ja*
 1613, which was a *Sunday*. But *Ferrier*, in or
 der to brave the Consistory with more Haught
 ness, went to the Palace, being preceded by th
 Provost and his Men. As he came back, h
 was attacked by little Boys, who threw Pieces
 Gourds, and railed at him ; then some of th
 Rabble joined with them without Arms. *Ferrie*
 finding himself so closely pursued, retired to
 Magistrate's House which was in his way. Som
 time after somebody cried out of the Windows
 the said House, that some of them would be han
 ed for it: That Threatning exasperated the Peop
 instead of frightening them. However, th
 had so much Consideration in their Fury, as n
 to confound others with *Ferrier* ; and, to sho
 that they only aimed at him, they let pass

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 629

ditions having been imprisoned to frighten the rest, they were rescued with main Force.

Lewis 13
1614.
Pope Pau
V.

In the mean time the Consuls placed Guards at the Gates, and in divers Parts of the City, on a pretence of dreading a Surprise from abroad, but really to let *Ferrier* escape undiscovered; which could not be effected till the third Day, when he was let out of the City in the Night-time, and brought safe to *Beaucaire*, under a strong Guard of the Constable, Duke of *Montmorancy*, Governour of the Province. A Corps de Guard was placed in his House for the security of his Wife, who was ready to lie-in; but eight or nine Days after, she also left the City by her Husband's Order; she fell in Labour by the way, and was delivered between *Nîmes* and *Beaucaire*, which are but three leagues distant from each other. This Sedition had no other Consequence, than the transferring of the Presidial See of *Nîmes* to *Beaucaire*. And the City having satisfied the Court by a speedy Obedience, and other considerable Cities, together with *Du Plessis*, having joined their Instances to theirs in order to obtain the Revocation of that Decree, they obtained it easily.

The National Synod of *Tonneins* confirmed the Sentence of Excommunication passed against him at *Nîmes* the Year before, and inserted him in the Roll of the deposed and apostate Ministers. He was a tall Man, wore black and curled hair, of an Olive-greenish Complexion, with wide open Nostrils, great Lips, and about thirty-eight Years old. He lived a long while after that miserable Catastrophe; and the Court, where he was favoured by the *Jesuits*, honoured him at last with a Place of Counsellor of State. He persisted to the last in the *Roman Religion*.

Lewis 13. The Synod having sat for above a Month, ended their Sessions on the 3d of *June* in the Evening, afterhaving enacted, that if there was any Difficulty about the meeting of the next Synod in the Principality of *Bearn*, the Churches thereof shall, within the space of a Year, send notice to the Province of *Britany*, to which belongs the Right of calling the next Synod in the City of *Vitré*, and no where else; and this at the end of two Years, and about *May*: Provided, that it may be hastened or deferred, as the General Deputies and the neighbouring Provinces do think fit (*t*).

Suarez's During the Sessions of the Synod, the Parliament of *Paris* took Cognizance of a wicked Book, published by the Jesuit *SUAR E Z*, with this Title, *A Defence of the Catholick and Apostolick Faith against the Errors of the Sect of England*; where the devilish Doctrine of murdering Kings was plainly asserted. The Attorney-General judged that Book so dangerous, that he thought himself obliged to pursue the Condemnation thereof. Accordingly, on the

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 631

on the 4th of *June*, not only in the Schools of *Lewis 13*
Serbonne, but even in those of the College of *1614*
Clermont, and of the *Mendicant Fryars*, belong- *Pope Paul*
 ing to those GOOD HOLY FATHERS. *V.*

But the greatest Mortification of all was, that the Parliament decreed, that the Fathers *Armand* Rector, *Cotton* the late King's Confessor, *Fronten le Duc*, and *Sirmond*, both very conspicuous for Learning, should appear the next Day before them. When they made their Appearance, the first President told them, that the Book of *Suarez* their Fellow was contrary to the Declaration by them delivered, and to the Decree enacted by their General in 1610. Then they were enjoined to write to *Rome* for requiring the renewing and the publishing of the same Decree, and to bring forth a Deed thereof in six Months: Furthermore, to take care lest any private Member of their Society should teach no more in their Books *so damnable and pernicious Propositions*: Lastly, *to preach publicly a Doctrine quite contrary to Suarez*, or else the Parliament should proceed against the Offenders, as guilty of High Treason, and Disturbers of the publick Peace.

When the Pope, *Paul V.* by whose Orders *The Pope* the Book had been composed and published, *exasperated at it.* heard of this Censure, he sent the Bishop of *Faligni* to the Marquis of *Trenel*, Embassador of *France* at *Rome*, to make Complaints of the Attempt of the Magistrates of *France*, who, by their Decree, struck at the Privileges and Rights of the *Holy See*. The Bishop expatiated himself with much Warmth upon that Subject, and expostulated with the Embassador in a manner which shewed only the proud Temper of his haughty Master. He desired the Marquis to inform the Queen Regent of the Pope's high Displeasure against the Parliament, and that he

Lewis 13. required that her Majesty should abrogate
 1614. Decree.

Pope Paul
 V.

Some time after, the *French* Embassa
 ing admitted to the Pope's Audience, he
 voured to mollify him, and represented
 him the Impossibility of his Demand,
 dering the Circumstances of Times ; and
 dertook to justify the Proceedings of the
 ment. But the fiery old Man would l
 to no Reason, and carried his Arrogance
 as to threaten the Parliament with an I
 munication. At last, after several Cont
 between the Cardinals of *Joyeuse*, *La Ro*
cault, *Du Perron*, and *Ubal dini* the Pope
 cio at *Paris*, *Lewis* XIII. declared in his
 cil, That his Intention was, that the Ex
 of the said Decree should cause no preju
 the lawful Authority of the Pope, nor t
 Privileges of the Holy See, which had b
 ways acknowledged by his Predecessors.
Ubal dini heard the reading of the said I
 tion, he found fault with what was su

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 633

Hereticks, and even deposing them, when they are Lewis 13.
obstinate in their wicked Opinions, and when they 1614.
undertake to force their Subjects to follow them. Pope Paul V.

HAD NOT JESUS CHRIST GIVEN SUCH A POWER TO ST. PETER AND HIS SUCCESSORS, HE SHOULD HAVE FORGOTTEN TO PROVIDE FOR THE PRESERVATION OF HIS CHURCH. *God forbid that I should render myself guilty of such a base Prevarication, by forsaking the Defence of the Rights of St. Peter's Chair, whereunto God hath raised me.* None but base and wicked Prostitutes to the Court of Rome can read this without the utmost Indignation, and yet it is not the worst of what he said on this account; for at another time he had told the Marquis of Trenel, that he had forbidden to teach the Doctrine of murdering Kings; and I don't know, says he, whether I HAVE NOT BEEN TOO COMPLAISANT IN THAT RESPECT: *For several Writers of Reputation in the Church, and approved by it, assert that Doctrine to be true.* However, the Court of France basely yielded, and it was with much ado that the Queen Regent obtained, after many Intreaties, that the Execution of the Parliament's Decree should be only superseded, and not abrogated *.

During these Struggles it was that the King *The Court's* and his Mother took the field, not only for *Journey* reducing the Duke of Vendome, but also for *into Bri-* discrediting the false Rumour which had been *tany.* industriously spread abroad in the Provinces, of the King's bad State of Health, as if he was in a dying Condition. A better Success could not be wished for than that which their Majesties had in their Journies: They were received every

T t 4 where

* Memoir. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. I. Mezeray, Hist. de Louis XIII. Tom. I.

cautionary Places; they have
pleased to grant them unto us, and
the Hatred of our sworn Enemies
his Majesty is pleased to honour
sence, we need not any other
Presence itself.

He had had a few Days before
rences with the Queen about the
tion of Affairs; and whereas she
some Uneasiness concerning the
endeavoured to dissuade her from
tering into a civil War. " No
" weakens more the Sovereign's
" veral times I have heard the late
" that he had been truly King,
" civil Wars ended. Whatever
" to your Majesty against the
" persuaded, MADAM, that you
" ter or more faithful Subjects, than
" obey out of Principle of their own
" At least we have this Advantage
" Adversaries, that we do acknowledge
" ther superior Power between
" Majesty. The fundamental

BOOK VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 635

“ Men of our Religion. We know these merce- Lewis 13.
 “ nary Souls; your Majesty is deceived when 1614.
 “ they make you believe that they are useful to Pope Paul
 “ your Service. I will show her an infallible V.
 “ Way to get, at a very little Expence, all the
 “ Reformed Party at your Devotion. It is to
 “ order that what has been promised unto us
 “ should be speedily executed, that our Grievances
 “ should be redressed; to explain a little more fa-
 “ vourably what is ambiguous in the Edicts;
 “ to grant us certain things which may secure
 “ the Peace of our Churches, without any Pre-
 “ judice to the Catholicks. The unfeigned and
 “ fervent Zeal which I have vowed to the
 “ Service of his Majesty, obliges me to speak
 “ against my own Concerns. Do but follow
 “ the Method I have just now touched, and
 “ you shall deprive us of our Charges and
 “ Pensions whenever you please. Our Churches,
 “ easy under the Protection of his Majesty, will
 “ never take part or concern themselves either
 “ for me, or for any Lord of the Realm (v).”

Such were the Sentiments of that truly Christian Hero; there is in them so much Candour, Probity and Loyalty, as well as good Sense, that the Reader will not take amiss my offering them to his Consideration.


From *Saumur* the Court went on their Journey to *Nantz*. The Duke of *Vendôme*, seeing their Majesties in earnest, had submitted. The States of *Britany* were held at *Nantz*; and the Queen having restored Peace in that Province, and wherever she passed, returned in Triumph to *Paris*. The Prince of *Conty*, youngest Son to Lewis of *Condé* murdered at *Jarnac*, was dead during that Journey; but his Loss was so inconsiderable, that no body lamented it, not even his own Consort. On

(v) Vie de Du Plessis Mornay, Liv. III.

Lewis 13. On the second of October His Majesty went
 1614- to his Parliament, all the Chambers being as-
 Pope Paul sembled, and sitting upon his Throne declared,
 V. that having begun the 14th Year of his Age,
 The King's he was no longer a Minor; but that how-
 Majority. ever he willeth, that the Queen his Mother
 should hold the Reins of the Government as
 heretofore. The first Act of his Majority was
 a Declaration registered the same day, where-
 in, amongst other things, he confirmed and ra-
 tified the Edict of *Nantz* in all its Articles, all
 the Regulations made, all the Decrees given,
 and whatever had been granted since that time,
 either for explaining, or executing the said Edict,
 WHICH HE WOULD INVIOLABLY KEEP (*).

How could *Lewis XIV.* affirm in the Pre-
 amble of his revocatory Edicts that neither his
 Father, nor his Grandfather, never had Inten-
 tion to keep the said Edict, or to have it sub-
 sisting, when they had promised so many times
 to maintain it exactly, AS A PERPETUAL
 AND IRREVOCABLE LAW? Let us tell the
 truth, *Lewis XIV.* having no Notion of Truth

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 637


and without the Kingdom, and the State and ^{Lewis 13.} Condition wherein Affairs were then. Af- ^{1614.} ter him the Foreman of each of the States ^{Pope Paul V.} harangued their Majesties in their turn; viz.  the Archbishop of *Lyons* for the Clergy, the Baron of *Pont St. Pierre*, for the Nobility, and Mr. *Miron*, Provost of the Merchants of *Paris* for the Commons. They thank'd their Majesties for having convened them; they praised the Queen for her prudent and happy Administration, and assured the King of their Fealty and Allegiance. Then each State went into their proper Hall fitted up (on purpose for them) in *Austin Fryers*, wherein they assembled every day for considering and drawing up of their Bills. In these States we find the last Gasps of the dying Liberty in *France*, a Clergy prostituted to the *Pope* and the Court of *Rome*, a Nobility blindly and basely following the Directions of the Clergy; only the Commons strove to show forth some Life, but being not supported by either of the two others, their Endeavours proved ineffectual, and no Redress could be obtained for the many Grievances whereunder the Kingdom laboured. I don't design to enter into a particular Narration of the Transactions of this Assembly, any further than what directly or indirectly concerns the Reformed. And whereas their sittings were continued to the latter end of *March* next, I shall begin the Year 1615.

Amongst other Points which were debated ^{1615.} with great Warmth, there were three or four which very well deserve the Attention of our Reader. The first is about the Reception of the Council of *Trent*. The Cardinals and the most distinguished Prelates of the Assembly being sold to the Court of *Rome*, were more careful

Lewis 13. ful to consult the *Pope's* Nuncio than the Ca-
1615. nons of the ancient Councils: So that *Paul V.*
Pope Paul who had found *Mary of Medicis* so comply-
V. ing and submissive to the Holy See during the
time of her Regency, questioned not but that
the time was now very proper for obtaining
the Publication of it in *France*, provided that
the General States should be disposed to require
it. The Court of *Rome* and the Clergy had
oftentimes tried under the preceeding Reigns
to obtain that, but without success, as we have
observed in its proper Place; they did not suc-
ceed better on this occasion. For though the
Clergy, by their Clamours, had quite enslaved
the Nobility, and that these two Orders were
in a strict Union together, they met with a no-
ble Resistance in the Commons. The generous
Miron, Foreman of their Chamber, answered
Polier Bishop of *Beauvais*, who had been sent
to them by the Clergy to desire their Concur-
rence with them for obtaining the Reception
of the said Council, " That for sixty Years
" together the Council of *Trent* had remained

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 639

“ they are pleased to express for the increase of Lewis 13.
 “ the Catholick Religion. We shall endeavour 1615.
 “ to answer and support their good Intention.” Pope Paul V.

Miron could not answer more pertinently to a  Set of Men, who have so much insisted upon the Publication of their Council, in order only the better to settle their Domineering in *France*, and to introduce the *Inquisition* therein. The Clergy tried once again to win the Commons to their Interests. The same Bishop with *Anthony de Caux*, Coadjutor of *Condom*, were deputed unto them, but they persisted in their first Resolution.

Secondly, But another Affair which made a great deal more noise, was an Article of the House of Commons concerning the Independency of Kings, whereunto they desired the Concurrence of the two other Houses. That Article runs thus: “ That in order to put a stop to
 “ that pernicious Doctrine which was spread-
 “ ing itself for some years ago against Kings
 “ and Sovereign Powers by God established,
 “ his Majesty should be most humbly intreat-
 “ ed, to order it to be published in the As-
 “ sembly of the General States, as an inviola-
 “ ble and fundamental Law of the Realm: that
 “ the King being acknowledged as Sovereign
 “ in *France*, and holding his Authority from
 “ God only, there is no Power upon Earth,
 “ either Spiritual or Temporal, who has a
 “ Right of depriving him of his own King-
 “ dom, or to dispense his Subjects, or to absolve
 “ them for any Cause whatsoever of the Fealty
 “ and Allegiance they owe unto him. That all
 “ the *Frenchmen* without exception, shall hold
 “ this Law as holy, true, and agreeable to the
 “ Word of God, without any Distinction, E-
 “ quivocation, or Limitation soever. That it
 “ shall

“ nion, as well as that which all
“ and murder the Sovereigns, a
“ gainst them for any Cause so
“ declared false, impious, detesta
“ trary to the Establishment of th
“ *narchy*, which holds immedi
“ only. That all Books teaching
“ trine, shall be considered as
“ damnable. That all Foreigner
“ tempt to assert it, shall be dee
“ to the Crown. That all the K
“ who shall adopt it, of what F
“ tion, and Quality soever, shall
“ as Rebels, Infringers of the
“ Laws of the Realm, and Guil
“ Treason. That if any Ecclesiast
“ Foreigner should publish any
“ taining Propositions, directly o
“ contrary to that received Law
“ siasticks or Fryars Regnicoles
“ Orders, shall be bound to ref
“ Book without any Respect, and
“ Sincerity possible, or else they v
“ nished as Abettors of the Ene

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in France.* 641

The Commons were not the only publick ^{Lewis 13.} Body which required the same thing, on this ^{1615.} Occasion. The Parliament of *Paris*, being in- ^{Pope Paul V.} formed of the shameful Prevarication of the Nobility and the Clergy, who basely sacrificed to the Pope, the Honour of their King and the fundamental Laws of the Realm, declared, at the pursuit of the Attorney General, SERVIN, " That being very credibly informed, that several Persons took the liberty to call in question these Maxims, from time out of mind received in *France*, and originally sprung out with the Crown, that the King don't acknowledge any other Superior, as to the Temporalties in his own Kingdom, besides God, and that no Power in the World hath Right of unbinding his Subjects from their Allegiance, or to suspend him, or deprive, or depose him of his Kingdom ; much less to attempt, or cause to be attempted, any thing, either by publick or private Authority upon the Sacred Persons of the Sovereigns : they ordered that all the Decrees and Ordinances heretofore published upon that Subject should be renewed, and published again in all the Tribunals of their Jurisdiction, in order to keep all the King's Subjects of what Rank and Quality soever fully certified of the Maxims and Rules above-mentioned, concerning the security of his Majesty's Life, and for the publick Peace and Tranquillity."

When the above-mentioned Article was proposed in the House of Commons, it was almost unanimously received with great Applause by the Deputies of the twelve ancient Governments of France. They had several good Reasons for it, but had they had only this, that two Kings

Lewis 13. Kings had been consecutively murdered by miserable Wretches seduced by the Doctrine of the Jesuits and other Writers, devoted to the Court of *Rome*; that would have been more than sufficient for justifying the Proceeding of that House.

1615.
Pope Paul V.

The four Faculties of the University of *Paris*, who had petitioned for being admitted in the General States as a separate Body or Order, (which however they could not obtain, being too strongly opposed by the Clergy) were of the same Opinion with the Parliament; for though the Faculty of Divinity, (which was quite devoted to the Pope, since the injustice done to the good and honest Dr. *Richer*, who some Years before had asserted the same Doctrine of the Independency of the Kings, and that the Pope was himself subject to the Councils, and for which he had been deprived of the Syndicate of the Faculty, protested by a solemn Deed, that she had no hand in the Bill proposed; though the Faculties of Physick and of Law declared, that they did not approve

I have no Words nor Expressions sufficient to represent the mad Pranks of the Clergy upon this Occasion, they were near to declare the Commons down-right *Huguenots*; and I don't know whether to admire more, the ignorant and shameful Stupidity of the Nobility, who, though they derive all their Grandeur from the Crown, were nevertheless so base as to join with the Clergy in a Petition to the King against the Commons, or the foolish Compliance of the King, who, at the instances of the Nobility and Clergy, and of the Prince of *Condé* himself, (who was so far concerned in the Defence of the House of Commons and of the Parliament) and by the Advice of his Mother, brought that Affair before him, and superseded the Execution of his Parliament's Decree. Nay, at a third instance of the Clergy, he was so forgetful of his own Dignity, as to oblige the Commons to let that Article drop from their general Bill. The Cardinals of *La Rochefoucault*, *Sourdis*, and *Du Perron*, were the Ringleaders in this Affair; the Impudence, especially of the two last, went beyond all Expression.

They did much honour to the Reformed, when in order to render the Proposition of the Commons more odious to the People, *Du Perron* affirmed in his Speech, that such a Doctrine, was the Doctrine of the *Huguenots*, and that the said Article had been broached at *Saumur*. Which occasioned a Letter from *Du Plessis* to their Majesties, dated the 16th of *January*; wherein he says, " That he was acquainted
" with the Discourses of the Clergy concern-
" ing him, as if he was the Author of the
" Article proposed by the Commons, whereby
" they wronged a considerable number of Men
" of Honour, who were in the same Senti-
" ments. That as for himself, he would not
" deny that it had been always his Opinion,
VOL. IV. U u " that

Lewis 13.
1615.
Pope Paul
V.

Lewis 13. " that betwixt God and the King, there wa
 1615. " no other Power who could order any thing to
 Pope Paul " the Prejudice of the King's Authority. Tha
 V. " if that Doctrine was criminal, he would not
 " be ashamed to be charged with it, and ever
 " to suffer for it, after the Example of so many
 " good Men in all Ages. That he knew very
 " well, that if such things were denied in *Spain*.
 " it would cost the Honour, and even the
 " Life of the Opposer. That one ought not
 " to say, that the said Doctrine was new; that
 " they had lost two Kings in twenty Years
 " time through the Maxims contrary to that
 " Article, and therefore they wanted to take
 " better Cautions for preserving the third."

Being likewise acquainted with the Intention
 of the Clergy to oblige the King to perform
 his Coronation-Oath against Hereticks, without
 admitting any exception, as to the Reformed,
 he dispatched one of his Household, to repre-
 sent to her Majesty, of what Consequence it
 was to perform what she had promised to give

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 645

not agreeable to the Court, and to hinder them from insisting too much upon things which it did not approve. So then, since they had suffered that such Articles against the Reformed should be inserted in their Bills, the Reformed had very good reasons for suspecting that the Court was willing to set the Nobility and Clergy against them. "Or else, if the Court was seriously willing to keep the Edicts of Pacification, as they pretended, they were much concerned in hindering these two Bodies from making any such Petitions, and even in engaging them to make quite contrary ones, &c." The Chancellor was much puzzled at these Expostulations, and could not give, for the present, any satisfactory Answer.

Thirdly, During the Sessions of the States, there broke out a Sedition at *Milbaud* in *Roüergue*, on *Christmas-Eve*, in which Town the Reformed being the strongest, the Catholics, and especially the Priests, were great Sufferers by it, for the first spared no manner of Violence or Indecency, against Things and Persons sacred, as well as others. There had already been such another Sedition in the same Place under the last Reign, which had remained unpunished, either for want of sufficient Proof, or for other Reasons. But the Clergy renewed their Complaints upon this new Accident, of which the Circumstances were aggravated, in order to have a better Reason to renew the first Complaints. They resolved to speak to the King about it, and invited the two other Houses to join their Deputies to theirs, which they promised to do. They went to the *Louvre* two days before the Dissolution of the States; the Archbishop of *Lyons* made a vehement Speech to the Queen Regent, the King

Lewis 13.
1615.
Pope Paul
V.

Lewis 13. being absent, upon that and some other Sub-
 1615. jects. Her Majesty answered, that she had al-
 Pope Paul ready nominated Commissaries to take cogni-
 V. zance of that Affair.

The Bishop of *Luzon*, known hereafter by the Name and Title of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, made likewise a Speech against the Reformed, when he tendered to their Majesties the Bill of the Clergy; he charged them with polluting holy Places by their prophane Burials; and of enjoying Ecclesiastical Estates: He complained also of the Excesses committed at *Milband*, and required that Justice should be strictly done, but for not alarming the Reformed, he declared, that he only meant such as were guilty, and that as for the rest, the Clergy thought no further on them, than for desiring their Conversion, and for promoting it by their *good Examples*, and *wholesome Instructions*, as well as by their *fervent Prayers*. The Remainder of his Speech only related to the Grandeur of the Clergy, which he represented as an Affair of at

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 647

the same time, it would have been very hard to do Justice to the one, and to deny it to the other. Therefore for avoiding greater Inconveniencies, the Court thought proper to give both Parties general Promises, and to refer them to Judges that should take a particular Cognizance of the Matter of their Complaints.

Lewis 13.
1615.
Pope Paul
V.

Fourthly, In the mean time the Bills of the three Houses being ready, they were presented to their Majesties the 23d of *February*. From the beginning of the Reformation in *France*, the Clergy had spared neither Endeavours nor Money in order to destroy it, or at least to stop its Progress. And no wonder indeed. The Bishops and the rest of the Clergy could not like a Religion, which aimed not only at their Depression, and the abolishing of Abuses, and of a Superstitious Worship, whereby the Church of *Rome* had immensely increased its Riches, but also which assert, that it ought to be divested of the large Revenues which the avaricious Monks and Priests have procured unto her by their Craft. In all the former Assemblies of the Clergy, it was usual to bring to the King, a Bill of Grievances against the Reformed. If they durst not openly require their Ruin, at least they made use of all the Motives which violent Passions could suggest to revengeful and covetous Men, in order to persuade the King, that he was bound in Honour, or Conscience at least, to contain in narrower Bonds the Exercise of a Religion, which they represented as formed in the Bosom of Rebellion, and as an Enemy to Sovereign Authority. The House of the Clergy in the general States, which I am speaking of, followed the same Method. Of above three hundred Articles, whereof their Bill was composed, sixty-

Lewis 13. five, at least, aimed directly or indirectly
 1615. the suppression of some Privileges or other
 Pope Paul ly granted to the *Reformed* by the Edi
 V. Nantz, and other subsequent Declarations:
 late King. But what is to be more won-
 at, is, that the Nobility, who by reason of
 Birth and high Rank, ought to be more
 concerned in the Peace and Welfare of the
 dom, than a Parcel of slothful Priests, w
 pretence of a single Life, mind only how
 indulge their sensual Appetites, or how to
 their tyrannical Grandeur beyond all Divin
 Human prescribed Bounds; the Nobility,
 degenerating from the Courage and Pru
 of their Ancestors, blindly received the In
 sions, which the Clergy were pleased to
 upon them. They agreed to insert in thei
 Bill twenty-four Articles, which the C
 had already inserted in theirs. The mo
 markable whereof are as follow: The
 cation of the Council of *Trent*, without ar
 gard to the Edicts of Pacification; an O

ing to the Crown, should henceforward be re-
 united for ever to the said Crown, (*which in-*
deed was a very reasonable Regulation, for many
good reasons obvious enough to the Reader,) an
 absolute Prohibition to Sovereign Courts to take
 any Cognizance of things relating to Faith, the
 Pope's Authority, the Doctrine and Sacraments
 of the Church, the Monastical Rules, and of
 all that they call *Spiritual Causes*, on pain of
 Nullity and Abrogation of their Sentence. (*They*
aimed at the Parliament of Paris, who had been
so daring of late Years, and especially during the
Sessions of the States, as to exert themselves,
and to express by Sentence, their utmost Abhor-
rence against the Jesuit's Doctrine concerning the
Independency of Kings, &c.) The Reformation
 of the Universities, and Admission of the Je-
 suits into them; (*that of Paris had, till then,*
mightily opposed that Admission, and had been sup-
ported by the Parliament of that Capital;) the
 Exemption of Imprisonment for Ecclesiasticks,
 and leave for Bishops to condemn to the Gal-
 leys; the Accomplishment of the Marriage-Trea-
 ty between the King and the Infanta of *Spain*;
 the calling into the King's Council four Prelates,
 four Lords or Gentlemen, and four Gown-men,
 who should serve quarterly by turn, one of
 each Order, and that the King should order
 that six of the ancientest Counsellors of State
 should constantly attend the Council, as Or-
 dinaries. Lastly, they exhorted the young Mo-
 narch to remember always the great Obliga-
 tions he had to the Queen his Mother, for
 the holy and pious Education she had given
 him.

The three or four first Articles caused a great
 Uproar in the House of Lords, for the Re-
 formed that sat amongst them warmly debated

Lewis 1:
 1615-
 Pope Pau
 V.

...y, ne
that Article concerning C
ronation Oath, was needl
pacify the Reformed, str
Dispute, he issued out a n
12th of *March*, which co
cedent Edicts. In this E
vour'd to excuse the said
ing from the Zeal of the
Preservation of the *Roma*
designing to give Offence
ing, that the Catholick Ne
it unto him, not only sepa
other, but in a *Body* all to
fured him, that they were
Observation of the Edicts
had intreated him to leave
Subjects to one and the same
vidence of God, using no
what the Church had approve
by sad Experience, that viol
only served to increase the
who had strayed from the C
reclaiming them. Therefore
move the *Jealous*

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 651

Richelieu, then Bishop of *Luçon*, was chosen, as abovesaid, Speaker for the Clergy, he touched in his Speech upon some of the abovementioned Articles contained in the Bills, both of the Houses of Lords and the Clergy, besides several of those Peculiars to this last Order, against the Reformed; but he insisted most warmly upon that concerning the Admission of the Prelates into the King's Council and Secular Employments; he asserted boldly, that when the Kings, Predecessors to his Majesty, had made use of the Prelates of his Kingdom in the Administration of the Government, the *Gallican Church* had been more flourishing than any other: that may be true in some respect, as to the Wealth and Power of that Church; but it is utterly false as to the State, the Condition whereof could hardly be worse than it had been for above one hundred and fifty Years under the Ministry of the Cardinals of *Tournon*, *Lorrain*, and *Guises*? He added, *far from consulting the Prelates about the Affairs of the Kingdom, you think that the Honour we have to be consecrated to God's Service, incapacitates us to serve our King, who is the living Image of God.* That Maxim uttered with great Emphasis, provoked laughing. *St. Paul*, say the malicious Courtiers, forbids one who is enlisted in the Service of God, to be busy about worldly Affairs. What then, do the Bishop of *Luçon* and his Brethren think, that that Maxim of *St. Paul* was good only for the Apostolical Times?

Another Place of his Speech was likewise much reflected upon by the Courtiers, though unjustly. He required a thing which was in itself very agreeable to the Intentions of the Benefactors to the Church, viz. That the Livings and Benefices should no longer be bestowed upon

Lewis 13.
1615.
Pope Paul
V.

Lewis 13. upon Laymen as a Recompence for
 1615. Services. *Do the Ecclesiasticks, say they,*
 Pope Paul V. *a better Use than we do of the Church Reve*
 } *Are not those rich Foundations every bit a*
employed for the Support of the Nobility, who
wasted their Estates in the Service of ib
tion, as for the Support of the Luxury and
of Monsieur the Commendatary Abbot? Al
was misplaced indeed, every thing must b
plied to the proper use design'd by the
nor. But had these Courtiers retorted th
gument against the Bishop, and said, If Ch
men conspicuous for their Integrity, Moder
Sagacity, and long Experience, may be a
ed to sit in the King's Council, and to
their Advices upon the Occurrences of the
vernment, even the most emergent Affai
they can be admitted into certain Civil
ployments, which are not inconsistent with
main Character, and don't hinder them
performing with a diligent Care, the Dut
their Pastoral Office; at least, must they

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches* in FRANCE. 653

shops, namely, Cardinal *de Sourdis*, Archbishop of *Bordeaux*, who had the Command of the *French Fleet*; and Cardinal *de la Valette*, Archbishop of *Toulouse*, who commanded an Army. Lewis 13.
1615.
Pope Paul
V.

Had the Clergy obtained then all that they demanded by their Bill and by their Speaker, the whole Kingdom would have been overturned, and the *Reformed Churches* utterly destroyed; but either that their Demands were thought too exorbitant, and unjust, or rather that the Court was not then in a Condition to gratify them with safety, most part of them, which were against the Reformed, were put off to a better opportunity. However, it is certain, that these Articles, which the Clergy had drawn up in their Bill, and presented then to the King, served hence-forward as the Basis of all the Injustices done to the Churches, and of all the Persecutions they had to suffer from their bloody Enemies. Not used to be deny'd of any thing when they have once put it in their Heads, they did never desist till they had compleated our Ruin.

As the Nobility acted so unanimously with the Clergy, that they demanded almost the same things as they; Baron *de Senecey* presented their Bill to the King, and spoke but very little wiser than *Pont St. Pierre* their Foreman, in that he would not have his Speech printed.

Miron, Speaker of the Commons, spoke the last, and though his Speech was not so polite as the Bishop of *Luçon's*, there was in it a great deal more Solidity and Perspicuity, grave without Affectation, dutiful without Biseness, free without Indecency, every Man of Taste admired the just *Medium* he had taken for representing in a lively manner, the miserable condition the Kingdom was in, and the manifold Disorders

Lewis 13. Disorders that had crept into the Administration
 1615. of the Government. The Reformed them-
 Pope Paul had all reason in the World to be well
 V. sed with him, for he insisted much upon
 due Observation of the Edicts of Peace.

The King received their several Bills, promised to examine and answer them, and redress their Grievances, and gave them to stay by their Deputies at *Paris*, till they received that Answer; so ended the last general States, which have been held in *France*. Great things were expected from them for Benefit of the Kingdom, and indeed had good Intentions of the House of Commons been supported by the two other Houses, likely they would have proved very advantageous to the Subjects; but unluckily, the Pride of *Condé's* weariness and weakness, the Lord Clergy's Prevarications defeated all these Intentions, and frustrated the Hopes of a true *Frenchman*. (x)

Book VII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 655

The Prince of *Condé*, who had expected to raise his Authority, by the means of the States, on the contrary, lost the little he had left by his own Fickleness and Mismanagement; (y) and the Queen caught him in the same Snare he had set out for her. She remained in possession of the Government in spite of him; and she got the approbation of the Marriages she had concluded. The Marshal of *Bouillon* had been very useful to her on that Occasion, and had served her in hopes of Preferment. But when he found that no more Notice was taken of him than before, he resolved to be revenged, and renewed Intrigues which finally ruined

Louis 13.

1615.

Pope Paul V.

New Broils at Court.

(y) During the Sitzings of the States, that Prince was so imprudent, as to expose his own Dignity in the basest Manner. He had had two Gentlemen in his Household, nameiy, *Marcillac* and *Rocheport*, the last whereof was one of his most intimate Confidants. *Marcillac* quitted the Prince's Service, and entered into the Queen's. His Highness suspecting that he did him some ill Office near her Majesty, and that he had revealed unto her some of his important Secrets, commanded all his Household to assault *Marcillac*, when they should meet him in their way, and not to spare him: He was obeyed. *Rocheport* took that shameful Commission upon him, and being attended by five Horsemen, and five Footmen, he fell upon *Marcillac* with Swords and Sticks in *St. Honore's-street*. Their Majesties having Notice of that Violence, ordered their Attorney-General to inform against, and to prosecute *Rocheport* as a base Assassin. The Prince went the next Day to the Council, he expostulated with the Queen about that Order, he owned the Fact as done by his Orders. The Queen answer'd him as he deserved. The Prince went out full of Rage. His unreasonable Passion compleated the loss of the small Interest he had left in the States. The three Houses sent to the *Louvre*, and expressed their utmost Abhorrence of the Fact. The Parliament continued his Prosecutions, and it would have fard very bad for *Rocheport*, had not the Prince buckled, he most humbly begg'd Pardon of their Majesties, which being granted, *Rocheport* obtained Letters of Abolition, and that Affair was suppressed. Lettres & Mem. de Du P. *Je*, Tom. III.

Lewis 13. ruined the Queen's Affairs : but which, at the
 1615. same time, occasioned the decay of the *Reform-*
Pope Paul *ed Religion*, and the Slavery of *France*. The
 V. Prince of *Condé* being much dissatisfied with
 the States, and yet more with the Queen, wil-
 ingly hearkened to the Propositions of other
 Discontents, and conceived great hopes of a bet-
 ter success of his new Follies.

For which purpose, it was requisite to set
 three Wheels a-going : The People, the Par-
 liament of *Paris*, and the Reformed. He was
 sure enough of the first, their Representatives in
 the House of Commons, having received so
 little Satisfaction upon their Bill of Grievances,
 it was plain enough, that their Principals would
 highly resent it, and be tempted to seek out
 other Remedies to redress the said Grievances.
 Though there were several Members in the Par-
 liament, which were as much dissatisfied as the
 Prince, but on more noble Principles, and
 thought themselves in Duty bound, to redress
 by their Authority, the Affairs ruined by the
 false Policy and Corruption of the Court. Ne-
 vertheless, that would have availed very little,
 and they would not have stirred in his Be-
 half, had it not been for the crafty Duke of
Bouillon's Insinuations and Presuasions. That
 Lord had observed, that the Parliament of *Pa-*
ris, did not entertain an Opinion of the Ho-
 nesty and Ability of the Prince, good enough
 for engaging them to declare in his Behalf,
 when, of his own accord, he should have made
 some overt-act against the Court. Therefore
 he thought that he might better succeed, if he
 could engage the Parliament to declare the first
 in such a manner, that would necessarily oblige
 that illustrious Body to make their Address to
 the Prince and the Lords of his Party, for the
 support

support of their Undertaking. For compassing this end, the Marshal spared no trouble; he display'd all his Wit and Dexterity with such a success, that these grave Senators found themselves ensnared unawares, even those who were resolved not to meddle with this new Faction, were engaged therein against their own Inclination. The Parliament being thus disposed to undertake the Reformation of the State, they issued out a Proclamation the 28th of *March*, whereby they invited the Princes, Dukes, Peers, and the Crown Officers having a Right of sitting and voting in Parliament, and who were then at *Paris*, to come to deliberate with the Lord Chancellor and all the Chambers assembled together, about the Propositions to be made for the King's Service, the Relief of his Subjects, and the Welfare of his Kingdom. The Court was extremely alarmed at this Proclamation. The Queen, in her Son's Name, sent a Prohibition to the Prince of *Condé* to attend the Parliament. The Parliament received a like Prohibition to proceed any further, and repeated Orders to take the said Proclamation out of the Register Book. Notwithstanding all these Instances, the Parliament, at the Marshal of *Bouillon's* Instigation, drew up their Remonstrances, which were presented to his Majesty by their Deputies in the Month of *May*.

After having much magnify'd the great Services done to the Nation by the Parliament, and the Antiquity of its Settlement, equal, as they pretended, with the Monarchy it self, and that the most important Affairs of State had been managed by its Directions, or that the King had had Occasion to repent his having slighted their Counsels, they upbraided young *Lewis*, for having begun his Majority by absolute Commands

Lewis 1
1615
Pope Paul
V.

Remon-
strances of
the Parlia-
ment.

1615.
 Lewis 13.
 Pope Paul V.
 658 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
 mands, they told him, that he ought not
 to accustom himself to Actions, which good King
 like himself, but very seldom, made use of
 Then, they added, that they were most deeply
 concerned for the Attempt made in the last
 States, to render dubious and problematical the
 Sovereign Power of their Kings, and to subvert
 thereby the Fundamental Law of the Realm
 That in order to stop the Progress of such
 pernicious Maxims, and not to suffer that his
 Sovereignty, which he did hold only, and im-
 mediately of God, should be submitted to an
 foreign Power under any Pretence whatsoever
 it was proper to order that the ancient Laws
 from time out of mind settled in the King-
 dom, together with the Decrees from time to
 time issued out upon the same Account, should
 be renewed and executed, and those who did
 attempt to submit his Royal Authority to an
 foreign Power whatever it be, should be held
 as Enemies of the State. Then they proposed
 several Articles concerning the Government of
 the State, the King's Counsel, the Persons to be
 admitted in the Administration of the Finances
 bitterly complaining of the scandalous Mis-
 management of those who had had the Direction
 of them since the late King's Death. Then
 they exhorted his Majesty, to preserve the Dig-
 nity and Splendor of the Catholick Religion, as
 far as it was consistent with the Edicts of Paci-
 fication, and to prefer to the first Dignities only
 such of the Church, as were Persons conspicuous
 for their Birth, Learning and Piety. They
 required, that the Military Charges should not
 be sold, as they were; that the Government
 of Provinces, Strong-holds, &c. should not be
 bestowed upon Foreigners, and several other
 things concerning the Administration of Justice

insels and Artifices of those concerned
they will be obliged for the Discharge
own Conscience, the Service of their
s, and the Preservation of the State, to
publicly the Authors of these Disorders,
publish^d their manifold Misdemeanors,

: Remonstrances had the Effect which
e of *Bouillon* expected. The Court was
ted against the Parliament; the Queen
ot refrain her Indignation, she vented
ry sharp Expressions which she made
when she answered the first President
ss. And the very next day, 23d of
e King's Council issued out a Decree,
that of the Parliament was reversed
ulled, as abusive, and exceeding the
of the Power ascribed unto them by the
their Institution, being a Tribunal set-
y for administering Justice to the Sub-
d not for taking Cognizance of the Af-
the Government, &c. The Duke of
and others, the Prince's Adherents.

Mirande and *Bertheville*, adjoin the Churches, and who were at liciting about a General Political A made sure of them, by shewing what means he designed to ma redressing the Grievances of the K the Advantages which the Refor reap therefrom; and in order to p the better, he made them very i as to their own private Concerns. them he made him hope for the the States of the *United Provinces* for a Charge in the Chamber of tl another for being named Genera the Reformed Churches of *France*, *ful and persuasive Means!* as the *I ban* observes (a).

Of Les
Diguieres.
The Reformed had obtained lea for holding a General Political A *Grenoble* on the 15th of *July*. did not agree on the Place, no mo time, because it was too short. As t they thought to have very good mistrusting the Duke of *T...*

the first Years of *Henry IV.* So that he
Honours or Preferments bestowed upon
out what he justly deserved. But if he
be sufficiently commended for his Ci-
l Military Virtues and Atchievements,
not say the same as to his Morals.

have already seen what his Avarice
ed him to do, in regard to a consider-
m of Money, which the Province of
did send abroad, in order to be laid
Stock for the Benefit of their poor Stu-
he did stop it, and notwithstanding se-
stances of the Synod's, and King *Hen-*
s repeated Orders, he could never be
ed to restore the whole. But that was
worst of his Character. After having
d a certain Woman, namely *Mary Vig-*
elope from her Husband *Ennemond Ma-*
Mercer of *Grenoble*, he kept her, and
no Daughters by her. For a few Years
ok care to conceal their criminal Con-
m from the Publick. But when the
l's Lady was dead, *Mary Vignon* had

Lewis 13. was still living, that was an Obstacle to be first removed, before she could obtain the Gratification of her Ambition. She resolved upon that Murder, the Marshal himself consented to it. Colonel *Alard*, his trusty Friend, and Agent of the Duke of *Savoy*, offered his Services for the Execution of that execrable Plot; he was accepted, and *Matel* was assassinated. *Alard* was soon suspected of being the Author, or at least Abettor of that Crime, his Intrigues with *La Moyranc*, were too publick. He was arrested by the Parliament of *Grenoble's* Orders. The Marshal, who had been out of Town, while the Murder was perpetrated, came back in all haste, when he heard that *Alard* was arrested. He went himself to Goal, and released the Prisoner, on pretence, that being a Minister of the Duke of *Savoy*, he could not be prosecuted without Leave of his Highness. The first President of *Grenoble*, provoked at this Audaciousness, which plainly discovered the Marshal's Guilt, made much noise about it, but all

ried after the Roman Ceremonial. It is needl^es Lewis 13.
to relate here the two incestuous Marriages in 1615.
his Family, viz. that of the Marshal of Cre- ^{Pope Paul}
qui, who having married the lawful Daughter ^{V.}
of *Les Diguieres*, married, after her Death, her
own Sister, which the Marshal had had by
La Vignon : And that of the Count of *Sault*,
Son to *Crequi*, and Grandson to *Les Diguieres*,
with the second Natural Daughter of this last
who consequently was his Aunt by his Mother's
side (*b*).

Upon these accounts it was, that the Re-
formed insisted so warmly upon another Place,
being afraid, lest the Marshal would sacrifice
to his Fortune, the Liberty of the Assembly,
and the Concerns of their Religion. Nay, it
was very likely, that the Court had appoint-
ed *Grenoble* in such a nice Circumstance, after
having made sure of *Les Diguieres*, and ha-
ving received his word, that nothing should be
done against the Queen Regent's Will. We
have seen above, that the National Synod held
at *Tonneins*, had much insisted at Court by
their Deputies for obtaining another Place, and
a longer time, that the Provinces might be
better enabled to draw up the Instructions of
their Representatives in the General Assembly.
They required likewise, that certain Modifi-
cations, inserted in the Brief of the Crown,
should be cut off. The Court willingly agreed
to a further Prolongation of the time, but re-
fused to make any Alteration in the said Brief ;
and as to the Place, the Council insisted on
the same, on pretence, that the Circumstances
of the Affairs in *Italy* obliged them to keep
fair with the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, with

X x 3 whom

(*b*) Vie du Connetable de Les Diguieres, Liv. ix. c. 5.
Le Vassor Hist. de Louis XIII. Tom. ii. Liv. vii.

Lewis 13. whom the Duke of Savoy kept a strict
 1615. spondence.

Pope Paul V. *Du Plessis* spoke upon that Subject

The Court Majesty, when the Court was at T.
insist as to Year before; his Arguments were so
the Place. ing, that she offered to transfer the

from *Grenoble* to *Saumur*, being sure t
 a wise and faithful Governour woul
 suffer any Transaction contrary to the
 of the Kingdom, and the Service of
 jesty. But *Du Plessis*, unwilling to al
 occasion of Jealousy to the other Chic
Reformed, thought proper to decline
 nour, and the Court at that time dic
 termine any thing upon that Subject

That Great Man tried whether he c
 gage *Les Diguieres* to follow his Exan
 to decline of his own accord the Hono
 the Court offered unto him. But t
 shal was deaf to all his Remonstrar
 even he pretended to be offended :
 So that several of the Provinces, un
 he at his discretion, and provoked

...ing they on a sudden altered their
s, and required *Grenoble* for the Place of ^{granted.}

Assembly, threatening to go there of their
accord, in case they were refused, pro-
that *Les Diguieres* would receive them.

at new and unexpected Résolution cre-
some Jealousies at Court. But the Mar-
so positively promised to the Queen to
ge the Assembly to her liking, that at
he granted their Request, and appointed
15th of July 1615, for the opening of
Assembly, where they met according-

ing these Broils, the Prince of *Condé*, and ^{Retreat of}
ords of his Party, viz. the Dukes of ^{the Prince,}
en, Longueville, Mayenne, &c. endeavour'd ^{&c. from}
ocure some delay for the King's Jour- ^{Court.}
o *Bayonne*, where he was to go for ac-
lishing the intended Marriages. But all
Artifices proving ineffectual, they left the
; flattering themselves with this frivolous
tation, that the Parliament would side
them. Wherein indeed they were much
ben. for the Parliament. five days after.

Lewis 13. Government of *Picardy* ; this happened on the
 1615. 15th of July.
 Pope Paul V.

On the 27th the Prince wrote to the King,
 a Letter of Complaints about the Disorders of
 the State. Nevertheless, the Queen Regent
 made the necessary Preparations for the King's
 Journey ; but she was very sensible of the
 Danger there was to leave the Provinces on
 this side the *Loire*, and *Paris* itself, exposed
 to the Mercy of the Prince and the Lords of
 his Party : Therefore she took all imaginable
 care for engaging the Prince to attend the
 King upon his Journey. The Countess Dow-
 ager of *Soissons*, and the Duke of *Nevers's* En-
 deavours for that Purpose were fruitless. *Vil-
 leroy*, Secretary of State, after two Conferences
 with his Highness, prevailed at last with him
 to come to a Treaty, which ought to have been
 concluded at *Coucy*. But the Marshal *D'Ancre*,
 Chancellor *de Sillery*, and others of the same
 Party, dreading for their Fortunes the Conse-
 quences of that Conclusion, once again sacri-
 ficed the publick Good to their private Con-
 cerns, and persuaded their Majesties to send
De Pontchartain with a Letter to the Prince,
 dated the 26th of July, whereby the King
 declared, that being resolved to set out for
Guienne on the 1st of *August*, he desired to
 know precisely, whether he would attend him
 or no.

Villeroy and *Jeannin* were no less surprised
 at this unexpected turn of Affairs, than the
 Prince himself and the Lords of his Party, as-
 sembled at *Coucy*. The Duke of *Bouillon* im-
 proved this opportunity to break the Confe-
 rences, and the Prince following his Directions,
 turned all his Thoughts to a Civil War. They
 wrote in concert to their Majesties, but as
 that

ie with them, the Author thereof intended
to insert amongst the Grievances he com-
ed of, the many Infractions of the Edicts
cification, and the just Grounds they had
questioning the Sincerity of the Court,
for putting themselves in a State of De-
against the prevailing Artifices of their
-thirsty Enemies.

At the Queen, fully bent on the Ac-^{The King}
lishment of the double Marriage, took ^{sets out for}
Notice of the Prince's Manifesto, and ^{his Jour-}
g way to the Counsels of Marshal D'An-^{ney.}
the Chancellor, and others of the same
on, she set out with the King, &c. for
leaux on the 17th of *August*, after ha-^{And pub-}
issued out a Declaration, for preventing ^{lish a De-}
mpression which the Libels of the Male-^{claration}
nts could make upon the Minds of ^{against the}
People. It contained a full Account of ^{Prince,}
he Advances made to the Prince in or-^{&c.}
to engage him, and the Lords of his Party,
tend his Majesty in his Journey, and of
Offers made unto him to order the State's
in to the general Satisfaction of every one.

...among his subjects, Ca
formed, and to cause the E
tion to be strictly kept.

*Its Ineffica-
cy on ac-
count of the
petulant
Spirit of
the Clergy.* That Declaration in gene
Article in particular, would
very effectual means for cro
ing the Duke of *Bouillon's* Int
sembly of the Reformed at C
that of the Clergy convened
at *Paris*, given too great
to the Friends of the Prince,
formed, and created Jealousi
even among those who desire
to live peaceably in their Rel
Protection of the Edicts.

*DuPlessis's
good Ad-
vices.* The wise *Du Plessis* had ta
to instil those Principles in th
veral of the Representatives of
of *Grenoble*. He had drawn
sent to the General Deputies, v
deavoured to make them sensi
Necessity there was, that the
should endeavour to render t
sure and stable, rather than to

tain them with less Difficulty. It matters
for us, that the King should not be pre-
in his Youth against us. To be sure he
ate us, if he is obliged to take up his first
against us, &c. Our Enemies do show
ally unto him the Scars, let us endeavour
ke him know those who have made the
is, which have been cured by the late King.
is not flatter ourselves. All the Princes
ROPE, even the Protestants themselves,
that FRANCE should be at peace and
bing. And indeed, what other Weight could
ppose to the Power of the House of Au-
a? He told those Representatives, who
d him before they set out for Grenoble,
they ought to be very careful not to mix
CAUSE OF RELIGION with any other
soever, how just and reasonable it might
r. I don't pretend, says he, to blame the
ce, nor the Lords of his Party. It is their
Business, to render their Intentions, just and
in the sight of the Searcher of the Hearts.
unto our Assemblies, it don't belong to take

Extirpation of Heresy!

But for all that, *Du Plessis* (ried his Point, had not the said) took at that very time and unwarrantable Step, the Tranquillity of the State been seen for many Years together assembled only for renewing the Town-house of *Paris*, and the Accounts of their Receipts the Prelates and the low Clergy their head to swear that the Council of *Trent* *. The Court was ordered to notify the King's Majesty, in a Remonstrance he in the Clergy's Name, and to the vocation of the Provincial Council Decrees of *Trent* should be so. The Court was not at all pl

* *Du Plessis* takes notice of an Assembly to be held about the same time as the Assembly of the Reformed, but he don't say was transacted therein. I have extracted
V. G.

unseasonable Remonstrances, and the Chancellor was vexed at them. He spoke vehemently to the Cardinal of *La Rochefoucault*, one of the chief Promoters of them, and very big words passed between them both upon that account. However, the Friends which the Prince of *Condé* had in the Assembly, missed not this Opportunity of serving him. They magnified the Danger the Churches were in of falling a Sacrifice to their Enemies, from whence they inferred an indispensable Necessity to seek their own Preservation, in a strict Union with the Prince, who was firmly and sincerely resolved not to yield, till he had obtained a Reformation in the Government, and a full Security for the Reformed Churches.

The Assembly had opened their Sessions on the 15th of *July*; and the Duke of *Les Diguières* having declined the Presidentship unanimously offered unto him by the Members, the Baron of *Blet*, one of the Representatives for the Province of *Anjou*, was named in his stead; the Rev. Mr. *Durand*, Minister of *Charenton*, and one of the Representatives for the *Isle of France*, was Assessor, and Messieurs *Boisfeuill* and *Maniald*, Secretaries. The Prince sent a Deputy to the Assembly, namely *De La Haye*, with the Manifesto he had lately published. This Gentleman set forth before them, the great and manifold Advantages which they should reap for their Churches, from their Junction with his Master; and promised them, that he would conclude nothing without their Advices. The Prince's Adherents in the said Assembly, durst not then speak their mind too openly, being aw'd by the Duke of *Les Diguières*.

Never-

Lewis 13.
1615.
Pope Paul
V.

as in his Memoirs, that out
puties, *Desbordes Mercier*, (for-
merly one of the Deputies Gen-
es, and was in a strict Corresp-
Marshal of *Bouillon*) adhered
was a Man of a very great ex-
perience in the Affairs; that
namely, *Champeaux* and *Mas-
sieu* of his own Dependants; and
not that the first was so far from
Prince, so that, far from mistrust-
ing his Abilities, he wholly trust-

They presented two Bills to
to the King, but they were put
for an Answer. Amongst the
ed in the Bills, whereupon the
first, there was one perfectly
to break, or at least to put off the
the Marriages with *Spain*. A
Du Plessis rightly observes, was it
for making such a Demand, when
was already eighty Leagues gone
tended Journey? Why did the
greater Diligence?

of 100,000 troops, which, however, was so lucky
to get off clear from the Pursuits of Mar-
le Bois Dauphin, who commanded the
Army. Some charged that General with
by his Irresolutions, the Opportunity of
the Prince's Troops: but others thought,
had Orders not to engage in a Battle, but
to amuse the Enemy, till the Exchange
Princesses of *France* and *Spain*, should
be accomplished; because the Court expected
that the Prince would be more tractable.

Deputies of the Assembly were ad- *Their De-*
mitted to the King's Audience at *Poitiers*, and *mands.*
where Bills of Grievances were examined in the
Parliament. One of them was general, and the
other particular, containing some particular Com-
plaints and Demands of consequence. The
first contained twenty-five Articles, the Sub-
stance whereof amounts to this: That the
Independency from any other Power
on Earth, should be for the future a funda-
mental Law of the Realm, agreeably to the
Decree of the Commons in the late Assembly
of 1614. That a Bill should be

Lewis 13. excepted out of his Coronation Oath
 1615. any Ecclesiasticks of the King's Coun
 Pope Paul others, notoriously suspected by the R
 V. should be challenged, whenever any th
 concerning the said Reformed should be
 in the said Council: That the Catholick
 of *Bearn* should not be admitted into th
 cil of that Country; That the Sovereig
 cil of *Bearn* should desist from their
 tions against the Deputies of that Coun
 their attending the Assembly at *Grenobl*
 the said Country might be allowed to
 at its Turn the National Synod, as
 vinces in *France* were allowed to do:
 Promises made in the King's Name to
 sembly of *Rochelle*, by the Lord *De*
 one of the Deputies General, concern
 Title, PRETENDED REFORMED RE
 and the Tolerance of the Political Pr
 Councils, should be performed: That t
 of *Berger* Counsellor in the Parliamen
 ris, who had turned Catholick, should
 cleared vacant, and filled up by anothe

reformed for the King's independency
safety, were kindly received. A more strict
nation about the late King's Death was
sed. The Challenge against the *Roman*
men of the King's Council, in the Case
mentioned, was granted: As also the
Declaration concerning his Coronation.

But as to the Title of Pretended Re-
d Religion, they refused to make any Al-
m in it; but they allow'd a new Form of
rites, which the Ministers could make
upon Occasion, viz. *I A. B. Minister of*
such settled in such a Place, according to
W^t, do hereby certify, &c. The Attor-
were likewise allowed when they should
mention of mentioning their Religion, to
fit, the Religion according to the Edit.
cession of a new Counsellorship instead
ger's was promised. The Deputies of
were allow'd to sit in the Ecclesiastical
alitical Assemblies conven'd in the King-
by the King's Licence. But as to the
Articles, concerning that Principality,
were not favourably answer'd no more

Lewis 13. ssembly, that they were not satisfactory. I
1615. vertheless they were not yet dismissed; wh
Pope Paul created great Jealousies and Suspensions in the
V. Assembly. They insisted for leave to ret
 to *Grenoble*, but every day some Pretence
 other was given for detaining them longer;
 last when they desired to have the said A
 swers deliver'd into their Hands, they w
 told, that they might set out, and that *Frs*
 Master of the Requests, would follow th
 speedily with the said Answers to the Assemb
 And indeed they would have been obliq
 to set out without them, had it not been
Du Plessis's reiterated Instances, setting forth
 sad Inconveniences wherewith such a den
 would be attended. The Queen yielded to
 Arguments, and the said Answers were deliv
 ed unto them.

*They write
 to the Duke
 of Rohan.*

We have already declared the Inclination
 of these Deputies, when they set out from *G*
noble. Now we must know, that having be
 put off from *Tours*, or *Amboise*, to *Poitier*

the Reversion of the Government of *Poitou*, which she had promised him before, with the Consent of the Duke of *Sully*, who enjoyed it at that time. The Duke of *Soubize* his Brother added new Fuel to these Discontents: he was already engaged with the Prince, and he had no rest till he had won his Brother *Rohan* to the same Interest. So that, overcoming the Reluctancy he had at first of entering into a Party which he knew to be wholly managed by the Marshal of *Bouillon*, whom he looked upon as his Enemy, he yielded to the Temptation, and took this Opportunity for making the Queen sensible, that he was not a Man to be slighted. I don't charge him beyond his own Confession, for he himself owns so much in his Memoirs, and so much he owned to the Queen when Peace was made (g). As he was coming from *St. Maixant* to *St. John's*, he met a Gentleman, sent to him by Count of *St. Pol*, who solicited him to join with him for thwarting the Marriages of *Spain*, and three other Gentlemen, sent (*as hyperbolically he says*) by all the Governors and the Nobility amongst the Reformed, (*this must be understood only of some few in GUIENNE, where the Sun shines very hot* :) who invited him to the same, and named him for their General, they told him positively, that *St. Pol* would put *Fronsac* into his hands as a Pledge of his Fidelity. Lured by such a fine Show, he went into *Guienne*, where he found, to his great Surprise, that *St. Pol*, and all the Catholicks with him, had made their Appointment with the Court. Nevertheless having desired a Provincial

Lewis 13.
1615.
Pope Paul
V.

Y y 2 . . . cial

(g) Memoires du Duc de Rohan, Liv. p. 45, 46, & 57.

Lewis 13. cial Assembly at *Montauban*, where the Mar-
1615. quess of *La Force* and some other Lords and
Pope Paul Gentlemen of the Reformed Religion met toge-
V. ther, they resolved, that, while the King was
detained at *Poitiers*, because of his Sister's Sick-
ness, they would set on foot an Army of six
thousand Foot and five hundred Horse ; which,
however could never be effected, for they could
not get together any more than two thousand
Men (*b*).

Transac- But we must transport ourselves to *Grenoble*,
tions of the and see what they were doing in the Assem-
Assembly bly. As soon as it was known, that the Court
at Gre- was set out from *Paris* for the intended Jour-
noble. ney, *La Haye*, the Prince's Envoy, and the
Emissaries of the Marshal of *Bouillon*, did all
their Endeavours to increase the Suspicions
and Jealousies of the Assembly, and succeeded
so far as to engage them to send in all haste
Du Buisson to Court with Letters to their Ma-
jesties, for supporting the Demands made by
the Prince in his Manifesto. They boldly ex-

from her Pretensions ; to reform the
; and to consent to what the whol-
part of the States-General, and the Par-
of *Paris* had required. These were the
nts of the great *Du Plessis*. That *Chri-*
ero was vexed to his very Heart, when
d of the imprudent and rash Proceed-
d Transactions of the *Gratianopolitan*
ly ; he wrote a very moving Letter
hat Subject to the Marshal Duke of *Les*
es, intreating him to make use of his
ity for preventing the Mischief where-
e Hastiness of some People might be
d, and for procuring a solid Peace to
urchea. To this, he added a Memoir,
he desired him to keep secret, that is,
al the Author's Name, and not to suf-
o be transcribed. The Perspicuity and
r of his Reasons are such, that nothing
Kind can be parallel'd with it ; and
been a Prophet, he could not fore-
re plainly what happened. It is as

it DOSE that all these of this Com. D. M. G. 1.

Lewis 13. That they also have before their Eyes
 1615. State and Intentions of the Provinces by
 Pope Paul they are deputed, and consider in the
 V. deliberations the Advantages, or Disadvantages
 which may accrue from thence.

That they moreover consider, that they
 not determine any thing, concerning our
 Affairs, about which they have no Information
 from their Principals, and on which their
 good or bad Fortune of their said Provinces
 nevertheless depend, without consulting
 otherwise they endanger themselves, as
 often happen'd, to the great prejudice of the
 Union which we should, and will prefer
 to be follow'd in every Thing; because
 may say, that the Majority cannot be
 except for those Things of which Controversy
 been given to debate.

I suppose then, that the End of this
 Company is the Peace and Tranquillity of the
 Churches, according to their Universal Principles.
 But because it happens very often, that

l for, the Disadvantages of which cannot
e very great.

e insist upon the deferring of the King's
sey ; there was some Likelihood of that,
e the King left *Paris* ; but our Deputies
him at *Amboise*, and Mr. *De Buiffon* at *Poi-*
; from which one may judge what Possi-
there is of obtaining that he should go
, and what Means of insisting on that
le, so much the more because not only the
e is at the other end of the Kingdom,
does nothing which can make the King
back, but he even seems to desist from
Instance, and to rest satisfied that some
ilation might be made as to the Gover-
agreeable to the former Ordinances ; by
e means, the Foreigners should not be
ted into the Council, nor enabled to hold
es and Benefices in the Kingdom.

nd indeed, as soon as the Queen will have
splished the Marriages, and that the Prince
ind himself unable to hinder them, there
s doubt, but that the said Lady will


Lewis 13. shews that neither side is willing to bring T
1615. into a desperate Condition; and therefore
Pope Paul V. is some danger, lest all the Odium f
fall on our Churches.

Mr. *De Veneville* may according to h
delity have reported what Posture he
things in, very different from what is
out; and that Party is daily seen to d
those whom the Prince valu'd, in these
or elsewhere, either accepting Posts against
or binding themselves by Rewards; w
cannot conceal, without injuring my Conf
and the Welfare of our Churches, which
stick fast to Ruins, which would be
down upon them.

They might, instead of that, make thei
fit of this Opportunity, by making use
in due Season, as I said to our Deputies;
otherwise is in danger of decaying and
coming useless unto them, every one doi
own Business, and ours, which we shou
ways prefer, remaining undone. I do no

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 683

For if walking always in those steep Places Lewis 13.
we happen to fall in the Precipice of War, the 1615.
following Inconveniencies are unavoidable. Pope Paul V.

We shall have been willing to shew forth 
our Union, and it will decay more and more,
every one not being capable of consenting to
his own Ruin.

The Deputies of the Provinces to whom
Peace has been especially recommended will be
disapproved on their Return, and they will be
asked by what Authority they have concluded
Things, on which they even had not Orders to
vote.

The King will be advised to make use either
of Lenity or Severity ; if of Lenity, by suf-
fering all those to live under the Protection of
his Edicts, who shall remain quiet, thereby he
will draw away from those who will have taken
up Arms, the best part of those who might
have assisted them, and so he will easily over-
power them, and with the Ruins of the first
Places, they will fill up the Ditches of the
others ; if of Severity, by prohibiting the
Exercise of our Religion, and ill using its Pro-
fessors in the Provinces which have no Places of
Retreat, we shall in one Day lose two or three
hundred Churches, and among them, some of
the most flourishing ones ; which within these
eighteen Years we have had so much Trouble
to raise out of their Ruins, in danger of never
being able to raise them again ; besides the
Massacres which will be committed in different
Places, at the Instigation of the *Jesuits*, who
will not let slip that Opportunity, and will
find the People every where exasperated at
those, whom they will think Authors of the
War.

The

Lewis 13. Blessing which we have so often manifestly experienced in our just Wars, which he will crown with Success to the Glory of his Name, and the Spiritual and Temporal Advancement of our Churches. Follows an humble Assurance of ever remaining steadfast to the Union of the Churches. (j)

1615.
Pope Paul V.

Continuation of the Assembly.

Every Thing which *Du Plessis* foresaw, fell out as he had foretold. That Memoir was dated the 7th of *September*. Few Days before, that is the 25th of *August*, the said Assembly had sent two Deputies, one into *Guienne*, and the other into *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*, with circular Letters directed to the Dukes of *La Trimoille*, *Roban*, *Sully*, the Count of *Chatillon*, and the Lord *Du Plessis*; wherein after an Account given of the Situation of their Affairs, especially as to the Prince, they required of them not to engage themselves with either of the two Parties, but to remain free and prepared for executing the Orders which the said Assembly should think proper to send unto

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 687

His Party prevailed in the Assembly, notwithstanding the Oppositions of the soberest part amongst them, and the wise Remonstrances of *Du Plessis*; not that any of them pretended that the Duke of *Roban*, ought to be forsaken to the Mercy of his Enemies, but they judged rightly, that it was very hard and unjust to expose so many Thousands of Families to the Danger of being utterly undone for the sake of one who out of Spite and Revenge had rashly attempted to involve them in the miseries of a civil War; even without taking Advice, much less waiting for the Consent of the Assembly, which represented the whole Body of the Churches. Therefore they thought that it would be more prudent to take the way of Negotiation, and to endeavour to bring Matters to an Agreement, and to reconcile the Duke with the Court, who certainly would not make in the present Circumstances many nor great Difficulties. Thereby they would avoid the Scandal which a Rupture with the Court would certainly give. That Advice was too prudent and too solid for a petulant and a hasty Youth, it did not agree with the ambitious Schemes of others, who had built their Advancement and Fortune upon the present civil Commotions. These were the strongest in the Assembly, they carried their Point, the Votes of the Majority were for owning the Duke's Enterprize, for taking him under the Protection of the Churches.

Lewis 13.
1615.
Pope Paul
V.

Which is
imprudently
granted.

But in order fully to evince the Innocency of our Churches, and of the Religion they did profess, it will be enough to observe, that their Consistories disowned these Proceedings of the Assembly, at least in every Place where the Consistories were free and respected; so that

The Churches
disown this
Proceeding
of the Assembly.

Lewis 13. that *Roban* had the Mortification to see himself
 1615. forced to renounce this time, the ambitious
Pope Paul Title of General of the Reformed Churches,
 V. bestowed upon him by the aforementioned provincial Assembly held at *Montauban*, through the stout Resistance of the Ministers and Consistories of the Churches of the present and former Consuls and all the Magistrates of that City, most part whereof professed the Reformed Religion. And it is very remarkable, that during these civil Commotions, not one Sword was drawn out of the Scabbard in the Provinces of *Languedoc*, *Dauphiné*, and Part of *Guienne*: True it is, that when the Reformed of the *Cevennes*, heard of the danger the Duke of *Roban* was in, they betook themselves to Arms in his Defence; but they were obliged to lay them down as soon as they had taken them up, thro' the prudent Care and Management of the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, and some of the soberest of the Assembly. Nevertheless, as the Princes Faction thought themselves to be kept under too great a Restraint by the Marshal of

The Assembly removed themselves

at Angoulême to Court, to justify, or at
to excuse their Proceedings, on account of
want of Liberty at *Grenoble*, and to be-
his Majesty to approve of the Place where
and removed, or to appoint them another
they should not be aw'd by the Presence
authority of any Governour. They met
out at *Angoulême* the 3d, or 4th of Oc-
and were put off to *Bordeaux*. (m)

r Royal Highness, *Madame of France*, The two
perfectly well recovered of her late Sick- Princesses
their Majesties were set out from *Poitiers* wedded by
28th of *September*, under the Conduct Proxies.
Duke of *Espenon*, attended by a Body
of about 3500 Men, Horse and Foot,
a great Number of the Nobility and
who waited upon the Roads for their
ion, with their own Retinue and Vassals.
stayed two or three days at *Angoulême*,
whence they departed on the 4th of Oc-
and arrived safe at *Bordeaux* on the 7th
same Month; the Duke of *Roban* and
adherents, being not strong enough to
any Opposition. On the 18th the Duke

Lewis 13. at *Burgos* on the same Day, in the King of

1615. *France's Name.*

Pope Paul
V.

Before their Majesties set out from *Poitiers*, they had issued out, on the 10th of *September*, a Proclamation against the Prince and his Adherents, declaring them Rebels and Traitors, if, in a Month after the Date thereof, they did not return to their Allegiance. But that hindered not the Prince from carrying on his Preparations ; and indeed, having assembled his Army, he was strong enough to attempt upon several Places in the Neighbourhood of *Paris*, to take *Chateau-Thierry*, and *Epernay* on the 30th of *September*, and to cross several Rivers, and at last the *Loire* on the 28th of *October*, and to join *Roban* and *Soubise* with the rest of the Malecontents in *Xaintonge*, *Poitou*, &c. notwithstanding the superior Forces of the Marshal *De Bois Dauphin* : So that by that Junction the Prince's Army was increased to eleven or twelve thousand Men, Horse and Foot, which caused unspeakable Damages in the Provinces aforesaid : and wherever they

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 691

were admitted to the King's Audience on the ^{Lewis 13.} 12th of *October* at *Bordeaux*. His Majesty, ^{1615.} by the Advice of his Counsel, overlooking the ^{Pope Paul V.} Rashness of the Assembly, consented to their Removal, but ordered them to repair to *Montpelier*, there to continue their Sessions; and so they were dismissed by the 16th or 18th of the said Month. His Majesty sent Orders to the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, to let the Deputies of *Dauphiné* repair to *Montpelier*; and as for the rest, he approved mightily of his Conduct.

But the Assembly, instead of obeying the ^{The As-} King's Orders, remained at *Nimes*, and aggra- ^{sembly dis-} vating more and more their Guilt, to the great ^{obeyed the} Scandal, not only of the Churches of *France*, ^{Kings Or-} but also of the foreign ones, they concluded a ^{ders, and} Treaty of Adjunction with the Prince of *Condé* ^{treat with} in his Camp of *Sanzai* in *Poitou*, on the 27th of *November*, whereby they acknowledged the said Prince for their Chief, under very great Restrictions, whereby they thought proper to secure their own Liberty; they promised him all the Assistance they could afford, and to endeavour, as much as they could, to engage the Churches of their respective Provinces to declare and take up Arms for him; both Parties agreed not to treat with the Court without the mutual Consent one of the other.

What is remarkable in this, is, that the said Assembly had asked and obtained a Pass from the King, for their Deputies, on pretence of going to the Prince's Camp, in order to engage him to hearken to some Agreement with his Majesty. And indeed their publick Instructions, which they shewed to *Du Plessis*, carried nothing but Peace in the Front; but their secret Articles, which they were to impart only to

who were the most exposed to
sects of the War. As to the
being informed that the far
the Churches disowned this. A
sired no more than to live on
benefit of the Edicts, issued
nation about the middle of May
by his Majesty declared, that by
Protection all those of his re
who should persevere in their
no considerable Town took
Assembly, besides those who
Government of Rohan, Sully, &
or Gentlemen of the same Factions.
A thing happened about the
contributed much to the forwar
rash Resolution. The Count of
to the Duke of Espernon, having
sics against his Brother De la
he thought to be better belov'd
than himself, resolv'd to join
contents; and to shew himself
he opened his Design to the Duke

*The Count
of Candale
turns Re-
formed.*

defeated his Design ; but the violent Passion ^{Lewis 13.} he was fallen in at the hearing of that unex- ^{1615.} pected News, reduced him almost to the Point ^{Pope Paul V.} of Death. His Son was outwardly reconciled with the King, and attended the Court at *Bordeaux*. But here, he asked leave to absent himself, on pretence of visiting another of his Brethren, the Arch-Bishop of *Toulouse*; instead of which, he went into the *Cevennes*, turned Reformed, was acknowledged General of that Province; and notwithstanding all the Oppositions of the Count of *Chatillon*, having joined with the Duke of *Rohan's* Adherents, he carried the Point in the Assembly, and obliged it to declare for the Prince, and to come to a Treaty with his Highness, as abovesaid (p).

On the 9th of *November*, *Madame of France* ^{Exchange} and the *Infanta* of *Spain* arrived both on the ^{of the two} Borders of the *Bidassea*, which parts the two ^{Princesses.} Kingdoms, and after some Compliments passed betwixt them and other Formalities usual on such Occasions, the Exchange was made. The *Infanta*, whom henceforward we shall call the *Reigning Queen*, proceeded on her Journey, and arrived at *Bordeaux* on the 21st, and on the 25th after a High Mass said in the Cathedral, and other Ceremonies requisite on such Occasions, the King consummated his Mariage.

On the very same day the Duke of *Nevers* ^{A Truce} arrived at Court, in order to make some O- ^{made be-} vertures of Peace, which Overtures, after many ^{tween the} Conferences and Debates, were accepted, and ^{King and} a Truce was agreed on, which was to last from ^{the} the

(p) *Vie du Duc D'Espernon*, Tom. 2. ad ann. 1615. *Mem. du Duc de Rohan*, Liv. 1. pag. 48. *Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis*, Tom. 1. ad ann. 1615. But his Conversion was only the Effect of Spite, so he did not persevere.


Lewis 13. the 21st of *January*, to the 1st of *March* en-
1615. suing. But alas, what Truce ! whereby the
Pope Paul poor People fared much worse than they could
V. have done by the most cruel War, because they
were not allowed to defend themselves. *De*
Plessis was not spared in these Desolations and
Miseries, out of spite for his Steadiness in
Loyalty. And indeed the Prince had left no
stone unturn'd in order to draw him to his
Party ; he spared neither Promises nor Threats ;
but his Fealty was proof against all manner of
Temptations, and in the five or six Memorials
which he sent to the Assembly at *Grenoble* and
then at *Nimes*, and all the Letters which
he wrote during these Troubles either to their
Majesties or their Ministers, or to his Friends,
are so many authentick Arguments of the Up-
rightness of his Heart, and the Generosity of
his Sentiments. No wonder then if he was
so much reviled, and otherwise ill used by
those who could not bear without confusion
the sparkling Rays of his Virtue. Most part

hou, *De Vic*, and *Pontchartrain*. On the
side, the Prince, the Dukes of *Longue-*
Bouillon, *Roban*, *Sully*, &c. besides the
ties of the Assembly at *Rochelle*, managed
selves the Concerns of their own Party.
Counts of *Soissons*, the Duke of *Nevers*,
the *English* Ambassador were, as one may
arbitrators; and the Conferences were held
; Prince's House. They agreed upon a
negation of the Truce. After many warm
tes, especially about the private Interest of
Individual OF THOSE MIGHTY AND
L REFORMERS OF THE STATE, I mean
PRINCE AND THE LORDS HIS ADHE-
rs; it would be too tedious here to re-
he several Intrigues carried on in that Con-
ce. The variety of the Prince's Adhe-
Designs and Interests rendered that Ne-
tion longer and more intricate than it had
expected. It lasted near three Months,
he Truce was more than once renewed,
e great Oppression of the poor People. I
relate only what concerns the Reformed.

696 . *History of the Reformation, and of the*
 Lewis 13. fulted. The Pretence of that extraordinary
 1616. Proceeding was the dangerous Sickneſs which
 Pope Paul beſel his Royal Highneſs about the middle of
 V. April, and laſted till the ſaid Concluſion. But
 the true Reaſon was, that he, and moſt of the
 Princes and the Lords of his Party, having ob-
 tained their Ends, they cared very little how
 it would fare with the Aſſembly of the Re-
 formed, who very imprudently had engage
 themſelves in that Snare. Therefore on the
 3d of May the Treaty was ſigned by the King
 Commiſſaries on one ſide, and by the Prince
 and the Lords his Adherents, each ſeparately
 in a private Inſtrument, for avoiding Diſputes
 about the Precedence, on the other.

Edict of That Treaty was publiſhed under the Title
Blois. of EDICT OF BLOIS. It contained 54 Ar-
 ticles, amongſt which, thoſe which concerne
 the publick Good became quite illuſory thro
 the Courſe which the Affairs took ; and I
 ſpeak only of thoſe wherein the Reformation
 were namely concerned, the 14th Article con-
 firmed the Edicts, and every thing which has
 any relation to them. The next created a new
 Counſellorſhip in the Parliament of *Paris*, to
 be beſtowed upon a Reformed in the room of
Berger, who had turned Catholick, upon con-
 dition that he ſhould not be deprived. The
 16th, reſtored the Exerciſe of the Reformation
 Religion in all the Places wherein it had been
 interrupted on account of the laſt Trouble
 The 17th, allowed whatever the Prince
 and his Adherents, either Catholicks or Re-
 formed, even the Members of the Aſſembly
 of *Nimes* then ſitting at *La Rochelle*, had done
 during the ſaid Troubles. The 24th, relate
 only to the *Rochelleſe*. The 47th, ordered the
 Reſtitution of the Places ſeized upon by the
 Prince

: VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 697

As Adherents : And whereas, *Tartas* Lewis 13. 1616. Pope Paul V. belonged to the Reformed, had been by the King's Forces during the Truce, Majesty ordered the Restitution thereof to  be made instantly, and before any other.

Besides those general Articles, there were private ones no less momentous than the mentioned. The first maintained the *Gal-* Church in its Liberties and Privileges. The second disowned the Pursuit of the Clergy concerning the Publication of the Council of

The fourth maintained Messrs *Ville-* Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, & *Maitre*, one of the Tellers of the Ex- er in the Possession of their Charges, of they had been deprived by their re- ve Bodies on account of their turning med. The 5th, confirmed the Exemp- f Taxes formerly granted to the Mini- by a Declaration of the 15th of *Decem-* 612 ; which had not been as yet verified. The 6th, abolished the Remembrance of the Se- of *Milband* ; and for the security of the Catholicks, they were put under the Safeguard of the Reformed. By the 8th the same was done as to that of *Belestat*, and the Protestants were put there under the Safeguard of the Catholicks. By the 10th, the great Ma- p of the Ordinances was restored to its present content in behalf of the Duke of *Sully*. The other Articles contained particular Fa- vours granted to some private Persons. There was also a Brief of the Crown of 30,000 Crowns for the keeping of the cauti- onary Towns, and for the Salaries of the Mi- nisters, besides what his Majesty had already granted them, more than the King his Father. We must not forget here the Grant of

Lewis 13, 1,500,000 Livres promised to the Prince and
1616. the Lords his Adherents (r).

Pope Paul
V.

That Edict was soon verified in the Court of
Aides, and in the Parliament, with some Mo-
difications. The things granted to the
Reformed would have been sufficient to
satisfy them, had they been executed and
performed as they had been promised. The
Assembly at *Rochele* insisted much upon a fur-
ther time to remain assembled, till the Court
had sent Commissaries into all the Provinces
to put the Edict of *Blois* in execution; they
refused to subscribe the Treaty of *Loudun*, should
that Liberty be deny'd them. At last *Du Plessis*
found a Medium, and proposed a limited time
of six Weeks, which being expired, they
should break up without any further delay.
The Proposition was accepted on both sides.
And the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*, in order
to ingratiate himself at Court, engaged himself
under his own hand to fall upon the said As-
sembly if they did not break up at the time
unto them prescribed, and at his Persecution.

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whom the Court picked Messrs *De Berteville* ^{Lewis 13.}
and *Maniald*, and then they broke up, even ^{1616.}
before the time appointed. ^{Pope Paul V.}

While the Prince of *Condé* was unresolved whether he should go to Court, there to reap the Fruits of the Peace, the Queen, being unwilling that he should have the Honour of procuring any Advantage to the Reformed, caused a Declaration to be issued out, concerning the King's Coronation-Oath, as they had desired by one of the Articles of their Bills. It imported, that it had never been his Intention to include in his Coronation Oath, those of the Reformed Religion, who lived in the Kingdom under the Benefit of the Edicts, secret Articles and Declarations given in their behalf: And that in order to their better Observation for the future, he confirmed them a-new. It bore date of the 20th of *July*, and was verified in Parliament within a few days after.

The publick Tranquility did not remain ^{new} long undisturbed. The Prince coming to Court, ^{Brails} after several affected Delays, and having taken ^{at Court.} possession of the great Authority which he had procured for himself by the Treaty of *Loudun*, was very soon attended by a Croud of Courtiers that waited on him, so that the King's Court became almost deserted. But what created the greatest Jealousies in the Queen's and his Favourite *D'Ancre's* Minds, was the Information they had of the disrespectful Discourses which passed against them between the Prince, the Duke of *Bouillon*, and the Lords of the same Party in their private Meetings. The Prince, however, at the Queen's Request, had taken the Marshal *D'Ancre* into his Protection, and had promised to secure him against all Insults; but upon the complaints of those

of her Creatures, without the
Prince, and to find her self
a reconciled Enemy, for who
had almost abandon'd her, yet
Prince, which was executed
the first of September; he was
one of the Apartments for
could be safely conveyed to
Marquis of *Themines* and *M*
been the Executors of that A
Revenge, were made Masters
their Trouble. The Dukes
enne, *Guise*, and others the Pr
having timely notice of what
the *Louvre*, and being certain th
served after the same way, an
instantly avoided the City and
The Mob of *Paris* no soon
Prince's Imprisonment, but th
ther to the Suburb of *St. Ger*
open the Doors of *D'Ancre's*
its rich Furniture to the va
Pounds Sterling, for three Days to
any mored for it.

continue, lest she should exasperate them by Lewis 13.
Opposition. 1616.

The Prince's Imprisonment occasioned great ^{Pope Paul V.} Jealousies in several Provinces. Questioning ^{Commo-} not but that a civil War would soon break out, ^{tions in the} several Lords, such as the Dukes of *Montmo-* ^{Provinces} *ncy* in *Languedoc*, *Les Diguieres* in *Dauphiné*, ^{upon that} *Y Espernon* in *Xaintonge*, &c. formed a Confe- ^{account.} deracy between them for their common Defence gainst the exorbitant Power of the Favourite. The Duke of *Espernon* was the first Adviser of that Confederacy: And whereas he saw himself he more exposed, as being nearer the Court, he thought it the best way to put himself in Posture of Defence. He was willing to raise Troops, but he wanted a just Cause, or even some Pretence for it, without which he would not venture to render himself guilty of High Treason.

While he was thinking upon that, a thing ^{The Ro-} happened which afforded unto him the Pre- ^{chellese} ^{attacked by} ^{the Duke of} ^{Espernon.} *chellese*, sollicitous about the Consequences of the Prince's Impri- sonment, thought proper at all events to seize upon the Castle of *Rochefort* seated in the Country of *Aulnix*. Here we must observe, that the Duke of *Espernon*, by his Patent, was named Governour of *Angoumois*, *Xaintonge* and the Country of *Aulnix*, and upon that ground it was that he pretended to have a right of Com- manding in *Aulnix*. But on the other hand the *Rochellese* shewed forth their Privileges, extant time out of mind, whereby it was plain that none besides the Lord Mayor of *Rochelle* could be Governour of the said City, and of the Country of *Aulnix*. So that it was an old Debate between the *Rochellese* and the Gover- nours of *Xaintonge*, which the Kings Predeces- sors

Lewis 13.
1616.
Pope Paul
V.

fors to his Majesty had never thought proper to determine. However, the Duke of *Espernon* was at *Bourdeaux* when he received the News of the taking of *Rocheport*, and was very glad of that Opportunity for executing his Design; he came to *Saintes*, from whence he sent the Vice Seneschal to *Rocheport* with Orders to restore it to its Owner. Those who kept it for the *Rockellese*, answered that they did not acknowledge the Duke, but only the Mayor of *Rockelle*. *Espernon* feigning to be highly offended at it, levied an Army of about 4000 Foot, and 500 Horse; and sent word to all his Friends, not only of his Government, but likewise in *Guienne*, to be ready to come to his Assistance, that the King's Service was concerned therein. He published a Manifesto full of Invectives against the *Rockellese* (but this was only a Device the better to cover his Game,) and marched against *Rockelle* with his Troops, who plundered the Country Houses and Cottages, and committed other like Outrages.

The City not expecting such Acts of Hosti-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 703

to comply with it, and continued his Outrages: Lewis 13.
 And all the Satisfaction the *Rochelle* had for 1616.
 this time was to be certified by *Boissise* himself, Pope Paul
 that their Majesties disowned the Proceedings V.
 of the Duke, and even that he had Orders to
 declare him a Rebel, which Order however
 he did not execute, and he was suspected of
 double Dealing. *Vignoles* being sent by the
 Court some time after to renew the same Or-
 ders to the Duke, found him better disposed.
 Tho' he did not disarm, nevertheless he with-
 drew all his Forces from the Territories of the
Rochelle. He yielded so easily at this time, be-
 cause, as he saith himself, he was sufficiently
 revenged by the Devastation he had com-
 mitted (1).

During these Troubles, the City of *Rochelle* The Ro-
 having required the Assistance and Counsel chellese
 of the neighbouring Provinces, assembled the convene
 Circle, * according to the Regulation made the Circle.
 at *Saumur*: (that is,) some Deputies of the pro-
 vincial Council of five neighbouring Provinces,
 to deliberate about the means of repelling the
 Duke of *Espéron*. Those Deputies observing
 great marks of a good Understanding between
 the Duke of *Espéron* and the Baron of *Vig-
 noles*, and considering that little or no effect
 was ensued from the fine Promises made unto
 them by the Edict of *Blois*, suffered themselves
 to

(1) Vie du Duc D'Espéron, Tom. II. ad ann. 1616,
 1617. But that Biographer forgets that *Vignoles* was
 bribed by the Duke, and instead of evacuating *Surgeres*,
 he changed only the Garrison, and put in it the King's
 Troops instead of the Duke's.

* The Name of Circle was an Imitation of that used
 in Germany, for denoting several Provinces united together
 for their common Interest. Germany was at that time
 divided into ten such Districts, called Circles.

Castle of *Surgeres* near the
evacuated that Place, as the
promised. They sent to Court
in order thereunto. But the
admit them as Deputies of an
Assembly was not convened by his speech
nevertheless he allowed them to
send two general Deputies of the
Parliament to attend the Court, and promised
to *Du Plessis*, to give the
satisfaction they required, though he
was by any means of their Assembly
looked upon as contrary to him.

The said private Deputies
without any satisfactory Answer
to their Grievances, they persisted in
convening the general Assembly
without this Restriction, that if on or
before the *March* the *Rochellese* receive
no satisfaction to the Affair of *Surgeres*, the
Assembly should not take place. But when
the Deputies longed to see the
Assembly gave charge to

Poitou, Xaintonge and Rochelle, to convene the aboveſaid Aſſembly, or not, juſt as they ſhould think proper. Lewis 13
1617.
Pope Paul
V.

The Maſhal Duke of *Bouillon* was much concerned in that Affair. He was one of the Malecontents, as aboveſaid, leagued againſt the Maſhal *D'Ancres*, and had been declared Criminal of State by the King's Proclamation, and indeed he was none of the leaſt guilty; he was the very Soul of that Cabal; and he endeavoured to ſtrengthen his Party by the Aſſiſtance of foreign Princes of whom he borrowed Men and Money. Therefore he was altogether deſirous to make an Intereſt at home, and his Lady left no Stone unturned in order to ſecure for him a ſtrong Party in the Kingdom, to the end that in caſe his other Meaſures ſhould fail, he might at leaſt be able to make his peace, or to ſave his Perſon by the Credit of a General Aſſembly.

At laſt, at the repeated Inſtances of *Du Pleſſis*, the *Rochelleſe* obtained a full ſatisfaction. Notwithſtanding which, the Deputies of *Poitou, Xaintonge and Rochelle*, which had been left in this laſt City, appointed the general Aſſembly of the Provinces to be held at *Rochelle* on the 15th of *April*. The Reaſon whereof were the ſad Condition the Kingdom was in, having ſo many Armies in the Eaſt and Weſt on foot: The Apprehenſions of the Churches left they ſhould become a Prey to their Enemies, who were in Arms while they were diarmed and unprepared: The mighty Influence, or rather the Tyrannical Authority which Maſhal *D'Ancres* and his Wife, both devoted to the Courts of *Spain* and *Rome*, had uſurped and exerciſed in the King's Council thro' the Weakneſs of the Queen-Mother. Theſe were ſufficient Reaſons for

The Rochelleſe obtain Satisfaction.

But for all that a general Aſſembly is appointed by them.

*The Court
dissembles
its Resent-
ment.*

The Court was extraordinary News, several Councils were positions made for averting the. Some were for issuing out a the said Assembly, and det those who should be present a it self wherein it should be h the Parliament to prosecute th cy. Others proposed some to grant the said Assembly, to a longer time. However, come to any Resolution before sulted *Du Plessis*. His Opinio Majesties ought to overlook w in the Form of the said Assem semble till they certainly knew at, and in the mean while to er might have a Success advantaged Circumstances. For which purp very proper to make a choice of an unquestionable Justice in Bill rendered to the Council by General, to give them a speech thereon. and to send in.

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That Advice was very well received by their ^{Lewis 13.} Majesties and the Ministers of State; and on ^{1617.} the 6th of *April*, *Du Plessis* received an Express ^{Pope Paul V.} from Court, who brought him Letters from the King and the Queen Mother, certifying that they were fully resolved to follow it, and to give a speedy Satisfaction to the Reformed. The Lord of *La Melleraye*, Uncle to the Bishop of *Luçon*, Secretary of State, certified the same on a Visit which he paid him at *Saumur*. *Du Plessis* told them both that the Disease was grown to such a degree for want of a timely Remedy, that now it could not be cured with Words only and Promises, that it required more real and effectual Means without Delay. The Court had nothing else in View but to get time and leisure for accomplishing the Designs of Marshal *D'Ancre*, and other Ministers, who were then at the Helm of the Government, of crushing the Princes (y). And indeed they very narrowly escaped their utter Ruin.

As soon as the Prince of *Condé* had been arrested, the Queen Mother, her Favourite, and ^{The Court raised three} some others of her own, or Marshal *D'Ancre's* ^{Armies against the} Creatures, resolved to form three Armies to be ^{Malescon-} put under the command of the Duke of *Guise*, ^{tents.} sincerely reconciled with the Regent; the Count of *Auvergne* newly released from the *Bastille*, wherein he had been confined for Life by the late King, and known henceforward under the Title of Duke of *Angoulême*; and Marshal *De Montigni*. These three Armies had acted every where with such Vigour, and good Success, that the Princes having been beaten out of *Champaign* and *Picardy*, and lost all the Places that held for them in these two Provinces, there remained but *Soissons*, which was besieged by the

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A a a

Duke

(y) Idem Ibid.

ewis 13. Duke of *Angoulême*, and defended by the Duke
 1617. of *Mayenne*. The Marshal of *Bouillon* was at
 Pope Paul V. *Sedan*, endeavouring to procure for his Party
 some Relief from the Foreigners, but with
 very little Hopes of Success: the Siege was
 pushed on vigorously, *Soissons* was upon the
 point of surrendering, the whole Party was
 very near becoming a Prey to their victorious
 Enemies, when on a sudden their Deliverance
 came from whence they little expected it; the
 Death of Marshal *D'Ancre*.

Marshal *D'Ancre* That Favourite had carry'd his Pride and
 murdered. Haughtiness to such a degree, that he had
 His Character. drawn upon himself the utmost Hatred, not
 only of the Princes and the Lords of the Court,
 but of the whole City of *Paris*, where he had
 caused several Gibbets to be set up in the Cor-
 ners of the Streets, there to hang all those
 whom he suspected. He and his Wife so ab-
 solutely disposed of the Queen-Mother, especi-
 ally since the Prince's Imprisonment, that she
 durst not do any thing without their Advice.

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ADDRESS UNTO ME, AND I WOULD HAVE GIVEN IT, EVEN OUT OF MY OWN PURSE. This happened about the middle of *March*. Two days after, he gave a further Instance of his intolerable Arrogance; He had caused a Levy of about 7000 Men, Horse and Foot, to be made in the Bishoprick of *Liege* and in *France*; and he would have the World to believe that it was at his own Expence, and that through the Affection he bore to the King and the Kingdom, considering the sad Circumstances of the Times, he was willing to keep these Troops in Pay for three Months together, at his own Charge. These Forces having joined the Army in the *Isle of France*, he wrote to the King, magnifying the great and good Services which he did to the Crown, and bragging that *if his Majesty had many Servants like himself, who would follow his Example, he would be extraordinary potent.* He caused that Letter to be printed, that the Publick might read it (z).

The King was much offended at it, and all these things lying heavy upon his royal Breast, he very readily listened to the Proposal which *Luynes*, whom he had created Great Falkener of *France*, made unto him, to deliver himself out of that shameful Bondage, by the Death of that Scoundrel, who being come into the Kingdom without a Farthing in his Pocket, had fattened himself with the Blood and Substance of his Majesty's Subjects, and now was carrying it as a King, and hectoring his Sovereign Lord. Several ways were devised to compass his Ruin. The more easy, but not the more honest, was pitched upon. *Vitry*, Captain of the Life-Guards,

A a a 2

(z) Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. II. ad ann. 1617.

Lewis 13.
1617.
Pope Paul
V.

Who ! I ? *Yes Sir,* said the
unto him the Tip of his St
the Marshal's Attendants,
thing was hatching against
ferred to draw out their Sw
three or four of *Vitry's* Att
Pistols at the Marshal's H
down dead upon the spot.
lonel *D'Ornano* went to ne
his Majesty, who waited in
Success ; and hearing that
done, he leaped for Joy, c
praised, my Enemy is dead.
The Marshal's Widow was
King's Orders, and the Q
commanded in his Name r
her Bed-Chamber (*a*).

I shall not insist much long
ticulars of this Revolution
only, that it is a wonder ho
be kept secret for so long a
near two Months hatchin
sons were concerned in it, a

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 711

raising their Fortunes by that means. But the truth is, that the Marshal was become the Object of the publick Hatred, and that to such a degree, that his Corpse, which was buried the same day in the Church of *St. Germain de l'Auxerrois*, was the very next day dug out by a Mob of several hundreds of People, dragged ignominiously thro' the Streets of *Paris*, hung, cut to pieces, and burnt to Ashes.

Lewis 13.
1617.
Pope Paul
V.

Such was the Downfall and the miserable End of *Concino Concini* Marquiss of *Ancre* in *Picardy*, Governour of *Perrone*, *Roy*, and *Mon-didier*, first Gentleman of the King's Bedchamber, Lieutenant-General of *Normandy*, High Steward of the Queen Mother's Household, Marshal of *France*, &c. &c. &c. If *Bassompierre* is to be credited, as indeed he is to be in several respects, and especially in what concerns this Favourite, the said Marquiss had had a Foresight of his Misfortune. About five or six Months before it happened, he had told *Bassompierre*, who visited him on account of his only Daughter's Death, that he was a Man able to bear with the present Affliction, but that his own, his Wife, their only Son, and his own House's utter Ruin and Destruction which he saw very near at hand was unavoidable and that it was that which made him so sad; that his Wife's Obstinacy did put him out of patience, she refused to follow him in his Retirement, which he designed to make in *Italy*; nay, she flew into a violent Passion whenever he undertook to persuade her, tho' in the most submissive manner, and on his bended Knees. He owned that amongst the many great Favours which God had bestowed on him, that of forewarning him to retire from Business was none of the least. He was a *Florentine* of a noble Extraction, but

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^{1617.}
Pope Paul V. Lewis 13 of so dissolute a Life, that he had been several times a Prisoner in his own Country for his Crimes; he owned that when he came into *France* in 1601 he was not worth a Penny, and yet, by his own Confession to *Bassompierre*, it appears that when he died, he was worth seven Millions 500,000 Livres at least, besides the immense Riches of his Wife *Galigai*, which were greater than his own, and which they had got especially since the late King's Death (*b*). He had all the bodily Accomplishments which may adorn a Gentleman, he was complaisant, of a chearful Humour with his Inferiours, but as to his Morals, he had been and continued vicious; he had been made Marshal of *France* without having passed by any military Degrees. He hated the Reformed, and had resolved their Extirpation, as soon as he should have subdued the Princes. He left but a Son who was a Youth of 12 or 14 Years, who was made a Partaker in his Parents Misfortune, being deprived of his Title, Honour, and of his Estate. His

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together, when at her own Request she was transferred into the Castle of *Blois* (c). Lewis 13.
1617.
Pope Paul
V.

The first days of that Revolution were employed in making those Changes and Alterations in the Ministry and the Government, which *Luynes* thought proper, and in receiving the Congratulations of the Princes and Lords of the Court, of the *Parliament*, the *Town-House*, &c. The new modelled Ministers were removed, some of them sent to the *Bastile*, others exiled. The old ones *Villeroy*, *Jeannin*, Chancellor de *Sillery*, the Lord Keeper *Du Vair*, &c. were severally restored to their respective Office. Young *Lewis* was sitting in the Afternoon upon his Billiard-Table, as upon a Throne, receiving the Compliments of the Court and the City upon this occasion; the poor Prince was overjoy'd, he had never before seen himself courted with such eagerness, as he was then, especially he was exceedingly delighted in repeating these Words, *Now I am King*, tho' thro' the Course of his whole Reign, the poor Prince proved to be born not for governing, but for being governed; not for commanding, but for obeying. *Vitry*, for having been the Executioner, was presented with the Staff of Marshal of *France*, vacant by the death of Marshal *D'Ancres* whom he had murdered; the others who had helped him, were more or less rewarded in proportion of their Services. But none got more by this foul Play than *Luynes* himself, for besides the Forfeiture of the Deceased Estates, Lands, Household-Furniture, and vast Treasure, he obtained his Charges and Offices that stood convenient for him; he was raised to the Dignity of Duke

A a a 4

Duke

(c) Mem. de la Regence de Marie de Medicis, Tom. II.
Mem. du Duc de Rohan, Tom. I. Liv. i.

Lewis 13 Duke and Peer of *France*, as well as his two
 1617. Brothers, and divided between them the Spoils
 Pope Paul V. of the Kingdom, (as one may say).

The Prin-
 ces Sub-
 missions to
 the King.

However, the News of these Changes had no sooner reached the Ears of the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Nevers*, *Longueville*, *Bouillon* and other Princes and Lords, than all manner of Hostilities ceased, and they came of their own accord and submitted to the King, without Condition ; but the Prince of *Condé* was the only one who fared no better by that Change, he continued Prisoner in the *Bastille*, and the only Favour which the Princess his Consort could obtain, was to shut up herself close Prisoner with him in the same Place.

DuPlessis's
 the King.
 Letter of
 Congratu-
 lation.

Du Plessis having been certified of the Truth of that Event, dispatched his Son-in-Law *De Villarnoul* to Court, with a Letter to His Majesty ; who was so well pleased with it, that he caused it not only to be read over three or four times before him and the whole Court, but even to be published in Print. It runned thus :

“ S I R,

“ Upon this Act of your Majority, which
 “ will convince the whole World that *France*
 “ has a King, I thought it to be my Duty
 “ no less than if it was upon a new Accession
 “ to the Crown, to send to your Majesty Mr
 “ *De Villarnoul* my Son-in-Law, for to receive
 “ new Commands, questioning not but
 “ that this Revolution will be attended with
 “ some other in the Management of your Affairs.
 “ The first Good, SIR, which is expected
 “ from it, is Peace, which your Majesty
 “ shall be in a Condition to grant
 “ to your People, and which shall be unto

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“ them the more acceptable, that it was the Lewis 13.
“ least expected ; nay, that you did not give 1617.
“ them leifure to petition for it. And from Pope Paul
“ thence as from a Spring will flow upon V.
“ him feveral other Bleffings, because your
“ Majesty may consult with his beft Servants
“ about the Dif eases of his Kingdom, and the
“ proper Remedies to be apply’d to cure them,
“ thereby to acquire in his first Years the Name
“ of FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE ; and in a little
“ time after, to recover thro’ the Restora-
“ tion of this Kingdom, that glorious Title,
“ (which had cost so much Troubles and Vex-
“ ations for so many Years to that great King,
“ Father to your Majesty,) of Arbitrator of
“ all Christendom, and assured Asylum of all
“ oppressed Princes and States. Forgive an
“ old Servant, SIR, if he dares to tell you,
“ that your Majesty is now to take care, that
“ all Gratuities and Favours which you have
“ a mind to bestow, must flow immediately
“ from your own Good-will, without being
“ sollicitated to it by any body soever, so that
“ the Receiver might be convinced that he
“ is beholden for it only to your own gra-
“ cious Dispositions, and that all your Sub-
“ jects might be fully satisfied, that they are
“ to expect nothing but from your self. And
“ as to those of the Reformed Religion, upon
“ the Affairs whereof your Majesty has com-
“ manded me heretofore to deliver my Opi-
“ nion ; I most humbly and earnestly beseech
“ you to order, that those things of an un-
“ questionable Justice, which have been so
“ many times promised unto them, should be
“ effectuated, to the end that those who upon
“ several Apprehensions are now assembled,
“ might return into their own Provinces, and
“ carry

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Lewis 13. " carry along with them some Tokens of the
 1617. " gracious Dispositions of your Majesty to
 Pope Paul " wards them, to the end that henceforward
 V. " they should be solicitous only to pray God
 " for your Prosperity, and be ready at all
 " your Commands, &c. I am, &c.

Du PLESSIS (d).

His Majesty was pleased to answer the Letter, and to express the greatest Satisfaction he had received therefrom; he told him that he would never forget the wholesome Advice and Counsels he gave him, but rather endeavour to follow them. As to the Reformed, he promised him to send without delay Commissioners into the Provinces, to put in execution whatever had been promised unto them (e).

Political Now the Assembly of the Reformed was
 Assembly sitting at Rochelle, when that Revolution hap-
 at Ro- pened, whereof having got Notice by Du Plessis's
 chelle. Letter, they deputed six of their Members to
 They send their De- Court, to congratulate his Majesty on that Oc-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 717

rience the Prince's Character, and how he stood inclined towards them, seeing that contrary to his Oath, he had concluded the Treaty of *Loudun* without their Participation, and without obtaining for them the End they had proposed to themselves when they joined with him in the last Insurrection, it was very imprudent in them, to interfere in such a thing, from which, tho' they had obtained what they demanded, they were sure that no Benefit could accrue unto them by it; and being denied, they saw themselves exposed to the Jealousies of the Court for having undertook to distinguish themselves from the rest of the Kingdom, in a thing wherein they were less concerned than the Catholics themselves; *Condé* being as superstitiously bigoted, and devoted to the *Pope* as any of the *Romanists*.

Lewis 13.
1617.
Pope Paul V.

But luckily for the Assembly, their Deputies had no occasion for this time to make use of their Instructions, the King having absolutely refused to admit them to any Audience, until the said Assembly, which he would not acknowledge, should be dissolved; which done, he promised graciously to receive, and favourably to answer their Bills and Petitions. Whereupon the said Deputies wrote to their Principals to dispose them to submit to the King's Will; which they did some Weeks after.

They are not admitted to an Audience.

About this time, viz. the 18th of *May*, was held the 22d National Synod at *Vitré* in *Brittany*, *Andrew Rivet* Minister of *Touars* was chosen Moderator, *John Chauve*, Minister of *Sommieres*, Assessor, *John Jammet*, Minister of *St. Amand* in *Bourbonnois*, and *Elijah Bigot*, Advocate of the Parliament and Elder of the Church of *Paris*, Secretaries. After the reading of the Confession of Faith, of the Discipline and

The 22d National Synod.

Lewis 13. and other Ceremonies usual in our Synods,
1617. proceeding to general Matters, they ordered
Pope Paul a Deputation to the King, charged with a
V. congratulatory Letter to his Majesty upon the
late Revolution; which Deputation and Letter,
as well as the Speech of the Reverend Mr.
D'Hesperien, Foreman of the Deputation, were
very kindly received, and favourably answered
by his Majesty, who wrote very obliging Letters
to the Synod, wherein he praised the Loy-
alty of the Reformed, and gave them strong
Assurances of his Protection for the future,
and to observe whatever was promised to them
by the Edicts, provided that they should per-
severe in their Loyalty. That would have
been enough to satisfy them, had fair Words
been sufficient to redress the real Evils they
complained of.

They wrote also to the Assembly at *Rochelle*,
and exhorted them to obey the King's Orders
and to break up, promising withal to adhere
firmly to a strict Union of the Churches. That
Letter prevailed over the Oppositions of the

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proposed in the last National Synod held at ^{Lewis 13.} *Tonneins*. King *James* had written several ^{1617.} Letters to *Du Plessis*, exhorting him to under- ^{Pope Paul V.} take so pious a Work, with a Promise to support him with his Authority, and had desired likewise the said Synod to chuse some of the most eminent Men amongst themselves, that they might be ready to come well prepared to a Conference, if there was any occasion for it. But his Majesty had relented since that time ; therefore this present Synod did not think proper to proceed any farther till they had some new Summons from the same Place ; however, they named the Reverend Doctors, *Rivet, Chauve, Chamier, and Du Moulin*, for to consider what Method would be the properest for obtaining the desired End, being charged withal, that in case they were required by the King of *England*, to sit upon that Business, they should repair to *Saumur*, there to take the Advices of *Du Plessis*, of the Pastors of that Church, and the Professors in Divinity of that Academy ; which however was never executed, several other Affairs occurring, this was let drop.

Another thing which the Synod took into its Consideration, was the Disputes between the *Gomarists* and the *Arminians*, which were very rife, and carried with great Heats and Animosities thro' the Pride of the Divines of both Parties, but more especially of the first, and were very near to occasion the utter Ruin of the *Seven United Provinces*, as we shall say hereafter. But this Synod did not think proper to interfere any farther in that Matter, only *Du Plessis* was desired to impart his wholesome Advices to those of the said *Provinces* who did require them. That Lord thought that

Lewis 13. that it was dangerous to decide any thing upon
 1617. the main Point, because that was of such a
Pope Paul Consequence that a Schism might ensue, which
 V. was to be avoided by all means ; that it was
 more expedient to insist with the sovereign
 Magistrate for obtaining a National Synod : and
 whereas the Churches of the same Profession in
England, France, Palatinate, Switzerland, Gene-
va, &c. were concerned therein, they ought to
 be exhorted to send some of their Divines, pru-
 dent and moderate, to be Umpires between the
 contending Parties. His Advice was partly
 followed, a National Synod was appointed
 for the next year, foreign Churches were in-
 vited to send some of their best Divines, to
 assist in it ; but after all, the Physick proved
 worse than the Disease.

Another thing which was thought worth
 the Synod's Attention, was the Divisions that
 grew very ripe amongst the Churches of the
 Kingdom, but more especially in the *southern*
 Provinces. It would have been very desirable,

themselves with state or political Affairs in Lewis 1
their Sermons. 1617.

The Synod received several Petitions of several Towns and Provinces, craving for Relief in their great Wants; amongst others the Town of *Sancerre*, which was a cautionary one, was most unjustly persecuted by the Count of *Marans*, Lord of the Manor, not the Inhabitants should refuse to pay their Rent and Duties unto him, but only because they would not suffer him to command in the Town, that being contrary to their own Privileges: So that the said Count had vexed, and continued to vex them in a thousand ways more unjust and cruel one than another. Now that Town being a great deal more large than rich, the Inhabitants were almost brought into beggary thro' the continual Resistance whereto they had been obliged against the Violences of the said Lord. Therefore the Synod, taking their sad Condition into their Consideration, provided for them such a Supply as their own Circumstances and Abilities could afford. They did the same for the Churches of *Moire* and of the whole Province of *Auvergne*, who were cruelly persecuted, and unable to support the Ministry amongst them on account of their Poverty. As to the Churches of the County of *Foix*, the Synod thought not proper to relieve them otherwise than by recommending their Case to the General Deputies of the Reformed attending the Court, because the Matter in question was rather Civil than Ecclesiastical. *Provence* was likewise exposed to great Vexations. The Churches in that Province, tho' few in Number, were much divided amongst themselves, and the Catholicks knew very well how to improve these Divisions, which

Pope Paul
V.

Lewis 13 they themselves had occasioned, and too
 1617. to foment, to their best advantage. The
Pope Paul recommended all these Affairs to the Ca
 V. Prudence of the general Deputies, and
 did not forget the Edict of Exempti
 Taxes for the Ministers, granted five
 before, but not as yet verified.

They made several wise and good E
 tions which might have proved very be
 to the Churches, had they been put thon
 in execution, and they ended their Sessi
 the 18th of *June*, having sat a full Mor

Cotton the In the while, *Luynes*, who had the
King's Conscience as well as his Kingdom at
Confessor disposal, removed the Jesuit *Cotton* from
removed, Confessor to his Majesty, for his adheri
and Ar- warmly to the Queen-Mother's Interest
noux put in his stead the Jesuit *Arnoux*, th
put in his that he would absolutely be his Depe
stead. wherein indeed he was much mistaken,

He However, that Man, known at Co
preaches some Conferences, and Sermons, when
a seditious had got some Reputation, took it in hi

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desired to have it, that he might put it in the hands of the Reverend Mr. *Du Moulin*. Lewis 13-1617.
Pope Paul V.

The Ministers were not as yet reduced to suffer every thing without making a Defence. Moreover, they were stedfast and vigorous in their Answers, especially when they met a Jesuit in their way, they never fail'd to speak of the Merits of his Sect. Therefore *Du Moulin*, who had a sprightly Wit, a fruitful Imagination, a Heart full of Zeal, and who, as it has been owned by his very Adversaries, wrote with much Politeness as Force and Easiness, was not long before he answered the Jesuit, having first consulted the Reverend Messrs. *Montigni, Durant, Mestrezat*, his Colleagues in the Church of *Charenton*. That Answer bore this Title ; DEFENSE DE LA CONFES-
SION DE FOY DES EGLISES REFORME'ES DE FRANCE, CONTRE LES ACCUSATIONS DU SIEUR ARNOUX JESUITE, &c. which was dedicated to the King. They mentioned in the Dedicatory Epistle, the great Services the Reformed had done to the State ; and they used the Jesuits in the same manner as every Person of Honour had used them till then. They did not forget the last General Estates held at *Paris*, and the Controversies moved therein concerning the Independency of Kings, and the bad Success thereof, thro' the Management of the Clergy and their Faction.

Arnoux and his Brethren the Jesuits, nettled at this Letter, made a great noise about it ; so, that as soon as the Book came out from the Press, they informed against it, against the Author, and against the Printer. The Lieutenant-Civil, having first taken Cognizance of it, that Affair was soon after removed before the Parliament, which occasioned a Debate in

cree was made, wherein the
dedicating of any Book to him
press Licence. Till this time t
say against the Reverend Mr.
of this particular Fact; but
stion much the truth of the
follows; which suppressed t
Ministers, forbad the reading
it under certain Penalties;
Provost of *Paris* to *prosec*
thereof. A severe Sentence
contrary to what *Du Plessis*
King's Mildness in this Affai
Letters to the Reverend
from *Saumur* the 30th of *Ja*
him, that notwithstanding th
to the Ministers abovename
mies, in order to exasperate
them, nevertheless his Maje
favourable to them, having
fair before him. And in a
verend Doctor *Turretini*, c
August, speaking upon the
Ill-will of several against the

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About the same time that the late men-^{Lewis 13.}tioned Synod held their Sessions at *Vitré*, the Clergy were assembled at *Paris*, and strenuously ^{1617. Pope Paul V.} pursued the Design laid by them in the last General States, to the utter Extirpation of the Reformed Religion in *France*. *Dinet*, Bishop of *Mâcons* made a Speech to the King, on the 2d of *June*, at the head of the Deputies of that Body; and it is very easy to judge by the Style thereof, that the Catholics were no longer inclined to deal equitably with the Reformed. He nick-named them *Monsters*, styled their Church a *Concubine*, and compared it to *Agar*. He boldly asserted that the Catholics were happier under the *Turks*, where the free Exercise of their Religion was allowed, than in those Places where the *Reformed* were Masters; and plainly declared that the Clergy dissembled with them, and only tolerated them for peace-sake. Amongst the several Complaints he made, he brought again upon the Carpet the Use that was made in *Bearn* of the Lands and Estates formerly belonging to the Church. He spoke about that in the most violent manner, as if it had been a horrid Sacrilege, to apply to the use of the Reformed Churches and Colleges, those Estates which had been so justly forfeited, and taken away 50 Years before from those who possessed them formerly, and who by their Plots and monstrous Treasons against their lawful Sovereign, had justly deserved the most severe Punishments. To move pity the more, he desired that Mass might be restored in above one hundred Parishes of that Principality, affirming with as much boldness, as if he had spoken the Truth, that out of 30 Persons in that Province there were 25 Catholics; whereas by the best Accounts

Lewis 13. we have of the State of *Bearn* in the w
 16 7. times for the Reformed, which was th
Pope Paul four Years before the repealing of the
 V. of *Nantz*, it is plain that out of about 3
 Families that inhabited in that Province,
 were no less than 7,000 professing the
 formed Religion.

*An Edit
 of the
 Council for
 restoring
 the Roman
 Religion,
 &c. in
 Bearn.*

The Bishop's Speech proved efficacie
 this respect. The Court was resolved b
 hand to satisfy him, and to sacrifice the
nefe to the Passion of the Clergy. *Du*
 Lord Keeper of the Seal, countenanc
 Catholics with all his Interest, if *Du* &
 Biographer is to be credited ; so that an
 was published on the 23d of *June*, restori
 Roman Catholic Religion in *Bearn*, an
 Roman Clergy in their Churches an
 states.

*Cospean's
 Speech.*


The Remonstrances made by *Cospean*
 shop of *Aire*, at the end of their Sessions
 finer and more eloquent, was no less v
 against the Reformed ; he touched at th

• The

by endeavouring to stifle him with his own
. I will not trouble my self to inquire
r the Fact here related is true or not ;
ppose it true, for God's sake, what is
us, if two or three Dozen, or if you
so or three hundred thousand Fanaticks
ious Men have attempted upon their
gn's Life ; were they countenanced in
he Doctrine or Discipline of the Re-
Churches ? Were they not condemned
tested by all true Professors of the Re-
on, either in this or foreign Countries ?
th what assurance could that Prelate
o before an Audience, Part whereof
m Eye-Witnesses of the furious Prangs
League against the Kings *Henry III.*
ary IV. their lawful Sovereign ; they
urd or read the great Encomiums be-
upon the Murderer of *Henry III.* either
ions preached from the Pulpit, or in
printed and published by Authority
is. The Remembrance of the Gun-
Treason, and the Endeavours of *Paul*
hindering the Catholic Subjects of the

be heard amidst the Shoutin
of Mirth of a Million of Cath
God and bless the King for his
Majesty should accomplish in
your Age what the Marvel of
Father, has desired for above
never able to perform, this
COMIUM, ADMIRATION, &
SILENCE (g). A flat and
deed, much unbecoming a
the more, that it includes
hood.

The truth is, that *Henry*
16 Articles of his Reconcili
Rome, was obliged to procure
Restoration of the Roman
the Church-Lands and
Clergy in his Principality
was sensible of the Impossibi
his Promises; for he had
the Queen his own Mother,
try, as well as all others
England, Germany, Italy, &

creed and established by the General States of ^{Lewis 13.} the Country. That Custom, as the *Bearnese* ^{1617.} say, is the fundamental and the stipulated ^{Pope Paul V.} Law between the Sovereign and his Subjects.  Now the *Roman* Religion having been abrogated, and the Lands and Estates of the Clergy forfeited by the definitive Sentence of the States General, on account of the high Crimes and Treasons of the said Clergy against *Jane of Albret* their lawful Sovereign, as we have said in the first Part of our third Volume; *Henry IV.* a Prince just and equitable, would not attempt a thing contrary to the Laws of his Principality of *Bearn*, wherewith he was wery well acquainted, and which he had heretofore religiously observed, and found means to evade the continual Instances of the Pope and the Clergy on that account.

But to return to our mean Subject; the *The Bear-Bearnese* formerly opposed the abovesaid Decree of the Council. But notwithstanding the ^{The Bear-Bearnese oppose the Edict.} Remonstrances of the General Deputies of the Reformed Churches of *France* attending the Court, nothing better could be obtained for them, but a Letter of the King's Council, whereby his Majesty commanded the *Bearnese* to send some Deputies to Court, to be Witnesses of the Compensation which his Majesty intended to make in their behalf for the Church-Revenues, the Replevy whereof had been granted to the Clergy. They appointed an Assembly at *Ortbez*, whither they invited the neighbouring Provinces of *Guienne*, and *Languedoc*, and resolved there, rather to die than to consent to the Infringement of their ancient Laws and Privileges, and to the Abolition of

Rouen.

the Government, but nothing in that respect. Those who tentions proposed in the King Convocation of the States General Proposition could not be, nor lished by any Favourite or and the Reason is too obvious be insisted upon. Others, who court *Luines*, affirmed that an Notables would be sufficient Juncture. But before they could resolution, they thought proper *Du Plessis*. The wise and prudent did not think proper that the come so soon either the General Notables, but rather that he should appoint six Persons of considerable Experience and Integrity, who should thoroughly examine Article by Article of the late General States, and find out what Remedy to apply to the the Kingdom groaned under, which was lively set forth by the said Notables the People would be more

to take Possession of the Lieutenantancy
Province, carried his Point. The
voted for an Assembly of the No-
which was appointed at *Rouen* for the
November. The King summoned the
most conspicuous for their Capacity amongst
the Clergy and the Nobility, and of his Sove-
reign Courts, besides the Princes, Dukes,
and Officers of the Crown that
attend him. *Du Plessis* was not for-
the King would not admit any Ex-
cept he was not satisfied till he had promised
Rouen before him.

Assembly was opened the ninth of
November, and ended on the 26th. I leave to
the Reader the Civil and political History of *France* to re-
late the Transactions, the Propositions made,
and the Advices given. I shall observe only
that *Du Plessis*, always like to himself, forced
his greatest Adversaries, to admire and
loyally to praise his Wisdom, Sagacity, and
Justice. Nay, Cardinal *Du Perron* himself
paid him a great Respect, and was never

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Lewis 13. suffer him to go back to *Saumur*, but to keep
 1617. him near himself, as a faithful and wise Coun-
Pope Paul sellor, for the Remainder of his Days (i).
 V.

During the sitting of this Assembly, died
Villeroy's at *Rouen*, *Nicolas De Neuville*, Marquis of
Death. *Villeroy*, the oldest Counsellor of State in
 Christendom, having been Secretary of State
 for 50 Years together, and served in that Ca-
 pacity under four Kings *Charles IX. Henry III.*
 and *IV. and Lewis XIII.* besides the *League*
 under the Duke of *Mayenne*; it is observed
 that he died not rich. *Augustus Thuanus*, the
 great Historian, was dead some time before (i).

1618. This Year 1618 affords nothing but
 Trouble both within and without the King-
 dom; either about civil or religious Matters.
 I shall briefly touch only those wherein the
 Reformed were concerned.

Continua- The Remonstrances of the General Depu-
tion of the ties upon the Affairs of *Bearn*, those of *Lescar*,
Affairs of a Counsellor in the Sovereign Council of that
Bearn. Principality, nor the strong Oppositions of the
Reformed hindered not the King's Council from

ancient Demefne of *Bearn*; and in case that Lewis 13. 1618. Pope Paul V. were not fufficient, upon the Demefne of the adjacent Countries; according to which it was laid, that the Sums fhould be ftated upon the Expences of the Houfhould, as ordinary Charges, which were to be acquitted before all others, the Affignments whereof fhould not be diverted to any other ufe. This Compenfation was but an Illufion, whereby they defigned to impofe upon the Publick, and render the faid Edict more tolerable to fuch as only judge of things by appearances. Finally, the Demand of the Clergy, to be admitted into the States of the Country, was put off till the return of Commiffaries, which the King was to fend thither to put the faid Edict in execution.

That Edict put the *Bearnefe*, naturally hot, into a violent Ferment, efpecially when Mr. *Reynard*, Counfeller of State, deputed by his Majefty, for executing the faid Edict, was arrived in that Country. The Marquifs of *La Force*, Governour thereof, was in the greateft Anxieties, the King's Orders were pofitive and moft urgent, and the People's Oppofitions were no lefs ftout and refolute, being afraid left that Barrier of the former Edicts being once forced by a fingle Decree of the Council, every day would bring forth fome new Infringement of their Privileges, to the utter Subverfion of their Liberties. The Duke of *Roban*, and the Lord *Du Plessis*, had feveral Conferences together upon that Affair; they made feveral Overtures, both at Court and in *Bearn*, to bring Matters to an Agreement; but every where they met with infuperable Difficulties. From whence it followeth, that the Churches of *Bearn*, in virtue of their
Junction

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Lewis 13. ^{1618.} **Pope Paul V.** Junction with those of the Kingdom, held a political Assembly at *Ortbez*, and required the neighbouring Provinces to send at the same place some of their Council, there to advise together about means of averting the threatening Blow. A little after, that Assembly seeing the Danger daily increasing, turned it self into a General Convocation of some Deputies of every Province appointed to meet at the same Place, on the 15th of *August*. In the mean while the Parliament of *Pau* issued out a Decree on the 28th of *June*, whereby they absolutely refused to admit the Replevy granted to the Clergy by the King's Council. So that all the Churches of the Kingdom taking part with those of *Bearn*, it happened that every one of them joined its particular Grievances with those of that Country, and brought them to the said General Convocation in order for a Redress, little considering the Danger whereto they all did expose themselves. All the true Lovers of the Peace, and of the Welfare of the Kingdom, did their best endeavours

for *Du Plessis*, its proceedings were too
whenever they offered any thing in be-
the Reformed in general, and for the
in particular, these Offers came out of
they betrayed their Ill-will against
rather than any good Inclination to-
hem, and only served to raise Suspensions
r Minds. On the other hand, the
proved too hot-headed for *Du Plessis's*
te Remonstrances, they were too full
usies, they obstinately refused to yield
of their Privileges, lest they should
Precedent for breaking through all the
d chose to lose all rather than to pre-
most part of them by the Cession of one
Whereas *Orthez*, where they had
ed the General Assembly, was too far
from the other Provinces, they re-
it to *Rochelle*, there to meet in De-
text (k).

the 5th of *September* died the renowned *Cardinal*
d *Du Perron*, whereof I would have *Du Per-*
so notice, after what I have said of *ron's*
seventh Book. was it not for a very *Death.*

Yours. It is remarkable, that
of such a high Station, who
Seat of Learning, and of the
he had been a *Mæcenæ*, &
head to preach a Funeral Ser-
count; nay, there was ha-
which made several Persons
latter End had not much
Church. He was 63 Years

*Affairs of
the seven
United
Provinces.*

The seven United Prov-
Countries, had been for se-
in great agitation, on account
between the Provinces of the
Predestination and Grace.
Man always thinks himself
the Secrets of God, disregard
Precept, *not to be overwise*,
himself for a Searcher of the
of that Infinite Being, and w
World his own Opinions as
Standard of Truth; whereas
are no better than the Prod
Fancy and Temper, or of the
Education That Distemper

points controverted, were merely speculated. That they did not affect at all the Christian Religion, in its essential Articles. That consequently they might be well received without endangering either Christian or Godliness. But far from listening to prudent and Christian-like Advices, the *ists*, alias *Contra-Remonstrants*, made *sm*, and refused to keep any Communion with the *Arminians*, alias *Remonstrants*. At these last held their Assemblies in the *houses*, while the others held theirs in some *Houses*, tho' the *Arminians* offered to make use of their Churches; but afterwards the *Gomarists* having found means to get Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau* in their Interest, got soon the upper hand, and deprived their Opponents of their Churches; and in the places where they were Masters, they carried justice so far, as not to suffer them to assemble together for their Religious Worship, either in publick, but even in private; plundered the Houses, beating, bruising and

Lewis 13. *Arminians.* Now, these Disputes which at
 1618. first were merely religious between some Di-
Pope Paul
 V. vines, were become by degrees, an Affair of
 State wherein the Prince, the Magistrate, and
 other heads of the Governments took Party. Prince *Maurice*, Stadt-holder of the United Provinces, was suspected of designing to en-
 croach upon the Liberties of the said Pro-
 vinces. *Barneveldt*, Attorney-General, and Lord
 Keeper of the Seals of the Province of *Hol-
 land*, a sincere and zealous Patriot, watched
 narrowly over all the Prince's Steps, and took
 all the Precautions which he thought requisite
 to prevent and oppose his supposed Designs;
 amongst which, some there were indeed carried
 too far, especially that of raising the Militia.
 There wanted not several malicious Persons,
 who magnified this Proceeding of *Barneveldt*,
 as an Attempt upon the Prince's Authority
 and Prerogative, and exasperated his High-
 ness against him; amongst these was *Francis
 Aersens* formerly Ambassador of the States at
 the Court of *France*: he was impudent enough

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y thing was in a greater Confusion than Lewis 13. 1618. Pope Paul V.
 ; the *Gomarists* grew more fierce, as they
 r more powerful; the Magistrates and other

ers that held for the *Arminians*, were de-

ed; a national Synod was appointed at *Dor-*

bt for the 13th of *November*, notwith-

ling the Opposition of three Provinces,

entred their Protest against such an open

ction of their Privileges. *BARNEVELDT*,

rney-General, and Keeper of the Seals of

and; *DE HOGUERBEIS*, Pensionary of

len; and *GROTIUS*, Pensionary of *Rotter-*

; *LEYDEMBERG*, Secretary of the States of

tbt, were arrested and made Prisoners of

e, by the orders of Prince *Maurice*. Such

Act of Arbitrary Power served to con-

the Suspicions against that Prince, and put

mp upon Mens Spirits (*m*). We shall resume

melancholly Subject under the next Year;

must now succinctly relate the Effects of

Proceedings of the Assembly of *Ortbez*.

We have said that for the greater Conveni-

of the Deputies of the other Provinces

ch the *Bearnese* had invited to their As-

sly, they had transferred it to *Rochelle*,

re some Difficulties started by the Lord

ror, and the Town-House, having been

ed, they were admitted, and they opened

Sessions in *January*. The news of that

nge having reached the Court, the King

his Council were much offended and pro-

ed at it. And indeed by the Intercession

he Dukes of *Roban* and *Les Diguieres*, and

Lord *Du Plessis*, his Majesty seemed some-

t mollified, and inclined to grant his Sub-

of *Bearn* such tolerable Terms, which

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Vie de Du Plessis, Liv. iv. Lettres & Mem. du même,
 n. 1617, 18, 19. Mem. de du Maurier, p. 279, &c.

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^{1619.} Lewis 13. would be a sufficient Compensation for what they lost by the Restitution of the Church-Lands, &c. to the Catholicks; but now there wanted not violent Persons in the King's Council, who were for carrying things to Extremes, for proscribing the City of *Rockelle*, and for prosecuting with the utmost Rigour, as Rebels, those who should assist in that Assembly. Nay, the Parliament of *Paris* issued out an Edict against them; in virtue whereof some of the Members were put to trouble in the Provinces. But by the wise Management and prudent Advices of *Du Plessis*, these Proceedings were superseded; and at last the Parliament's Edict was repealed five or six Weeks after.

The Queen-Mother's Escape from Blois. While the Affairs of *Bearn* were in that State, the Queen-Mother, tired with her Captivity at *Blois*, found means to make her Escape. *Luines*, who had a mind to know her Secrets, put in use a thousand unworthy Tricks and made a fool of her and the Duke of *Roban*, on pretence of an Agreement with that Princess, in

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where she was met by the Duke of *Espernon*, Lewis 13. with 300 Horse, who attended her to *Angou-* 1619.
lme. Pope Paul V.

When the News of that Flight came to *Paris*, by a Letter which the Queen-Mother wrote to the King her Son, the whole Court was in an uproar; *Luines*, who had imprudently neglected the Advertisements he had received by *Deageant*, one of his Creatures, of what was hatching between her Majesty and the Duke of *Espernon*, sent a Message to the King, who was then at *St. Germain*. His Majesty came back instantly, and held several Councils, wherein it was resolved to enter upon a Negotiation with the Queen-Mother, and to prepare for War. Thereupon the Queen on her side, and *Espernon* on his own, tampered with their Friends, and those whom they took to be so, desiring their Assistance; but they did not at first find them as ready as they had imagined; the Dukes of *Roban* and *De Les Diguieres* were not forgotten, but they very prudently declined to interfere in that Affair, in any other wise than by their good Offices with the King for bringing Matters to some reasonable Agreement.

The Queen-Mother and the Duke, had conceived great hopes that the Reformed would readily improve this Opportunity for obtaining by force of Arms that just Redress of their Grievances, which was denied to their Patience; therefore they sent *Chambret*, Son-in-Law to *De La Nouë*, to *Rockelle*, for treating with the Assembly, but they were much mistaken in their Expectation. *Chambret* was desired secretly to leave *Rockelle* without delay, for fear of the worst. Besides the Moderation of several of the Members of this Assembly,

Lewis 13. the Letters of *Du Plessis* unto them, concurred
 1619. together with their good Dispositions, to this
 Pope Paul wise Resolution of theirs. That truly worthy
 V.

Lord had no sooner received the News of the
 Queen's Flight, but he dispatched an Express
 to *Rochelle* to inform the Assembly of that
 Event. He exhorted them to improve this
 Opportunity. *Send speedily to Court, said he,*
and give his Majesty the strongest Assurances,
that our Churches will remain loyal and faithful,
notwithstanding the manifold Subjects they have
of Complaint, and that we desire nothing else of
his Majesty but the free Exercise of our Religion,
and the Preservation of our Privileges.

His constant Maxim was, that the Reformed
 of *France* ought not to intermeddle them-
 selves with any State-Party, besides the King's.

He knew very well that the King's Hatred
 would certainly fall upon his Reformed Sub-
 jects, whenever the Princes and the great
 Lords should have concluded their Treaty
 with him. Which indeed proved but too true
 afterwards.

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so well how to improve the present Opportunity, he so efficaciously treated with the Court, that the Decree issued out by the Parliament of *Paris* against the Assembly of *Rochelle* was revoked. The King declared that it had been convened with a good Intention and for a good Purpose, he granted them to hold another at *London* in the Month of *September* following. The Deputies set out very well pleased from *Rochelle* for their respective Provinces. They were in hopes that the Affairs of *Bearn* would be amicably adjusted. But greater Difficulties than it was imagined were started in the way. The Assembly broke up the 22d of *April*, having prescribed unto those of *Bearn* the ways and means of an Agreement with the Court, written Letters unto all the Provinces, exhorting them strictly to adhere to the King's Party, declaring fallen from their Union those who should go astray; exhorted those of *Rochelle* to persist in the same; and deputed again to Court to give his Majesty the fullest Assurances of their Loyalty (s).

As to the Affairs of the Queen-Mother, we have said that his flight threw the Court into a great Consternation, being afraid lest her Party should be greater or would increase daily; that therefore they prepared for War, in order to make a more advantageous Peace. The Command of the Army that was to act against her was given to the Duke of *Mayenne*, because the Favourite took him to be the most exasperated against her, and the most devoted to himself. The Negotiation for an Agreement and Peace was committed to the Count of

Lewis
1619
Pope Pn
V.

Negotiatt.
ons with
the Queen-
Mother.

C c c 3

Belbune,

(s) Vie de Du Plessis, liv. iv. Lettres & Mem. de Du Plessis, Tom. IV. ad ann. 1619. Vie du Duc d'Espèrnon, Tom. II. ad ann. 1618-19. Mem. du Duc de Rohan, liv. i.

744 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
 Lewis 13. *Betbune*, Brother to the Duke of *Sully*, because
 1619. he was thought to be one of the most accept-
 Pope Paul V. able to that Princess. *Richelieu*, Bishop of *Luçon*,
 who had been sent in exile to *Avignon*, at the
 beginning of her Disgrace, was recalled, upon
 the Promise he made by his Brother-in-Law,
Pont-Courlay, that he would endeavour to en-
 gage the Queen-Mother to make Peace with
 the King upon his own Terms, and to create
 Jealousies between the chief Deliverers of that
 Princess, which last he faithfully executed.
 But none succeeded so well in bringing her to
 the Terms of the King her Son, as Father
De Berulle, afterwards Cardinal, and Fundator
 of the Oratory. After several Altercations, and
 goings and comings, Peace was at last con-
 cluded and signed on the 30th of *April* between
 the King and his Mother. By the Treaty, all
 her Servants were preserved in their Estates
 and Dignities, especially the Duke of *Espernon*;
 she resigned the Government of *Normandy*, in
 lieu whereof she had that of *Anjou*, the Castle

*She con-
 cludes the
 Treaty
 with her
 Son.*

me, I hope, my silence upon the Transactions of that Assembly, which, it seems, had taken in several respects, the Council of *Trent* for their Pattern. These Transactions are now too well known, and deserve rather to be buried in eternal Oblivion, than to be any more recorded, unless it is for confirming this Observation of *Gregory Nazianzen*, That he had never seen any good proceeding from a Council, that the Diseases of the Church are rather increased than cured thereby. This Synod, having examined with the greatest Partiality, the five Propositions of *Arminius*, and without allowing his Adherents the Liberty of asserting their Opinions, no more than the Council of *Trent* had allowed it to the Protestants, published about the latter end of *April* their Hypothesis about Predestination, the Death of Jesus Christ, the Corruption of Man, his Conversion unto God, and Perseverance of Saints. Upon every Article they condemned the Opinion contrary to the Synod's. *Episcopius* and other *Arminian* Ministers, summoned by the Synod, were deposed, and branded by the Sentence as Corrupters of the true Religion, and Disturbers of the Peace of the *Belgick* Churches. Such a gross Calumny of the *Belgick* Ministers assembled in that Synod, went not uncensured by all *Europe*, as indeed it deserved. But no more of this. The purest Societies being composed of Men, are obnoxious to the same Affections as the most impure. Tho' the Churches of *France* had been forbidden from sending their Deputies to *Dort*, nevertheless the Decisions of that Assembly, were solemnly admitted by two of their Synods held the 1st at *Alets* in the *Cevennes*, and the 2d at *Charenton*. Nothing at all obliged them to take

Lewis 13. that step, contrariwise they were obliged in
 1619. Honour and Conscience to remain Neuters, at
 Pope Paul. V. least, as to the Articles of *Grace* and *Predestina-*
 tion, seeing that they insisted so warmly upon
 a Reconciliation with the *Lutherans*, who
 were extremely offended at the *Dordracenian*
 Condemnation of their Tenets about these two
 Points. I may say the same of *James I.* who
 caused the said Opinions to be condemned by
 the Synod, at the same time that he was so
 eager after an Union between the Protestants and
 the Reformed, of what Denomination soever,
 and who set up himself for a Divine at the
 same time, when he ought to have acted like
 to himself, a King, and to take in hand the Pro-
 tection and Defence of the *Electer Palatine* his
 Son-in-Law.

Trial and During the Sessions of this Synod, they were
Condem- very hard at work at the *Hague*, for trying the
nation of Prisoners of State; whereupon I shall observe
the Pri- only this, that had they lived under the Govern-
soners of ment of the Duke of *Alva*, those illustrious
State in Holland. Confessors and Martyrs of the People's Liber-

brought to receive their Sentence. *Barnevelt* Lewis 13. 1619. Pope Paul V. was condemned to be beheaded, and they had Cruelty enough for executing that unjust Doom upon that venerable Magistrate to whom they were beholden for their Liberties and Privileges, very little less than even to *William I. Prince of Orange*: he fell a Victim to a certain State Party; he asserted to the last the People's Liberties, his Head was sever'd in the Morning the 13th of *May*, in the 72d Year of his Age. *Grotius* and *de Hoguerbeis* were condemned to a perpetual Imprisonment, and accordingly brought to the Castle of *Louvestein*, from whence *Grotius* found means to escape some Years after. As to *Leydenberg*, he was found drowned in his own Blood, having had his Throat cut in the Night before he was to be confronted with the other Prisoners; so TAN-
TUM POTUIT RELIGIO SUADERE MA-
LORUM.

To return to *France*. The Prince of *Condé* Condé is set at liberty. was set at liberty about the 20th of *October*. He was beholden for that Favour to the Fa-
vourite, who designed to oppose him to the Queen-Mother, whenever she should return to Court. *Deageant*, Creature of the Favourite, being suspected to keep Correspondence with the Bishop of *Luçon*, lost the Favour, and was sent back into *Dauphiné* to execute his Office of President in the Parliament of *Grenoble*. However, for to conceal his Disgrace from the Eyes of the Publick, he was charged with a Com-
mission to offer the Marshal Duke of *Les Digues*, in the King's Name, the Constable's Staff, if he would turn Catholick. The old am-
bitious Man listened readily to the Proposition; and to convince the Court that he was sin-
cerely resolved to be obsequious in that respect,
and

Lewis 13. and to renounce his own Religion, unto which
 1619. he was beholden for his wonderful Rise, he
Pope Paul did not scruple to impart to *Deageant* whatever
 V. Propositions were made unto him by the Re-
 formed, and to take his Advice on the An-
 swers he was 'to return; nevertheless, he
 did not change outwardly his Religion, but
 acted the Part of a downright Hypocrite from
 this time till he was sure of the Constableship,
 which happened three or four Years after.

Assembly While these and several other Intrigues were
of Loudun. carried on at Court between *Luines* and the
 Queen-Mother, and the Prince of *Condé* while
 he was Prisoner, the Reformed opened their
 Sessions at *Loudun* in the Month of *September*,
 according to the King's own Appointment;
 the *Vidame* of *Chartres* was named President
 of the Assembly, the Reverend Doctor *Chauve*
 Minister of *Sommieres* in *Languedoc* was his
 Assistant, and Messrs. *De Chales* and *Mallerey*,
 Secretaries. Now, whereas the State-Ministers
 had taken no care to give any Satisfaction to


BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 749

tion of the Officers professing the Reformed Religion in the superiour Courts ; the Removal of *Pontrailles*, Governour of *Leytoure*, who had turned Catholick, and was consequently incapable of that Place according to the Edict of *Nantz*, because that place was one of the Cautionary Towns ; the Exemption from Taxes for the Ministers ; the sending of the Commissaries thro' the Provinces for causing the Edicts to be executed ; the Change of Places granted for religious Worship, and which were too far distant from the abode of those who were to make use of them ; a Continuation of the Cautionary Towns, and especially that an Account should be given of those that were held by Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, who had all along refused to give any account of them to the Churches ; lastly, a Revocation, or at least a Suspension of the Decree given in behalf of the *Roman Catholick* Clergy in *Bearn*, till the *Bearnese* had been heard. The Deputies met the King at *Compiegne*, and followed him to *Chantilli*, where the Prince of *Condé* with his Consort had been brought, to make their Submissions to his Majesty. The King was advised not to receive their Petitions before they had drawn the general one, containing their whole Demands, and the Deputies were dismissed without being heard. Whereupon the Assembly resolved to obey the King's Will, and to send their general Bill of Grievances and Petitions ; but at the same time, they resolved not to depart from *Loudun* till they had received real Satisfaction. This General Bill was sent to Court by new Deputies, who set out from *Loudun* the 13th of *December*. But they were told, that the Assembly ought to name their Deputies and to break up instantly, and

Lewis 13.

1619.

Pope Paul V.

Lewis 13. and then their Bills and Petitions would be fa-
1619. vourably answered, and what was promised
Pope Paul faithfully executed. The Court affirmed, as
V.  boldly as if it had been true, that it had been
always usual for these Assemblies to break up
as soon as they had delivered their Bills and
Petitions, and named their general Deputies,
without waiting for an Answer to the said
Bills and Petitions; that was utterly false, and
subverted the main Design of these Assemblies,
which was chiefly to consider the Grievances
of the Churches, the ways of redressing them,
and to represent the same to his Majesty by
proper Deputies, and to insist till they had ob-
tained a Redress. That had been the Custom
before *Henry IV.* was set upon the Throne of
France, and it had lasted till the Assembly of
Cbâtel-beraud, when the Duke of *Sully*, be-
traying the Cause of the Churches, forced that
Assembly to break up before they had obtained
the Redress and Satisfaction which they ex-
pected. The same thing was done in the As-
sembly of *Saumur* at the beginning of this

General Deputies, and then to break up. withstanding that unkind Treatment, these Petitions were received with the utmost Respect by the Assembly. But they resolved to send another Deputation to the King, to reiterate upon that Subject. They were admitted to the Audience about the 25th of *May*; the King having heard their Speech, ordered them to obey and depart, without entering into the Merits of the Cause; and as they were ready to reply, his Majesty bid them to turn them out; all the Favour they received was, that the Chancellor told them, if the Assembly would send some proper Persons with Power to treat with the King's Council, they would find ways to some Accommodation. This rude Usage of the Assembly's Deputies was like to bring Matters to a desperate Issue. Being arrived at *London* the 7th of *February*, and having made their Report to the Assembly, some were for breaking up abruptly, without naming the general Cause. They resolved at last to consult the

the great Lords that resided at

Lewis 13. thought proper to accept the said Proposition, and this the more, that *Bellugon*, Governor of *Villemur*, was arrived that very same day at *Saumur*, being sent by the Marshal of *Les Diguières*, (who was then at Paris, in order to be sworn Duke and Peer of France *,) to impart unto him a Scheme which he had drawn, conjointly with the Count of *Chatillon* on one part, and the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Luines* on the other, for bringing Matters to an Agreement. The Scheme was such, 1st, That the Assembly should break up before the end of *February*. 2d, That immediately after their Separation, the King should answer their Bills and Petitions favourably. 3d, But that he should forthwith remove *Fontrailles* (+) from the Government of *Leytours*. 4th, That he should grant the keeping of the Cautionary Towns for a Year longer besides the three that still remained to come. 5th, That he should oblige the Parliament of *Paris* to receive the two Counsellors so often mentioned. All this was to be performed within six Months

1620.
Pope Paul
V.

Resuming of the Ecclesiastical Estates.
Assembly being informed of all this by
effis, and expecting to obtain something
yet, followed his Advice, and sent a
Deputation to Court, with a full Power
in their Name. But while they were
in the Road, *Luines* obtain'd a Declaration
from the King, bearing date the 26th of Fe-
bruary, whereby supposing that there were
disaffected Persons in the Assembly, who
sought to inspire ill designs into the rest
to the Peace and Quietness of the State,
granted a new Delay of three Weeks from
the date of the present, for naming their De-
legation General after the usual way, and then
to sit up; which if they refused to do, he
declared the said Assembly unlawful from that
instant, and those that should remain at
it, after the said Term of three Weeks,
were guilty of high Treason, and deprived of all the
privileges of the Edicts, and commanded all
Magistrates, and others to whom it be-
came due, to prosecute them as Disturbers of the

Lewis 13. promising to receive them, tho' so irregularly
 1620. chosen. The Prince of *Condé* himself carried
Pope Paul that Declaration to the Parliament in order to
 V.

get it verified, and not content with such a Step,
 so much contrary to the Honour of a Prince
 of the Blood, who not only stood beholden to
 those whom he persecuted, but who had en-
 gaged his Word to support their Interest in
 this Occasion, he seconded it with virulent
 Speeches against them, which might reasonably
 be looked upon as a Declaration of War.

This Proceeding was a Thunder-bolt for
 the Deputies, and very likely they would have
 gone back to *London*, had they had notice
 thereof before their Arrival at *Paris*. The
 Enemies of the Reformed, or those who sought
 nothing else but an opportunity to fish in
 troubled Waters, left no stone unturned to
 mortify the Assembly, to put them out of pa-
 tience, and to break the Negotiations on foot;
 so far they went, that the Attorney-General
 sent the abovesaid Declaration to the Assembly,

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 755

with all their Might, by kindling a Civil War ^{Lewis 13.}
in the Kingdom, in order to make a Diversion of ^{1620.}
the King's Forces, and hinder him from ^{Pope Paul}
giving any Assistance to the Emperor *Ferdinand II.* ^{V.} But more of this presently. The
King, bewitched with such false Notions in-
stilled into him by our mortal Enemies, *Spain*
and *Rome*, thought, that in Conscience he was
obliged to prevent the Execution of that pre-
tended Plot; and for this Reason it is, that he
dealt so roughly with the Assembly of *Loudun*,
wherein he was seconded by several of his Of-
ficers in the Parliament. For having several
Money-Bills to be verifys'd in that Court, in
order to bring them to a Compliance, they pro-
mised the Extirpation of Heresy out of the
Kingdom. The Jesuits, and other like Preach-
ers, inflamed the People by their seditious
Sermons, and obtained a Licence to preach in
the Cautionary Towns, contrary to the express
Words of the Edict of *Nantz*, so that every
thing was like to tend to a general Confusion:
The Reformed saw themselves exposed to the
Mercy of an implacable Enemy, without any
Hopes of Redress or Relief from those who
held the Reins of the Government, and obli-
ged to shift for themselves. But when things
were in that seeming desperate Condition, a
favourable Turn happened, whereby their
Ruin was superseded for a while. *Du Picqsis*
resenting, as he ought, the Injury done to the
whole Reformed Body, in the Persons of their
Representatives assembled at *Loudun*, wrote to
the Duke of *Les Diguieres*, and shewed unto
him the dangerous Consequences of such a vio-
lent Proceeding of the Court; dangerous for
himself, who should lose all his Credit amongst

...Grievances and to c
He wrote also to the Du
Father-in-Law to the Duke
vourite, and told him plain
Son-in-Law's Interest not to
vil War on any Pretence w
his Enemies would not fail
Opportunity for executing t
out of Jealousy, they ha
him.

These Letters had the de
Duke of *Les Diguieres* di
Gillier to *Loudun*, to assu
that notwithstanding the
above mentioned, their Depu
mitted to audience; and th
Intention in their behalf was
vertheless these Hopes were
present; the Deputies who
King to *Amiens*, were not
dience, at which the Assembl
ted. Fresh Letters were sent
Les Diguieres, whereupon
der to settle his Credit


ius the Assembly obeyed, being persuad-
Les Diguieres, Chatillon, and Du Pleffis,
had received Assurances by the two first,
as soon as they should break up, Satisfac-
tion should be given them about the Affair of
Nimes, the keeping of the Cautionary
Money, and the Reception of the two Coun-
tys; that in the next place, the King
should hear the Remonstrances of those of
the second; and that in case all that was not per-
formed within seven Months time, they should
Leave to assemble again, and the Prince
of *Condé* and the Duke of *Luynes* would ob-
tain of the King for them. They insisted at
last to have the said Assurances in Writing, but
by the Persuasion of the above-said Lords, they
consented, and so fell into the Snare. They nam-
ed three Persons to the King, who chose the
Count of *Faves* for the Nobility, and *Des-
marais*, lately first Consul of *Nimes*, for the
Citizens, to be their General Deputies at
Paris. In acknowledgment of their Obe-
dience, the King granted them five years in-

the Favourite. The Queen
ardently to come to Court,
Luçon, who was not come b
fine himself with her in the
endeavour'd by all means to
fire. Had the King been
Inclinations, he would soon
his Mother's Desire ; but, a
observed, he was not born
to be governed. *Luines*, w
that Princess should snatch
thority out of his Hands, a
above all the superior Genius
posed to his utmost her R
Malice went so far, as to
Master's Mind with the dr
fions of being poison'd by
designed, as he said, to set
Duke of *Orleans* on the Thro
Catherine of Medicis had
Charles IX. her Son.

The Queen-
Mother
forms a
A

These Dispositions of the
thoroughly known-to the Qu

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 759

ms to do her Justice, and formed a Party ^{Lewis 13.} ^{1620.} ^{Pope Paul V.} 
 ainst him strong enough to crush him and
 Brothers, had the good Advices of the
 Duke of *Espernon* been followed. The Coun-
 s Dowager of *Soissons*, the Count her Son,
 Duke of *Vendôme*, the *Great Prior* his
 other, the Dukes of *Longueville*, *Mayenne*,
vers, *de la Tremouille*, *Roban*, *Retz*, *Roua-*
z, &c. withdrew from Court, and went most
 rt of them to their respective Governments;
 Duke of *Espernon* was already in his own;
 d they all declared themselves for the Queen-
 other against the Favourite. *Mayenne*, Go-
 mour of *Guienne*, set on foot an Army of
 ,000 Men; *Espernon* another of 10,000:
 is Opinion was, that the Queen ought to
 n them with what Forces she had by her,
 ick would have made an Army of above
 ,000 Men, all fine Troops, with whom
 izes would hardly have been able to cope,
 d it been rightly managed. But *Richelieu*,
 ined by the Duke of *Luines*, and blinded by
 mbition, betrayed his Mistress, opposing with
 his Might the Dukes of *Mayenne*, *Esp-*
er, and *Roban*'s Counsels, and engaging that
 incefs not to stir out of *Angers*.

While they were deliberating in the Queen's ^{The King} ^{takes the} ^{field.}
 ouncil, the King was upon Execution. By
 e Advice of the Prince of *Condé*, his Ma-
 ty marched in Person into *Normandy*; in a
 w days he subdued the whole Province, and ^{He sub-} ^{dues Nor-}
 e Duke of *Longueville* was obliged to flee ^{mandy.}
Dieppe, where he remained 'till Peace was
 ade, without daring to stir.

That Expedition damp'd the Queen-Mo-
 er; she did not expect that the King her
 n would so soon take such Methods in or-
 r to bring her to a Compliance. She re-

degrees from her high Preter
to insist any more upon the
val from Court.

*He forces
his Mother
to accept of
his Terms.*

Nevertheless, as the Kin
ved, that her Majesty sough
and carried the Negotiation
than they desired, they ad
pursue his Conquest ; and a
7th of *August*, they attacked
Bridge of Cè, without any
on their side, and made a
the Garrison, which consist
sand Men *. This new La
ciously, and engaged the C
the Treaty which had be
two Months together : I
both sides the 11th of *Aug*
Mother was to return to Co
ces and Lords who had folk
be received into the King's
that they should make their
ance at Court, wherever it sh

the Queen his Mother came to pay him *of the King
and his
Mother.*
fit, on the 13th of the same Month.
he followed his Army to *Poitiers*, from *He goes to*
thence he set out for *Bordeaux* on the 9th of *Bour-*
deaux.
His Majesty's Council gave out,
it was to cause *Leytoure* to be restored to
lands of an unsuspected Reformed ; but
the Design of that Journey was to force
Bearne to a Compliance. His Majesty
asked *Du Plessis* upon that Subject, requir-
ing his Advice : That Lord answered to Mr.
deaux, one of his Majesty's Secretaries,
that his Majesty's Undertaking could not
be very good, provided that every thing
should be done in their proper Order ; to wit,
the Promises made to the Assembly of
Paris should be executed first of all ; that
the two Coun-
tries should be restored ; the two Coun-
tries admitted in the Parliament of *Paris* ;
the state of the Cautionary Towns delivered
provided for ; the *Bearne* admitted to
state their Reasons for their Opposition to
the Decree ; then his Majesty might

Lewis 13. But the King was no sooner arrived at Bour-
 16.0
 P. 10.2
 V. lea x. than the *Bearnese* were commanded to
 submit and obey. True it is indeed, that his
 Majesty had obliged *Fontrailles* to resign the
 Government of *Leytoure*, and had put it into
 the hands of Mr. *De Blainville*, professing
 the Reformed Religion; but that was only a
 small Part of what had been promised. The
 Parliament of *Paris* insisted upon their former
 Oppositions to the Reception of the two Coun-
 sellors; nay, they were not ashamed to say
 now, that the *Bearnese* ought first to obey, and
 then the rest should be performed, quite
 contrary to what had been stipulated at *Lou-*
dun. Nevertheless, we must not dissemble;
 the King had several Reasons for being dis-
 pleased with several Lords amongst the Re-
 formed, as well as with the Obstinacy of the
Bearnese; the Duke of *La Trimouille* had join-
 ed his Interest with the Queen-Mother in the
 last Insurrection; and the Inhabitants of *St.*
John d'Angely made heavy Complaints against
 the Duke of *Bahay*, for that his Deputy Co-

He sum-
 mons the
 Bearnese
 to submit.

of *La Force*, that the said Decree would be
mitted to by the Parliament of *Pau*: The
ities of the Parliament arrived at last;
instead of the Ratification of the King's
re, they brought nothing else but a Disown-
if what their Governour had promised in
Name, and a Refusal of verifying it, on
nce that the said Parliament had been
sed and put in fear by a vast Number
ountry-People, who had besieged them
s Parliament-House, and committed se-
l. Outrages. The King, having heard the
ities, did not think proper to put off any
er his Journey into that Country. He
out at the Head of part of his Army;
though he was met upon the Road by the
Parliament, who brought him the Verifica-
of the said Decree, without any Amend-
t, he continued his March, and arrived at
the 16th of *October*; on the 17th he caused
to be said in the old Temple, and on the
he went to *Navarrins*, the strongest Place
Country, where Mass was said by his

^{1620.}
Lewis 13 of the Country, wherein he united the Sovereignty of *Bearn* and *Nevers* to the Crown of *France*, and thereby reduced the *Bearnese* to the same Condition as his other Subjects in *France*, as to Religion; that is to say, that they were to live, in that respect, according to the Rules of the Edict of *Nantz*. So that the *Roman* Catholick Religion, from being only tolerated in the Suburbs, became the National Religion, and the Reformed Religion became only tolerated, obliged to yield to the Catholics all the Churches they had been possess'd of for fifty Years in the Cities, and to meet together in the Suburbs. The Consternation was general amongst the poor People: The Catholics insulted their Misery in a thousand ways, more offending one than another. This, it is true, they had drawn upon themselves by their Obstinacy; by refusing the tolerable Terms they had been offered by the Court, notwithstanding the moving Intreaties of their best Friends, who endeavoured to persuade them to submit. But as the Duke of *Reghau* observes, they knew

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 765

The King having settled every thing in *Bearn* to his liking, set out for *Paris* the 20th of *October*, where he arrived about the 9th of *November*. Before I proceed any further I think proper to make some particular Observations upon these Affairs of *Bearn*, which occasioned the Desolations and Ruins of so many of our Churches for above nine years together; and at last the Loss of so many valuable Rights and Privileges granted us by the Edict of *Nantz*.

Lewis 13.
1620.
Pope Paul.
V.

The King
returns to
Paris.

First, It is certain, that by an Edict of the States of *Bearn* in 1564, the *Roman Religion* was interdicted in that Principality, and the Ecclesiastical Estates and Church-Lands were forfeited for ever on account of the unnatural Treason of the Catholicks, especially the Clergy of that Country, against their lawful Sovereign Queen *Jane of Navarre*.

Some gene-
ral Ob-
servations
upon the
Affairs of
Bearn.

Secondly, It is certain that the Reformed Religion was so deeply rooted in the Hearts of the *Bearnese*, that very little notice was taken by them of the repeated Orders the King of *Navarre*, their lawful Prince, sent them to turn Catholicks, when he had been himself forced to do the like on *Bartbolomew's Day* in 1572.

Thirdly, It is as certain that that great Prince, very well acquainted with his true Interests, and no less careful of the Privileges and Liberties of his Subjects than of his own Prerogatives, would never consent to make, of his own Authority, any Alteration in the Government, either Ecclesiastical or Civil, of his Principality of *Bearn*; tho' his Proctors at the Court of *Rome* had, of their own accord, promised so much, when he was reconciled to that See; and tho' the *Pope's* Legates and Nuncios had oftentimes insisted with him on the

ny, than to divert the Revenue
any other Use than those w
been design'd by Queen *Jane*

Fourthly, It is certain, th
had made a dangerous Pre
Privileges and Liberties, wh
quest, they were admitted to t
Reformed Churches of *France*,
tional Synod of *Rochelle*, hel
then by the political General A
Saumur in 1611, as making a
self, who had a Right to send
Assemblies, either ecclesiastic
which should be held for th
Reformed Churches * : And
Enemies failed not to make use
ment in the King's Council
when the Question was to unit
lity and *Navarre*, &c. to the C
It is true, that after having acc
mission given unto them by th
nod held at *Tonneins* in 1614,
the next National, on condi
should observe the D- C- 1

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 767

the bad Consequences it would be attended with. Lewis 13.
1620.

Fifthly, But if the Union of *Bearn*, &c. to the Crown of *France* was not, absolutely speaking, contrary to the Laws of Justice and Equity, nor even to the known Laws of the Country, it is certain, that the fundamental Laws of the Country were violated by the Alterations made in the Government, either ecclesiastical or civil, without the Consent of the States General of *Bearn*; and that the *Bearnese* had a Right to oppose with all their Might such a Subversion of their Liberties and Privileges.

Pope Paul V.

Sixthly, But on the other hand, the *Bearnese* ought to have consider'd at first whether they were able to cope with the Forces of their Sovereign, without exposing not only themselves, but all their Friends who should join with them, to a certain Ruin. Had they weighed seriously the vast Power of a King of *France*, and compared it impartially with their own Weakness, they would not have flattered themselves as they did, and hazard their All rather than to yield a single Tittle. The Compensation which the King offered, was more than sufficient for what they yielded to satisfy them; nay, they were expressly promised, that in case of Non-performance, they were allowed to re-enter into Possession of the Church-Lands, and other ecclesiastical Estates, but nothing could satisfy them; and they did as a Man, who being attack'd by thirty or forty Highway-men, would chuse to be beaten, abused, deprived of all, murdered rather than to deliver a small Piece of Gold which he is asked for: Would that Man be deemed wise?

But

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1620.

Pope Paul

V.

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But lest I should be deemed either ignorant of the Case, or too partial in the Judgment I pass, I think proper to translate here the unexceptionable Authority of the most venerable and worshipful *Du Plessis*. The Duke of *Roban*, as we have said above, tells us, that the *Bearnese* knew neither how to obey, nor how to defend themselves. *Du Plessis*, in his Letter to the Dutchess Dowager of *Roban*, dated at *Saumur* the 3d of November 1620, has these Words: *I bewail with you the Desolations of BERN, and find no other Comfort but in the Grief I feel for that these Wretches will never listen to any Counsel.* A sad Comfort indeed! The same Words he wrote to Mr. *Anjorant*, Agent for the Republick of *Geneva* at the Court of *France*, in his Letter of the 6th of November, only instead of these Words, TO ANY COUNSEL, he says, to the Counsel of their faithfullest Friends; and in another to the Marquis of *La Mouffaye* of the same Date, he says: *This Comfort I have, viz. that*



of the Affairs of Bearn, and what my  
ces have been, always inclining, as well as  
self, to some reasonable Agreement, whereby  
own Safety would have been provided for,  
all as the King's Authority. And never-  
r, these poor wretched People have drawn  
themselves their own Misfortune, in dan-  
f communicating it to others. I might  
increase my Quotations, but these me-  
ts are more than sufficient; and am in  
a, that being screen'd under such a Vou-  
no body will deem me partial, when I do  
ively affirm, that Passion, Self-Interest,  
of some were more concerned in these  
bles, and in the Civil-Religious, or ra-  
Irreligious Wars, wherein we were invol-  
the very next Year, than Religion itself,  
ch Assertion I am very sorry to be so  
able to make good, and wish to God that  
y be found a Lyar, for the Honour of  
Religion, or rather the Professors thereof.  
let us return to our main Subject.

These Transactions in Bearn, and for The 234

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Pope Paul  
V.

essor; and the Rev. Mr. *Nicholas Vignier*, Minister of *Blois*, with *Thomas Papillon*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*, and Elder of the Church of *Charenton*, Secretaries. Many Complaints were brought before this Assembly, of the Injustices done to the Reformed in several Parts of the Kingdom; some Churches there were where the free Exercise of Religion was opposed: The Affairs of *Leytours*, *Sancerre*, and *Privas* were consider'd. But one of the most important Affairs of this Assembly, was that of the Ministers who had preached their own Opinions about Civil Matters, at *Loudun*, against the Resolutions of the Assembly: There were several such Men in the *Lower Languedoc*, who occasioned several Disturbances in the Political Assemblies of that Province, because the Deputies that compos'd them being nominated by the Churches, there were too many Ministers nominated for the said Deputation; and even such as could not obtain to be chosen by their Church, endea-

**BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 771**

National Synod, for Deputies of the Reform-  
ed Churches in *France* to the Synod of *Dort*,  
accounted for their Absence, and the unper-  
formance of their Commission. The King  
forbad them to go thither, so that *Chamier*  
and *Charve*, who were already arrived at *Ge-*  
*neva*, were obliged to come back. They were  
set out without having asked the King's Leave;  
the two others thought it more advisable  
and prudent to ask it, but were refused. His  
Majesty did not think proper that his own  
Subjects should assist in an Assembly, where-  
in, (*as he was very well informed*) Matters  
would take a turn quite contrary to the strong  
solicitations he caused to be made to their  
High-Mightinesses by his Ambassadors. The  
present Synod, not being able to do more,  
not only accepted the Decisions framed at *Dort*,  
but took an Oath upon them and subscribed  
them, not only for the Sake of Union, but  
on account of Faith; not considering, that  
thereby they intirely subverted their Scheme  
for an Union between the *Lutherans* and  
*Calvinists*, and that they estranged the first  
from them more than ever. Nevertheless  
they added to this Act of their Adherence to  
the *Dordracenian* Doctrine, an Exhortation to  
the Ministers to whom the Cure of precious  
Souls is committed, " That they should  
" walk together evenly and harmoniously in  
" one and the same way; that they should  
" abstain from all idle, unprofitable, and cu-  
" rious Questions; that they do not pry into  
" the Sacred Ark of God's hidden and un-  
" revealed Counsels and Decrees, above  
" or beyond what is recorded in his written  
" Word, the Holy Scriptures of Truth, but  
" rather that they would humbly own and  
" acknowledge their Ignorance of those pro-  
VOL. IV. E e e ' found

Lewis 13.  
1620.  
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**Lewis 1 3** “ found and unfathomable Myſteries, than in-  
**1620.** “ trude themſelves into things unlawful; and  
**Pope Paul** “ that they would ſo order their Diſcourſes  
**V.** “ and Sermons concerning Predeſtination, that  
 “ it might promote Repentance and Amend-  
 “ ment of Life, comfort wounded Conſciences,  
 “ and excite the Practice of Godlineſs;  
 “ that ſo all Occaſions of Diſputes and Con-  
 “ troverſies may be avoided, &c.” Nothing  
 more fine, juſt and reaſonable could be ſaid:  
 But had theſe godly Rules ſtrictly been ob-  
 ſerved at *Dort*? Had theſe truly modeſt Sen-  
 timents prevailed in the Synod? Let the Rea-  
 der of the Hiſtory of that Synod of *Dort* be  
 judge for himſelf.

The Affair of *Bearn* cauſed great Agita-  
 tions in this Synod; ſome were for taking  
 their Cauſe in hand, for ſending a Deputation  
 to the King in their behalf, and in caſe it  
 proved ineffectual, for engaging in that Quar-  
 rel all the Reformed Churches of the King-  
 dom: But others, more moderate and more

**BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 773**

has little considered, either what the Gospel re- Lewis 13:  
quires of its sincere Professors, or what was 1620.  
requisite for the Welfare of our Churches, in Pope Paul  
true Policy, in the Condition they were then V.  
in, or the favourable Circumstances of our  
Enemies. Christianity calls us to suffer the Loss  
of our Temporal Concerns when our Spiritual  
ones are safe; whereby I mean, Liberty of  
Conscience, Freedom of Worship, and such  
like; rather than to expose ourselves to the  
Danger of losing these, without any certainty  
of preserving the others. Now it is certain,  
that at that time, in general, we enjoyed every  
where (fifteen or eighteen Places excepted)  
the Liberty of Conscience, and Freedom of  
Worship. It is true, that as to the Freedom  
of Worship, or the free publick Exercise of  
our Religion, it was attended in several Places  
with great Inconveniencies, because the Places  
appointed for Divine Service, were far distant  
from the Places of our Abode: but that was  
mostly the fault of those who had drawn up  
the Edict of *Nantz*, who were not careful  
enough in that respect, and left several like  
things undecided, which ought to have been  
clear'd at first, as the Reverend Author, just  
now mentioned, rightly observes in the 1st Vol.  
of his History. As to the Situation of the  
Reformed in those Days, it is certain that  
Peace and Quietness were very requisite, in  
order to retrieve not only the Kingdom in  
general, but the Reformed Party in particu-  
lar, from their former Losses, and to restore  
it to its former Splendor: They were but  
in small number, in comparison of what  
they had been under the three last Reigns of  
the House of *Orleans*, and the beginning of  
*Henry IV.* They had no Support within nor  
without whereupon they could depend, as  
E e e 2 they

**Lewis 13.** they had had in the former times, when they  
**1630.** had been supported by the Politician Party  
**Pope Paul** at home, which was very considerable, and  
**V.** abroad, by the formidable Armies of *Reiſſers*  
and *Landſkenets* ſent to their Aſſiſtance by  
the *Proteſtant* Princes of *Germany*. Their  
Cause was no longer the ſame, they had to  
fight in the former Wars for the Honour of  
their Wives and Daughters, for their Liberty,  
for their Lives, for their Conſciences, in a  
word for whatever is the deareſt amongſt Men:  
But now they were to fight for more or leſs  
of Civil Rights and Privileges, and even for  
leſs than that. Could the Chiefs amongſt our  
Reformed expect to be ſupported by the whole  
Body, when a great part of them were bet-  
ter informed of the true Motives that indu-  
ced them to take up Arms? Beſides that,  
there was no ſuch an Union and good Un-  
derſtanding amongſt themſelves as was requi-  
ſite for expecting any good Succeſs from an  
Infurrection. The great Lords had each of

and fought sincerely the Welfare of the  
ies; but his long Experience made him  
; that one Year of a Civil War was a  
great deal worse then twenty Years of  
Administration; and his Godliness  
ed him to postpone all Temporal Con-  
to the Spiritual: so that being not well  
as to THESE, that they were so much  
ted, as it was commonly reported, (for he  
very where good Correspondents, who  
ed him exactly of every thing) he could  
ar with the thought of bringing Af-  
extremes, as long as they enjoy'd  
ious Liberty of Conscience, and Free-  
f Exercise, which he valued above  
igs. There was not such a harmony  
between the Commonalties themselves  
to have been, besides the different  
thinking in the Provinces this side the  
rom those beyond; the Commonalties  
*Southern* Provinces did not agree one  
ether, but followed, for the most part,  
of their Governor, who had,

**Lewis 13.** part of the Protestant Princes of Germany for  
 1620. the Support of the *Eleſtor Palatine*, King of  
 Pope Paul V. *Bohemia*, was eſpecially formed for the De-  
 ſtruction of the *Roman Religion*, he did not  
 think proper to meddle himſelf in the Trou-  
 bles of *Germany*, any further than by ſend-  
 ing his Ambaſſadors to *Vienna*, to negotiate  
 an Agreement between the contending Parties,  
 which however was of none effect; but there  
 being no Diverſion of his Forces, which were  
 ready to take the Field, I cannot apprehend  
 how the Rev. Mr. *Benoit* has been ſo unpo-  
 litical, as to charge with Bribery and Corrup-  
 tion thoſe who oppoſed all violent Schemes  
 in this Synod, which having ſat for two full  
 Months, and diſpatched ſeveral things relating  
 to Diſcipline, and ſettled their Accounts of the  
 King's Monies, ended their Sefſions the 2d  
 Day of *December*.

*Affairs of* We have given ſome hint of the *Eleſtor*  
*the Eleſtor* *Palatine*, *Frederick V.* having been elected  
*Palatine.* King of *Bohemia* in *September*, 1619, in the  
 room of *Ferdinand II.* Emperor, who had



## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 777

As the Gates of *Frankfort* had been shut Lewis 13. to their Ambassadors, which they had sent 1620. Pope Paul V. the Diet of the Electors, for to protest in their Name against *Ferdinand's* sitting in the Diet as King-Elector of *Bohemia*. There-  
 fore, seeing that *Ferdinand*, notwithstanding his Remonstrances, had not only been admitted to sit as Elector, but had been also elected to be Emperor, the States of the Kingdom were assembled, and in Presence of the deputies of *Moravia*, *Silesia*, and *Lusatia*, they took an Oath to shake off the Yoke of the rule of *Austria*, and to elect another King instead of *Ferdinand*; and accordingly on the 1st of September, 1619, they declared *Frederick V.* Elector Palatine, duly elected King of *Bohemia*. He was preferred to the three other Candidates, the King of *Denmark*, the Elector of *Saxony*, and the Duke of *Savoy*, on account of his Proximity and Power; but especially because he was not united with the House of *Austria*, as the Elector of *Savoy* was: besides that he was meek and generous, and they were in hopes that *James the First* would support his Son-in-Law, and that the States-General of the *United Provinces* would freely join their Forces with his for their common Defence, in consideration of Prince *Maurice*, Uncle to *Frederick*. They also much rely'd upon the League of Off of the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, whereof the Elector Palatine was Head. Finally, they flattered themselves that the Duke of *Bouillon*, Uncle to *Frederick*, would prevail with the Court of *France*, and obtain some Assistance for his Nephew, and that the reformed Nobility of that Kingdom would readily enter into the Service of a Prince of

**Lewis 13.** their Religion. But they were much deceived  
 1620. in their Expectation; King *James* infatuated  
 Pope Paul V. with the Notions of an arbitrary Power in the  
 Prince over his Subjects, was very far from  
 supporting the Cause of the *Bohemians*, he  
 wilfully suffered himself to be grossly imposed  
 upon by the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*,  
 and chose to sacrifice the Honour and Interest  
 of his Son-in-Law to these wild Notions of  
 Government, and to his idle Temper, rather  
 than to exert himself in a princely manner,  
 notwithstanding the Remonstrances of his Par-  
 liament, and their generous Efforts to sup-  
 port *Frederick*. The Affairs of *France* were  
 not in a posture that could permit the King  
 to interfere in a foreign War, so that the  
 Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*'s Endeavours and  
 Expectations were frustrated. The Elector of  
*Saxony* forsook the Protestant League, and  
 joined the Emperor. Nevertheless the *Bohe-  
 mians* would have been able to cope with *Fer-  
 dinand* and his Allies, had not two Over-  
 throws almost ruined the Affairs of *Bethlem*

every where.

*Bobemian Army* commanded by the  
of *Tburn* was marching in all diligence  
*Austria*, in order to join the *Transyl-*  
*Tburn* would have carried *Vienna's*  
had it not been for the stout Re-  
of the Count *Dampierre*. *Tburn* con-  
is March towards *Hungary*, and for him-  
their junction with the *Transylvanians*,  
not of *Buquoi* attacked with 5000 Men  
disciplined, *Gabor*, who had with him  
Men, but for the most part raw  
who were beaten; nevertheless *Ba-*  
ring not a sufficient Number of Troops  
to hinder the *Transylvanians* from join-  
*Bobemians*. They marched to *Vienna*,  
the Inhabitants were in a great Con-  
ern. That City would have been be-  
but *Gabor* having received Advice of  
it of *Stephen Ragotzi*, General of his  
in the *Upper Hungary*, this second  
now obliged him to part with *Tburn*,  
all speed into *Hungary*.

**Lewis 13.** proceed to the Proclamation of *Gaber*, as  
**1620.** King<sup>e</sup>, and that Prince imprudently accepted  
**Pope Paul** of a Truce with the Emperor. As to the  
**V.** *Bobemians*, *Frederick* was crowned at *Prague*  
 the 4th of *November*, and *Elizabeth* his Con-  
 sort two or three Days after. But not having  
 found that Assistance whereupon he had too  
 easily relied, he lost by degrees all his Advan-  
 tages, 'till at last he was totally ruined by the  
 loss of the Battle fought before *Prague* the  
 9th of *November* 1620, a Year and five Days  
 after his Coronation. His Majesty was obliged  
 to save himself by flight: in less than ten  
 Days he lost not only his Acquisitions, but  
 also most part of his own Patrimony, all his  
 Titles and Dignities, and was obliged to seek  
 for a Refuge in the Court of the Elector of  
*Brandenbourg* (r). Such was the State of  
 Affairs in *Germany*. The seven United Pro-  
 vinces were in no better Condition to afford  
 any Assistance to the Reformed of *France*.  
 Their Truce with *Spain* was near expiring,  
 they wanted the *French* King's Assistance in

## II. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 781

this time by our Ancestors, as con-<sup>Lewis 13.</sup>  
only to their Duty to God, their Al-<sup>1620.</sup>  
to the King, but even to their own <sup>Pope Paul</sup>  
rest; as I shall make it plainly appear <sup>V.</sup>  
quel.

withstanding the King's Declarations <sup>The Political</sup>  
ing all political Assemblies without his <sup>Assembly at Ro-</sup>  
licence, on pain of Death, the Depu-<sup>chelle.</sup>  
the Provinces being arrived at *Rochelle*,

ing celebrated a Fast, opened their  
y on the 24th of *December*. Their  
e was to mollify his Majesty's Heart,  
ch purpose they drew up an humble <sup>They send</sup>  
to him, wherein they set forth in a <sup>an humble</sup>  
d manner the Reasons which had <sup>Address to</sup>  
the Reformed Churches to hold an As- <sup>the King.</sup>

and the manifold Grievances they had  
re suffered, through the Infraction of  
his. They put him in remembrance,  
order to oblige them to depart fix  
before from *Loudun*, his Majesty had  
proper that the Prince of *Condé* and  
e of *Luines* should promise upon their  
of Honour to the Duke of *Les Di-*  
and the Count of *Châtillon*, that if  
eyed his Command to break up, his  
would be pleased to order some of the  
d Articles of their Petitions to be ex-  
fix Months Time at the furthest; and  
other Articles should be afterwards fa-  
y answered. Furthermore, that the  
s of *Bearn* should be heard in their just  
a Month after the fix expired. Last-  
in Case of Non-performance of these  
y, they should be at liberty to assem-  
n; that the Prince of *Condé* had pro-  
hem upon his Word, that he would  
for them the King's Writ for that

pur-

*Lewis 13.* purpose; that the Duke of *Luynes* had assured  
*1621.* them, that his Word, which he engaged at  
*Pope Paul* the same time, was equal to his Bond, and  
*V.* might be depended on; that they had added  
in the King's Name, that it was for the first  
time that he engaged his Royal Word with  
his Reformed Subjects, and that they ought  
to look upon it as an inviolable Promise.  
That upon all these Securities they had obeyed  
without Delay. That his Majesty had him-  
self ratified with his own Mouth to those who  
spoke to him in their Name, that he would  
cause whatever had been promised unto them  
by the Prince and the Duke of *Luynes* to be  
faithfully executed. That before breaking up  
they had drawn up an Instrument of their  
Obedience, in consequence of the Promises  
made unto them, and had charged their De-  
puties to summon another Assembly, if the  
Premises were not performed within the six  
Months. That these Things had not been  
done in secret; his Majesty could not be igno-  
rant of it, no more than the Lords of his

very bitterly but not beyond their De-  
sires. And they concluded thus :  
These Alarms, Sir, oblige us to beseech  
Your Majesty, not to hearken to the Calum-  
nies of our Enemies, to consider the Justice  
of our Cause, and to grant us Leave freely  
to appear at your Majesty's Feet our Com-  
plaints and Prayers. If we obtain some  
Share of your good Will to us, those of  
our Religion will be persuaded that you are  
willing to protect us against our Enemies  
Attempts. By securing unto us our Liber-  
ties, Estates, and Life, your Majesty will  
enable us to employ them to your Service.  
We solemnly do declare before God and  
Man, in our own and in our Principals  
Names, that if we require the Liberty of  
congregating God according to our own Con-  
science, it is with an Intention to remain  
loyally adhering to your Service, to endeavor  
to procure the State's Welfare, and  
Prosperity of your Majesty's Reign.  
Almighty God grant us that we may be  
dealt with by you, and that you

**Lewis 13.** the King, wherein one may see some Part of  
**1621.** that antient and generous Liberty which was  
**Pope Paul** not as yet totally extinguished in *France*, and  
**V.** which the Reformed preserved longer than any  
 other; and no wonder, the Popish Religion  
 depresses the Mind; but the Principles of Re-  
 formation do quicken and raise it, they do  
 enable it better to know and to speak the  
 Truth. Nevertheless Liberty not governed  
 by Prudence and with a due Regard to what  
 we owe to our Superiours, is the most danger-  
 ous thing in the World, and it is not such a  
 Liberty which the Principles of the Reforma-  
 tion inspire its Professors with.

*The King  
 will not  
 receive it.*

However, the King absolutely refused to  
 receive any thing that came from the Assem-  
 bly at *Rockelle*; no, not even from the gene-  
 ral Deputy *Favas*, who arrived the Beginning,  
 the 2d or 3d Day of *January*, tho' graciously  
 received by his Majesty: when he attempted  
 to speak in the Assembly's Name, the King  
 told him, that he would not receive any Let-



# BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 785

to puzzle the Reader with hyperbolical or imper- Lewis 13.  
fect Narrations, or even with such as are en- 1621.  
tirely false; to give out as Causes, what were Pope Paul  
the Consequences; in a word, to justify in V.  
every thing that Party for which they had  
been declared; to blame and condemn in eve-  
ry thing the contrary Party. Such a Method  
deserves to be detested by every sober Man;  
it overthrows the fundamental Laws of Histo-  
ry, the chief of which is, always to speak  
truth, as far as we know it: it is only fit to  
darken the Mind, to produce in it unjust Pre-  
judices, or to strengthen them, and to excite  
violent Passions in the Heart. So, without  
having regard to what has been written by  
some ignorant or unfaithful Historians, con-  
cerning the Causes of our civil religious Wars  
under the Reign of *Lewis XIII.*, we will take  
them out of contemporary Authors, and parti-  
cularly out of the Letters and Memoirs of the  
illustrious and virtuous *Du Plessis*, and out of  
the History of his Life; out of the Duke of  
*Orleans's* Memoirs and Political Discourses, not  
neglecting the Informations and Assistances  
which we may receive of the Biographers of  
the Constable *De Les Diguieres*, and of the  
Duke of *Espernon*, out of the Memoirs of Mr.  
*de Pontis*, *Bassompierre*, and other Contem-  
poraries.

There are two Sorts of Causes of our Fore- Primary  
fathers Calamities to be distinguished, viz. the Cause.  
Primary and Secondary. I do not intend in this  
place to set up for a Preacher; but I cannot,  
without blinding myself, but perceive in them  
the Finger of God provoked against our Fore-  
fathers, because of their scandalous Sins. The  
same Nobility among us sacrificed all to their  
Ambition, to their Avarice, to their Luxury,  
or

but on those who had any  
and for poor Tradesmen  
as for the others, they ei  
Censures, or if they subn  
Joke of it, or else it wa  
ested Views. In one wo  
introduced itself even in  
there were seen but too m  
Pride, Vanity, Ambition,  
stituted their Talents to  
who even sacrificed Tru  
shall I say? I am asham  
Sentence pronounced by  
*Alex* against eight Minis  
posed for Apostacy, six c  
victed of Adultery and c  
heinous. Can one after  
that God sent down on ou  
of Confusion, which hurri  
Precipice which they migh  
following even but the R  
dence.

*Secondary  
Causes,*

The Secondary Causes v  
reduce our Ancestors to th

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in France.* 787

vourite, to endeavour with his Master to compass our Ruin. The Ambition with which *Luis* was agitated, made him fall into the Snares which those two Courts had laid for him. The House of *Austria* was reduced almost to the last Extremity in *Germany*, and would certainly have fallen quite, had *France*, sensible of its own true Interest, seconded the Efforts which *Bobemia*, *Hungary*, and the Princes of the *Protestant League* made, to throw off the Yoke of its tyrannical Government. The Ministers of *Spain* and *Rome* knew it very well; it was in order to prevent this Misfortune, that in the Year 1619 they dazzled in such a manner *Lewis's* unworthy Favourite and Prime Minister with the Hopes of a rich and glorious Settlement for his Brother *Cadenet*, who by that means became Duke of *Luxembourg*, and of the first Dignity in the Kingdom after the King, for himself; that he engaged to do whatever they pleased, and strongly opposed the Advice of the ancient Counsellors of State, and hindered his Master from taking the Resolution which the Honour and Interest of his Crown required him to take. He failed not to alledge for a Pretext the different Factions in the Kingdom, and particularly the Discontents of the Reformed, who would not fail to improve the Opportunity, if the King should be engaged in a foreign War, to right themselves.

Thus sacrificed he the publick to his own private Interest, and he chose rather to see the *French* cruelly butchering each other, than to suffer them to go and acquire immortal Glory, by assisting the ancient Allies of *France*, for fear of losing the Constable's Staff, which he aimed at. That was the first Cause of the

Lewis 13.  
1621.  
Pope Paul  
V.



way of satisfying it by  
those who had saved his Li-  
ture of their Goods and E-  
zealously embraced *De*  
*Views*, not knowing, the  
End which this one aim  
same to which he himself  
he certainly deserved in al-  
better than the other. So  
his own Passion by Meth-  
than contrary to the We-  
which his Birth oblig'd him  
gard; he effectually laboure  
Man's, and reaped therefor  
fit, and still less Honour.

Add to that the continu-  
*Jesuits*, and of a Clergy of  
the first absolutely governed  
by the Means of Father A  
his Conscience, the greatest  
lived; who being the Fa-  
directed his Penitent's Con-  
to the Views of that ambiti-  
others long since

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 789

the third Estate concerning the Independency of Kings. 'Twas they, who on the same Occasion warmly sollicitated the King to execute the Oath which he had made at his Coronation, to extirpate the Hereticks. And 'twas they who, to encourage his Majesty to follow the Councils of his Favourite and his Cabal, offered him a large Sum for the Charges of the War against the Hereticks.

Lewis 13.  
1621.  
Pope Paul  
V.

Not only that, but as there was very little likelihood that the Reformed should become Aggressors as long as they should be suffered to live quietly under the Benefit of the Edicts, it was absolutely necessary to do something which, by putting them out of Patience, should give the Court a specious Pretence for putting in Execution those pernicious Designs. This was not very difficult, the *Roman Religion* teaching its Followers that it is a meritorious Deed to break one's Word with Hereticks, when the Service of the Church is concerned, they did not fail to put this holy Maxim in Practice. The Edict of *Nantz* was infringed in several of its Articles; they would and did make *Jesuits* preach in cautionary Towns; they did not pay the Garrisons of the said Towns, or they gave them but bad Assignments; they took away Reformed Children from their Parents, to educate them in the *Roman Religion*; they dug up their Dead; they ill-used their sick People in the Hospitals, to force them to turn Catholics; they deprived them of the Offices, to which their Birth, their Services, or their Merit gave them a Right, and even of those which they enjoyed already, and that, only on account of their Religion. The Parliaments did them no Justice on their Complaints. Those of

the different Provinces where  
I shall not here relate the ma-  
tions, the many Violences an-  
cited and committed against  
Places where they were the  
willing to believe that the Cou-  
of it, and that it was not alway  
them, by reason of the Div-  
tions prevailing in it. But of  
the Grievances which it might  
No, they gave fair Words w  
endeavoured to perform; the  
whole Years together, Things  
require above half an Hour,  
willing to give the Reformed &  
on their just Complaints, their  
their Words. All which coul  
their Minds with Jealousies and  
was considerably increased by  
Sermons of the Preachers, Jesui  
who dar'd to threaten them wit  
Ruin. *Du Plessis* gives us an Int  
A Capuchin preaching at *Saum*

**Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 791**

*When you are for Peace! let whosoever be of-* Lewis 13.  
*tended thereat, I fear no body, we must have* 1621.  
*War, &c.* Thus every Thing was made use *Pope Paul*  
of to tire the Reformed's Patience, to reduce *V.*  
them to despair, and thus by accusing them  
of Crimes, they were actually hurried on to  
the Commission of them. That was the first  
secondary Cause of our Calamities.

The second proceeds from our selves; and  
first of all here appears the Affair of the  
*Bearnese*, who by their stubborness and obsti-  
nacy, set on fire all the Reformed Churches  
of *France*. I confess that 'tis hard to lose all  
on a sudden Privileges which one has enjoy'd  
many Ages; but ought they not to have con-  
sidered the Circumstance of Times, and that  
their lawful Sovereign was no longer a petty  
Prince, but a King of *France*? Besides, had  
they not themselves given rise to the Altera-  
tions which happened among them, when, as  
one may say, weary with being a separate Body,  
they eagerly and against the Court's Will,  
and the Advice of their best Friends, sought  
to make a strict Union with the Reformed  
Churches of *France*, not only in Point of  
Doctrine, but also in that of Discipline, not  
only for the Spiritual, but also for the Tem-  
poral, sending Deputies not only to the Na-  
tional Synods, but also to the Political Assem-  
blies, and that as Members of the same Body;  
this also was practised by the Catholicks of that  
Country. So that it is not strange, that there  
being so much Conformity, and so strict an  
Union between *France* and *Bearn*, the King  
should think of re-uniting his ancient Domi-  
nions to the Crown of *France*. The same  
Thing had been practised heretofore, *Britanny*,  
*Dauphiné*, *Guienne*, &c. had afforded Examples  
F f f 3 thereof.

natural Perfidiousness, might  
them a just Cause of Dis-  
Right to complain of the  
damental Law of the Cou-  
an Act which had been pas-  
only to hinder the Count  
the Hands of a foreign P-  
serve the then present Ki-  
and Father from the Snare  
against their Liberty and L-  
and Ages to come will  
Strength of the Reasons &  
use of, and the Noble Fr-  
he produced them before  
Sovereign Lord. Neither  
gether fruitless, for if the C-  
proper to repeal the Decree  
that of Union, it however  
a Satisfaction, as not only  
nods of *Tonneins* and *Aletz*,  
tical Assembly held at *Roche*  
to be reasonable and sufficien-  
the *Bearnese* ought to have  
they were to be



a powerful Army. In vain did the King  
non them from *Bordeaux* and *Cadillac*,  
ceive his Decree on the stipulated Con-  
ns; they would by no means submit, they  
forced the Sovereign Court of *Pau* to  
Deputies to the King, to disown the  
quis *De la Force* their Governor, who had  
to carry him Promises of their Submis-  
they confided in the Situation of their  
stry, and were so infatuated as to imagine  
the badness of the Weather, the bad  
la, a large River which must be passed,  
d be insuperable Obstacles to that Mon-  
s Designs. He overcame them all, he ar-  
with part of his Army before the Gates of  
when they thought him as yet in *Guienne*;  
ternation spread it self every where, all  
way. The *Bearnese*, as Monsieur *De Ro-*  
observes, knew neither how to submit, nor  
to defend themselves. The King made  
self be obey'd; he executed his Decree.  
not said, that there was any Bloodshed on  
sion. It is nevertheless certain that

die to go and compel the  
he has anticipated the Time  
which he had granted the  
pired. But can one believe  
have been more obsequious  
Weeks later, suppose the  
from *Bordeaux* to *Paris*,  
against them as he did; would  
that they knew, that he was  
with his Troops, they were  
obstinate, as we have said  
not their Behaviour after  
eure from their Country,  
would have done, had he

A third secondary Cause  
Misfortunes, was the Tre  
count *De Favas*, one of the  
ties-General at Court. This  
Man, was not ashamed to  
and Happiness of the Chi  
Ambition. He would, as  
observed, obtain the Gover  
for his Son; he was even  
threaten the Countess.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 795

he Party. He deceived alike the Court <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> and the Assembly of *Rochelle*, according as <sup>1621.</sup> his Interest directed him, and as he stood <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> more or less in need of the one, or of the other, to compass his own private Ends. He was intolerably Arrogant; I will single out but one Instance thereof: At the persuasion of the old State-Councillors, the Court had thought proper to desire the Dukes of *Roban* and *La Tremouille*, jointly with *Du Pleffis Mor-nay*, to endeavour together to find out some Means of Agreement with the Assembly of *Rochelle*; the said Assembly had even consented that those Lords should undertake it. *Favas* conceived thereat an extreme Jealousy, as if they had encroached upon his Right; he had the Boldness not to deliver the Letters which those Lords were writing to the King, pretending they were worded in too submissive a Manner according to his liking, and those Lords were obliged to send him a Blank Paper signed, for him to fill it up as he saw fit.

A fourth secondary Cause, is the Assembly itself and its Proceedings. It is certain that its Convocation was contrary to the ordinary Forms. It could not be held without the King's Licence, and they had not so much as ask'd for it. It is true, that the Prince of *Condé*, and the Duke of *Luines*, had engaged themselves with the Assembly of *Loudun*, that in Case *those Things which were promised them, were not performed in six Months time, they might meet again at Rochelle*; but there was this Clause, THAT THE PRINCE ENGAGED TO OBTAIN THE KING'S PERMISSION FOR THAT PURPOSE. Now had the Prince been summoned to make good his Promise before the Letters of Convocation were sent? Not in the least

...making Invoice there  
Gondé; they made this  
very Time that the King  
he had promised: He h  
*Fontrailles* of the Govern  
invest therewith, *Blainvi*  
formed; and his Majesty  
*Paris* in *November*, had al  
so much disputed Recepti  
formed Councillors in the  
then true that this Assemb  
precipitately, unseasonably,  
lawful Authority. If we c  
of which it was compos'd,  
surprized to see that it ca  
greatest Extremities, sever  
of the Provinces beyond  
were Persons who had muc  
their own private Interest,  
mon Welfare of the Churches  
to make themselves be p  
Court at a greater Price, by  
Bustle at *Rockelle*; accordi  
seen some of the hottest

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 797

Not only that, but there were even Traitors <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> in that Assembly, (and among those, were <sup>1621.</sup> some who feigned to be the most zealous for <sup>Pope Paul V.</sup> the common Cause :) so that nothing was transacted therein, but what they immediately sent Notice of to Court. The Marquis *De la Force*, and the Count *De Chatillon*, fail'd not also by their Agents to sollicite the Assembly, to take Measures agreeable to their own private Views ; the former impatiently bore the diminishing of his Authority, and then the loss of his Post in *Bearn*, and the latter aim'd at the Dignity of Marshal of *France*. Such was the Character of those that governed the Assembly, who hindered it from hearkening to any wholesome Advice, and from forming Resolutions suitable to the present Circumstances of the Churches, or even agreeable to the Instructions which the Provinces had given their Deputies. What could be expected from a Body whose Head was so crack-brain'd, and whose Members were for the most part distemper'd ? Nothing but what was dismal ; as Experience made them but too sensible. I shall not speak of all the Faults which their Imprudence made them commit during the Negotiations, undertaken by the Dukes of *Roban*, *La Tremouille*, and *Du Plessis*, to endeavour to reconcile them with the Court. It is enough to say, that they exceeded so far, as to intend to form among the Churches, an Independent Republick ; that for this Purpose, they had appointed a Committee, composed of nine Commissioners, who drew up several Regulations which they thought necessary to carry on the War. The first and most considerable of these Regulations, was the dividing of all the Reformed Churches of *France* into

second Circle, and was  
tany, in *Anjou*, and in  
Circle consisting of *Ang*  
and the Neighbouring Is  
Duke of *La Tremouille*.  
pos'd the fourth Circle,  
the Marquis *De la Force*,  
fifth contained only the P  
and was allotted to the M  
*Upper Guienne*, and *Upper*  
the sixth, of which the I  
General. The Count *D*  
have the *Cevennes*, *Givau*  
which made the seventh C  
Decency, left to the Duke  
*Burgundy*, *Dauphiné*, and  
compos'd the eighth Circle, b  
Part thereof was already in  
as they mistrusted him, they  
quis *De Montbrun* (Son to  
General beheaded at *Grenob*  
ning of *Henry* the III'd's 1  
Lieutenant-General in *Prove*  
an Eve on his D.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 799

Country of *Aulnix*, without being subject to any other General.

Lewis 13.  
1621.

Pope Paul  
V.

The Assembly which was to subsist at *Ro-belle*, reserved to it self a sort of Super-Intendance and Superiority. Three of its Deputies had a Right to assist and vote in the General's Council, as well as the principal Lords in the Army. It was the Assembly, that was to give the Commissions of those Places which were to be sealed with its Seal, upon which was engraven an Emblem of Religion, with this Motto, *For Christ and for the King*. Besides these Regulations there were others concerning the Authority of the Officers, Military Discipline, the good Order in the Troops, the Finances, and several other Things which they thought necessary and of Consequence. They gave Orders for seizing the King's Money, and the Ecclesiastical Revenues in those Places where the Reformed would find themselves the strongest.

Now we cannot reflect upon all these Doings, without being forced to own that God had certainly given up the Authors thereof, to a Spirit void of all Judgment, to do those Things which were not fit to be done. And indeed they were about those fine Regulations, at which the King was so much provoked, and which hastened their Ruin, at the very Time when the Mediators were actually seeking Means to bring Matters to a happy issue, and when they were on the Point of reaping the sweet Fruits of their Labours. Besides, how imprudent were they in the Choice of the Generals of their Circles? *Les Diguieres* serv'd against them from the Beginning; *Bouillon* declared himself Neuter; *La Tremouille* submitted without the least Resistance; *Chatillon* sent

not or so serious a Nature  
Gentlemen Commissaries d  
vinces as if they had bee  
naming for Generals, Lord  
part loudly condemned th  
would willingly have take  
immediately, had not som  
cency restrained them.

Those are the chief Cau  
ties with which our Fore-  
selves, as it were over-wh  
of which we are now W  
made any Mistake, or if I  
any Thing, 'tis after two  
cannot be suspected, since t  
chief Direction of the Affai  
The first is the Illustrious D  
whose whole Life was but a  
to procure the Establishment  
Happiness of our Churches,  
Honesty and Disinterestedne  
ing and long Experience, ga  
and Veneration of the Foes,  
Friends of our Religion.



BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 801

*Laumur*, who was then at the Synod of *Aleiz*,<sup>Lewis 13.</sup>  
 dated *October* 23d, 1620, he says, “ Upon<sup>1621.</sup>  
 ‘ receiving the Letters of Monsieur *De Fa-*<sup>Pope Paul</sup>  
 ‘ *vas*, and at the Intreaties of the *Bearnese*,<sup>V.</sup>  
 ‘ the *Rochellese* appointed six Commissaries  
 ‘ out of the Town-House, and six out of  
 ‘ the Burghers, to deliberate on the Convo-  
 ‘ cation of the Assembly, which was resolved  
 ‘ upon the 14th, and appointed for the 25th  
 ‘ of next Month. The Day after Monsieur  
 ‘ *De la Chenaye* arrived there, from the King,  
 ‘ with Threatnings temper’d with his Ma-  
 ‘ jesty’s good Intentions to make good what  
 ‘ had been promised. The said Commissaries  
 ‘ having met again, thought that they could  
 ‘ not repeal this Convocation; especially  
 ‘ since part of the Letters had been sent to  
 ‘ the Provinces.—*You know how far that*  
 ‘ *may lead us—I should have thought that it*  
 ‘ *would have been proper to have some Pa-*  
 ‘ *tience; I fear that this Convocation will*  
 ‘ *retard the Restitution of Leitoure, will make*  
 ‘ *the Condition of Bearn worse, and will pro-*  
 ‘ *voked the King against all our Churches.*” In  
 another Letter to the Duchess Dowager of  
*Roban*, dated *November* the 3d, “ I have not  
 ‘ thought for several Reasons, and in the  
 ‘ present State of Affairs, that this Convoca-  
 ‘ tion (of *Rochelle*) was suitable. And this  
 ‘ I have declared where I ought, and in pro-  
 ‘ per Time. For it was needless for Bearn,  
 ‘ and dangerous for our other Churches.”  
 BUT OUR MISFORTUNE IS, THAT WE ARE  
 TAUGHT NEITHER BY OUR FAULTS NOR  
 TROUBLES. He uses almost the same Ex-  
 pressions, in a Letter to Monsieur *De la Mous-*  
*saye*, dated the sixth Day of the same Month.  
 In the Conference which he had with the  
 Count

*La Tronville*, and to the  
*Rivet*, both dated November  
enough on the Convocation  
hear what he says of their I

In a Letter to Monsieu  
dated December 31, speaking  
nary Ambassy which the S  
about to send to his Majesty  
“ a Council worthy a good Ne  
“ the King from the Volk  
“ People would make him  
“ As it would also be a Coun  
“ Brother, and a good Friend  
“ to insist upon every Thing  
“ that all that is lawful is n  
Assembly had been opened ev  
the same Month. And on  
writes to Doctor Rivet; “  
“ cry’d out, that this Convoc.  
“ was useless, unseasonable, i  
“ gerous, and that it would  
“ ral Affairs, without amens  
“ any Particulars. They  
“ been willing to enter of . . .

He informs him of some Particulars on the Conference of *Niort*, which had not yet been sent him; the Resolution which the Assembly at *Rochelle* had taken to maintain it self notwithstanding the King's Orders, and the Advice of the Great Men of the Reformed Religion; the Methods made use of by some of the hottest of the said Assembly, in order to carry their Point against the most moderate, who spoke of submitting to the King's Orders, which Methods were to stir up the Mob at *Rochelle*, who in a tumultuous Manner and with Threats entered the Place where the Assembly was held, demanding the Continuation thereof; and lastly the Promises, which the Dukes of *Roban*, of *Soubize*, and out of Complaisance the Duke of *La Tremouille*, had rashly made to the Deputies of the Assembly, as well as of the City of *Rochelle*, not to abandon them, whatever Resolution they should take: in which they own'd, that they had done wrong, when Remonstrances were made to them on that Subject by the said Gentleman, and by Monsieur *De Parabere*. In another of *Du Plessis's* Letters, to the Duke of *Roban*, dated *April 6*, he says, "*Monsieur*  
 "*Des Iles hath shewn me a Letter which was*  
 "*wrote to you, in which, out of Revenge for*  
 "*those Decrees of Bourdeaux, strange Resolu-*  
 "*tions are taking at Rochelle, which would*  
 "*force the King to come directly to us, though*  
 "*be had no mind to do it*". (He meant those fine Regulations above-mention'd, and a Manifesto which they had publish'd.) I know not precisely what had happened at the said Assembly at the *Easter* Communion, nor of what Nature was the Excess which it had committed; but I find it severely censured in a Letter

Lewis 13.  
 1621.  
 Pope Gre-  
 gory XV.

“ Misfortunes, and while  
“ Shew of that great Zeal,  
“ little Respect for God, a  
“ with regard to Men; th  
“ so little Remembrance also  
“ we have caused to be cel  
“ the whole Kingdom, which  
“ will hereafter be looked on  
“ —I do not remember see  
“ ssembly of our Churches rec  
“ in a Body. But is it p  
“ Condition in which we n  
“ have such Thoughts? And  
“ many Fore-Runners of Ch  
“ Members? And are there  
“ us, who are bribed to p  
“ shame”? Very likely th  
scandalous Dispute among th  
on their going to the Tal  
Holy Sacrament. One m  
Memoir which that great l  
in-Law, *De Villarnoulx*, A  
as an Advice to the Affen

“ *sider thoroughly, Gentlemen,*” says he in his <sup>Lewis 13.</sup>  
 Letter to the Deputies of *Anjou* at *Rockelle*, <sup>1621.</sup>  
 May 8th, “ *and yet quickly, what Council* <sup>Pope Gre-</sup>  
 “ *you are to take, and give, and lay before* <sup>gory XV.</sup>  
 “ *you with a solid Prudence and Charity,*  
 “ *the Condition of other People, no less than*  
 “ *your own ; of the Provinces which are ex-*  
 “ *posed and quite helpless, no less than of*  
 “ *those which think themselves safe ; and let*  
 “ *it not be said of you as of another Jerusa-*  
 “ *lem, that you let yourselves be drawn a-*  
 “ *way by some Zealots. Suffer my Age to*  
 “ *speak in this Emergency.*—— I know, Gen-  
 “ *tlemen, that your Sentiments are sincere,*  
 “ *&c. but yet there must be some in the As-*  
 “ *sembly who do amiss, since the most secret*  
 “ *things are immediately known at Court, in*  
 “ *all their Circumstances ; and I could give*  
 “ *you such a proof thereof, as would astonish*  
 “ *you. And those to whom those Informations*  
 “ *are directed, protest that they receive them*  
 “ *from those who pretend to be the most stout*  
 “ *and resolute of the Assembly.*”

In his Memoir on the Alteration which  
 had happened at *Saumur*, he says, That “ *the*  
 “ *Constable* (the Duke de *Luines*,) expatiated  
 “ *on the absurd and intolerable Proceedings*  
 “ *of the Assembly, such (and indeed he had*  
 “ *very thoroughly studied them,) as made the*  
 “ *Words die in my Mouth, so well was I*  
 “ *convinced of the Truth of most part there-*  
 “ *of. Above all, he dwelt much upon a Form*  
 “ *of a Commonwealth, establish'd in the As-*  
 “ *sembly on pretence of a just Defence, which*  
 “ *divided the Kingdom ; gave Orders concern-*  
 “ *ing the Governments, appointed a Genera-*  
 “ *lissimo, gave him power to besiege Cities, to*  
 “ *give Battles, and made itself superior to*

“ of our Assembly, which  
“ lem, as the pretended Z  
“ You are, Madam, to te  
“ Son take counsel, neither  
“ of those violent Spirits, i  
“ bension of Futurity, nor  
“ of Saumur; but from i  
“ Affairs, from what he  
“ he ought to do, &c. I  
in his Letter to Monsieur  
31st,) “ I know not, wha  
“ ssembled at Rochelle n  
“ seeing the Fruits they re  
“ cils. Is it not time to  
“ Confidence, and to part  
“ so many poor Churches  
“ And is it enough for  
“ help us; when we take  
“ him?— I fear, that the  
“ when I consider either th  
“ State, or our Obstinac  
“ Good, which appears in  
“ Churches. Which I sa  
“ of Blood. laying before

## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 807

he says, “ *As I see those who began the dance,* Lewis 13.  
 “ *are the first to fall off, since the Bearnese* 1621.  
 “ *recall their Deputies from the Assembly;* Pope Gre-  
 “ *what will Monsieur de Lescun say to* gory XV.  
 “ *that? Would it not have been better to sub-*  
 “ *mit, than to pretend to sail against the*  
 “ *Wind? But let them say what they will,*  
 “ *the Bearnese are Frenchmen, wise when it*  
 “ *is too late, and not even so.”* And to the  
 Reverend Monsieur *Bouchereau*, June 1.  
 “ *The Bearnese return to their Senses when*  
 “ *they have spoil'd all. Frenchmen, in spite*  
 “ *of their teeth in this respect, that SERO'*  
 “ *SAPIUNT.*” There's enough to shew  
 what was that great Man's opinion on the  
 Affairs of those times, which occasioned the  
 Calamities of our Churches (1). It is now  
 just to hearken to the Duke *de Rohan*, their  
 great Protector, concerning what he thought  
 of the Affairs of *Bearn*, and of the said As-  
 sembly. Two or three Passages extracted  
 from his Memoirs, and his political Dis-  
 courses, will be sufficient to give us a just Idea  
 thereof. In the Beginning of the second  
 Book of his Memoirs, he accuses *Favas*, for  
 having for his own private ruined the public  
 Interest, writing to the *Rockellese* to convoke  
 the Assembly, and to work at their Fortifica-  
 tions; and that because he had not been  
 able to obtain the Government of *Leitoure*  
 for his Son; and some Lines lower, he adds,  
 that the great Men of the Reformed Reli-  
 gion were of opinion, that it should be dis-  
 solved on certain Conditions, which they  
 were made to hope for from Court; “ *Judg-*  
 “ *ing, says he, that their Stubbornness would*

G g g 3

“ do

(1) Letters and Memoirs of *Du Pleffis*, Tom. IV. ad  
*Ann.* 1620, 1621. *Vide* his Life, Lib. IV.

Discourse on the Reasons  
before Montpellier, in 162  
says he, “ *name him who*  
“ *vo*k’d UNSEASONABLY,  
“ *assembled, made it insist*  
“ *and who, when it was*  
“ *it; and who, after ha*  
“ *vate Treaty with the Co*  
“ *to egg on the City of Ro*  
“ *Assembly: for it is suff*  
“ *was the Deputy-Gener*  
“ (Favas deputed by the N  
blames *la Force* and *Chatil*  
things he had blamed the  
in the 9th Discourse, wh  
own Apology: *The Orig*  
says he, *was the general*  
*Rochelle, summoned by Fa*  
*was to remedy the Affair*  
*were irrecoverable; but th*  
*the Refusal of the Governm*  
*his Son, &c.*

After these two illustrio  
need have no of . . .



s which beset our Churches, and which  
we thought more proper to set down to-  
gether in a full open View, than to relate  
by piecemeal.

Now, for to resume the Thread of our  
Story. The King having refused to re-  
ceive the humble Address, or any thing else,  
came from the Assembly of *Rochelle*; *Petition of*  
he presented a Petition of his own fram- *Favas.*  
ed in his own Name, wherein he be-  
t his Majesty to revoke his Declaration  
shed against the said Assembly, and to  
its Deputies to an Audience; he had  
ed something therein tending to justify  
onvocation, which had been abstracted  
f their own Address. But when it was  
n the King's Council, it was rudely re-  
as injurious to his Majesty, and full  
shoods; and he was told himself, that  
stitution deserved to be burnt; that the  
bly ought to ask the King's pardon,  
stantly to break up; and that it was  
ly means to obtain the Abolishment

But the ancient Counsel  
ferent opinion ; they had  
Welfare of the Kingdom  
think of entering upon a  
be but detrimental to the  
cess be as favourable as  
They earnestly desired that  
moderate amongst the Re  
terfere for bringing Matter  
able Agreement. Accordi  
ed the Duke of *Roban* and  
Mediators, and ordered  
inform the last of the pre  
fairs, and of their earnest  
with him and the Duke as  
in their power, to proc  
Good.

*Rohan  
and Du  
Plessis de-  
sired to be  
Mediators.*

*They ac-  
cept.*

For avoiding any Je  
thought proper to join the  
*mouille* in the same Commissi  
to have the Approbation c  
whereto the Duke of *Roban*  
That being done, these thi

*And sit up-*

however it could not be denied, that they <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> had drawn that Calamity upon themselves <sup>1621.</sup> by their too great and unseasonable Obsti- <sup>Pope Gre-</sup> nacy ; that otherwise his Majesty would ne- <sup>gory XV.</sup> ver have proceeded so far, considering the Season and the Badness of the Roads. That he knew very well that our Enemies at Court designed our Ruin, and were ready to improve every Opportunity for compassing their Ends, either by Artifice or by Force ; but that there were still many good *Frenchmen* near the King, to whom they ought to afford means for preserving the State, together with our Churches. That the Restitution of *Leitoure* was a strong Argument that there was as yet no settled Resolution in the King's Council to destroy us, and as little in his Majesty's Royal Breast to continue such means made use of to subdue the Obstinacy of the *Bearnese* ; considering the Importance of that Place, they would never have restored it unto them, they might have kept it upon one pretence or another. But after all, supposing the worst, they ought to consider that the King was armed, and his Forces dispersed in their best Provinces ; whereas they were themselves unprepared for a defensive, much less for an offensive War. That it was not enough to have a just Cause on one's side, if Power is wanting to support it. Therefore his opinion was, that they ought carefully to avoid all ways tending to extremes, and to seek in the King's Clemency, in the Interest of the Duke of *Luines*, and in the Prudence and Sagacity of the sober Men of his Majesty's Council, the means to extricate themselves out of that Labyrinth ; and endeavour to bring the Assembly

812 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. ssembly to make the requisite Submission to  
 1621. his Majesty, representing unto them the  
 Pope Gre- threatening Dangers, wherein their not com-  
 gory XV. plying will certainly hurry all our Churches;  
 for which purpose they ought not to be flat-  
 tered, but be told the plain Truth, and ob-  
 lige them by that means seriously to mind  
 the publick Safety or Danger as well as their  
 own.

The two Dukes applauded that Advice,  
 and promised to conform themselves to it,  
 and to persist in it. Furthermore they re-  
 solved to write each of them at the same  
 time a Letter to the King, the Meaning and  
 Scope thereof was to be the same, but the  
 Expressions different; and *Du Pleffis* was de-  
 sired to draw the Minute of it, which he  
 did. They are the same Letters mentioned  
 above, wherewith *Favas* was so much offend-  
 ed, finding fault with the word CLEMEN-  
 cy, instead of which he put MEERNESS,  
 as less mean and servile; he erased out this  
 Expression, *That they waited for his Ma-*

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 813

*that the Forms requisite for the Convocation of Lewis 13. an Assembly, have not been observed in that at* <sup>1620.</sup> *Rochelle. We shall see presently how the* <sup>Pope Gre-</sup> *Court resented this wicked Proceeding of this* <sup>gory XV.</sup> *Deputy.*

*Du Pleffis's* wholesome Advices were not *The Assem-* well relished in the Assembly, they gave way *bly follows* to *Favas's* pernicious ones; he had written un- *Favas's* to them to let them know how rudely his *bad Coun-* Remonstrances had been received at Court,

and exhorted them to put themselves in a Posture of Defence. Thereupon they wrote to the Provinces, they ordered the Cautionary Towns to be instantly strengthened and repaired. They raised extraordinary Subsidies, and they made the Promotion above mentioned of Generals and other Officers to command their Forces. Besides that, they sent some of their Members into the Provinces, to inspect into the State of their Strong-holds, &c. and for exciting the People. *De Veilles*, Deputy of the Nobility for the Provinces of the *Upper Guienne* and *Upper Languedoc*, was sent to *Saumur* for to know *Du Pleffis's* Intention, to inspect into the Condition of that important Place, because of its Bridge upon the *Loire*. *Du Pleffis* required 3 or 4000 Men for the keeping and defending *Saumur*. Then he opened his Mind with the Deputy, and told him, “ That a wise Man never enters upon a War  
“ to make his Condition worse, but rather  
“ for bettering it; that he who begins it by  
“ a Defensive, must of Course make his Con-  
“ dition worse. That our Fathers suffered  
“ many Infractions before they rose in Arms,  
“ whereby they got Justice always on their  
“ side, and when they were forced to a just  
“ Defence, they shewed their Prudence and  
“ Magnani-

Lewis 13. "Magnanimity by seizing in one Day, and all  
 1620. "at once, upon several good Towns, at which  
 Pope Gre- "their Enemies were at first confounded; and  
 gory XV. "if they did lose some of them by one or  
 "two Years War, they got enough remain-  
 "ing unto them by a Peace which was con-  
 "cluded with a good Edict, whereby their  
 "Condition was bettered and secured. Our  
 "Assembly is now about taking quite con-  
 "trary Measures. For two or three Articles  
 "ill observed, they run the Hazard to lose  
 "an advantageous Edict; far from advancing  
 "they go backward, far from strengthening  
 "they weaken themselves. In a word, far  
 "from getting, they lose."

Du Plessis "Though *De Veilles* relished much these Coun-  
*Advice* sels, he could not prevail with the Assembly;  
*upon four* they were heated by *Favas*, and prepared  
*Articles* themselves in earnest for War, they deputed  
*proposed by* some of their Members to the great Lords  
*the Assem-* and the Chiefs of the Party, to let them know  
*bly.* that they designed to send some of their  
 Members into *Hol and* and over to *England*, in

either reasonable nor unreasonable, and if  
the Court had Notice of them, as cer-  
tainly would, considering the Composition  
Assembly, our Enemies would make  
use of for more exasperating the King  
against us. His Majesty will no longer hearken  
to Remonstrances for Peace, and those  
who would be so daring as to speak about it,  
will be rebuked as People ill affected to his  
Majesty's Service. As to the third, whereby  
it was desired to send a Deputy to the Assem-  
bly to swear in his Name, That he  
stand by whatever the said Assembly  
determine; he said, That the first  
of their Union was sufficient; that so  
many repeated Oaths served only to multiply  
them; that whenever the Assembly should  
make any good Resolution, they would not  
be followed; that that blind Obedience  
they required, was not agreeable with  
the Principles of our Religion; that even we  
submit to the Decisions of general Councils,  
and after all, every sober Man was  
when he recollected the rash Pro-

*Lewis 13.* Opinion. The *Reformed*, says he to the De-  
*1621.* puty, must have been taught by Experience,  
*Pope Gre-* that their Union with Princes and Lords of a  
*gory XV.* contrary Religion to their own, has been al-  
 ways detrimental unto them. All those PRE-  
 TENDED REFORMERS of the State seek only  
 for its Dissipation. Things are now upon a  
 certain footing, that we should endanger our  
 Liberty of Conscience, should the King's Au-  
 thority come to be weaken'd. What a pity that  
 such wise Remonstrances should be bestowed  
 upon such hard-hearted Men! The Duke of  
*La Tremouille*, sensible of the Strength of  
 these Arguments, ordered his Agent in the  
 Assembly to delay the taking of such arbitrary  
 and tyrannical an Oath till further Orders.  
 But as to the Assembly it self, they were so  
 bewitched by *Favor's* Letters, that they pro-  
 ceeded further, and being insensible to their  
 own Interest, they were deaf to all manner of  
 Arguments.

*The Court* As to the Court, being thoroughly informed



again on foot the Militia of the Coun-  
town by the Name of *Peasants*, so *Du*  
calls them, but *Benoit* names them the  
s, very likely he has mistaken an *i* for  
the King had suppressed that Militia,  
indeed, if *Benoit* is to be credited, was  
in Strength of the Province. For he  
ls that these *PARSANS* were Cantons,  
ch all the young Men were inlisted un-  
captain, at the Command whereof they  
liged to take up Arms. So that in two  
e Days time, each Captain was able to  
Body of five or six Thousand Men:  
at there was six such Cantons in the  
ce, which by that speedy Convocation,  
ble to oppose any Invasion. I believe  
was that Militia composed of so great a  
r of young lusty Fellows from 16 to 25  
of Age; but if it was so, there must  
be above 900,000 Souls inhabiting the  
ality of *Bearn*, which is incredible, con-  
g the small Compass of the Land and  
on. However, *La Force* having

*La Force*; but he had done  
by too openly encouraging  
the Motion of the *Bear*  
highly resented it; and  
spurring him to Revenge  
difficulty in stirring up the  
reaction, they bearing the  
Alterations made in their

*Espernon*  
*sent for to*  
*suppress*  
*that Insur-*  
*rection.*

The Court being exacted  
Step which they took in curbing  
Privileges and Liberty, called  
*Espernon* with a Commission of  
Obedience. He accepted  
he wanted of every thing  
Design, and succeeded beyond  
A vast number of Nobles  
their Vassals resorted to him  
upon the Road; and he made  
that the Marquis of *La Force*  
to have stayed him by two  
sent to him with Promises  
mission, was much surprised  
that he was at the Gates of

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 819

necessary Orders for that purpose. But they <sup>Lewis 13<sup>th</sup></sup> were deceived in their Expectation; and <sup>1621.</sup> *Ortbez*; though provided with a strong Garri- <sup>Pope Gre-</sup>son, and with every other thing requisite for a <sup>gory XV.</sup> long Defence, surrendered without waiting for the Cannon. That Stroke was a decisive one. *Ortbez* was the only Place able to stop the Progress of the Enemy. Had the Garrison and the Inhabitants improved their Advantages, *Espernon* would have been obliged not only to raise the Siege, but even to quit the Country, having but very few Foot, and in want of every thing else necessary for subsisting an Army for any considerable time. But now this Place being taken, the Consternation was Universal amongst the People, all over the Country. Every Town opened its Gates, every one submitted to the Victorious Army; in less than three Weeks he over-run the Country; and the Inhabitants, who at first had fled from their own Habitations through the dread of his Severity, came back a-pace when they heard of his Clemency. He restored Order amongst them, and made such equitable Regulations; that both Reformed and Catholicks were satisfy'd with them, and submitted unto them; and henceforward caused no Disturbance, but lived peaceably together while the neighbouring Provinces were all in flames. The Marquess of *Lia Force* fled from the Country, and was deprived of his Government; his eldest Son of the Reversion of his Charge, and the youngest, who was in great favour with the King, was banish'd from Court.

I have thoroughly examined what the Duke of *Roban* and *Du Plessis* have written about the Revolutions of *Bearn* at this time, since the coming of the King into that Country,

Facts, wherein nothing but  
Truth must be found. I  
of Passion and Partiality,  
Historian unworthy the re-  
likely that the Duke of  
*Bassompierre*, *De Pontis*, &  
cially the two first, would  
an odious Circumstance, w  
to justify the Insurrection o  
the very Proceedings of th  
*cbelle*? *Du Plessis* speaks o  
in two or three Letters, b  
it as a piece of great Impru-  
ness. But not a word of t  
cutions and cruel Massacres  
*noist*. Nevertheless we must  
such things passed without  
Blood, it is not likely that  
apprehended went all of them  
ther is it reasonable to expect  
Welfare requires that some o  
should be set as an Example  
ter them from such like Crime

## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 821

which I have a little anticipated, not to be <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> obliged to break the Thread of my Narration. <sup>1621.</sup>

The Conferences were continued at Court <sup>Pope Gre-</sup> for bringing Matters to an Agreement. The <sup>gory XV.</sup> Assembly had at last desisted from its Pretensions of treating by their own Deputies, and had <sup>Conferen-</sup> consented to treat by the Deputies General con- <sup>ces continu-</sup> jointly with the Dukes of *Roban*, *La Tre-* <sup>ed.</sup> *mouille* and *Du Plessis*. But as they would not <sup>The King</sup> consent to break up, till they had been ac- <sup>sets out from</sup> knowledged as a lawful Assembly, and re- <sup>Paris, and</sup> <sup>issues out a</sup> <sup>Decree.</sup> ceiv'd some Satisfaction upon their Grievances; the King, being provoked at their Obstinacy, set out of *Paris* about the 8th of *April* in order to force them. Before he set out he issued out a Declaration, promising his Royal Protection to all those of what Rank and Condition soever, who should behave themselves peaceably under the Benefit of his Edicts.

Before he left *Paris*, his Majesty had been <sup>Luines is</sup> pleased to raise the Duke of *Luines* to the Dig- <sup>made High</sup> nity of High-Constable of *France* \*. The <sup>Constable</sup> Court <sup>of France.</sup>

H h h 2

\* That Dignity had been offered, some Months before, to the Duke of *Les Diguieres*, upon Condition that he should turn Catholick: the Duke had accepted the Terms, but had desired to keep the Transaction secret for a while. When he was ready to declare openly, the Duke of *Luines*, who had a burning Ambition to obtain that Dignity for himself, sent *De Brissieux* and *Bullion* to solicit *Les Diguieres* to a Compliance, offering to make him Marshal General of the King's Camps and Armies, with a Stipend of six thousand Crowns per Month, and that he should not be obliged to turn Catholick. Though *Les Diguieres* resented the Affront put upon him by the Favourite, nevertheless he yielded to the Importunities of *Bullion* and *Deageant*. But this was not all, for he was himself obliged to intreat the King to bestow that Dignity upon *Luines*, who being sensible of his own Unworthiness, durst not venture to ask it himself of his Majesty. *Les Diguieres* yielded to these Intreaties, out of Fear, rather than out of Generosity; He declined the Sword of the Constable, which the King (who

*Lewis* 13. Court staid at *Fontainebleau* till the 19th of  
 1621. *April*, and then proceeded, but by short Jour-  
*Pope Gre-* nies, upon the intended Expedition against the  
*gory XV.* Assembly. During all that time the Confe-  
 { rences went on with some Prospect of a hap-  
 py Issue. The old Ministers of State, who  
 were against a Civil War, had advised *Du Plessis*  
 to endeavour to find out some Medium or  
 other, though it was only Palliative, where-  
 by his Majesty might be satisfy'd as to his  
 Authority, and that as to the rest, the Grie-  
 vances complain'd of by the Assembly would  
 be instantly redress'd, and their just and rea-  
 sonable Demands comply'd with.

*Arway de-* Whereupon the Governor of *Saumur*, after  
*vised by* a mature Consideration, devised a Scheme  
*Du Plessis* which ought to satisfy both Parties, viz. That  
*for com-* the Assembly should break up, to obey the  
*pounding* King's Orders, and depart out of *Rochelle*; but  
*the Disfa-* whereas the Members thereof were proscribed,  
*rences.* they should remain in some safe Place not far  
 from *Rochelle*, till the Decree issued out against  
 them should be reversed, and if the King fail

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 823

relate. 1°. That the Reformed should not be obliged to style themselves, OF THE PRE-TENDED REFORMED RELIGION \*. 2°. That the Grievances either Ecclesiastical or Political of the Principality of *Bearn* should be redress'd. 3°. That the Marquess *De La Force* and his Sons should be maintain'd in that Country, in the same Offices and Pensions as heretofore, and under the late King, and the Arrears due unto him be paid out of hand; *Lescun* Counsellor of the Great Council of *Pau* be restored to his Charge, notwithstanding the Decree issued out against him. 4°. That a State of the cautionary Places in *Dauphiné*, should be delivered into their hands, as it had been promised by the Treaty of *Loudun* †. 5°. That the Modification of an Article of that Treaty concerning the Reception of the two Counsellors in the Parliament of *Paris* should be made void. 6°. That the two Petitions of the late Assembly at *Loudun* should be speedily and favourably answer'd. 7°. That Provision should be made for the Salary of the Ministers, and for the Payment of the Garrisons of the cautionary Towns. Lastly, That the Troops quartered in *Guienne*, *Xaintonge*, *Poitou*, &c, which created great Jealousies and Fears, should be instantly remov'd. These Articles had been agreed upon with some little Restriction between the Lords Mediators, and the Ministers of State; they were to have the King's Approbation, which was

Lewis 13.  
1621.  
Pope Gre-  
gory XV.

H h h 3 to

\* That had been granted to the Reformed by the Treaty with the Duke of *Roban* in 1612, and by that of *Loudun* in 1616, but never verifi'd in Parliament.

† That depended intirely upon the Duke of *Les Diguières*, who, willing to gratify his own Avarice, refused to give any Account of the Places that were under his peculiar Care.

Lewis 13. to be granted immediately after the breaking  
 1621. up of the Assembly; and that they might do  
 Pope Gr- it safely, his Majesty should reverse the De-  
 gory XV. claration, whereby they had been proscribed  
 as guilty of High Treason.

*Favas*, Deputy-General, and the Agents of the Lords were set out for *Rochelle*, in order to bring the Assembly to a Compliance: The Deputy had hardly made his Report of the Situation of Affairs, on the 23d of *April*, when they received Letters of *De Cbalas*, Deputy General for the Commons, who had staid at Court, advising them, that the very next day after *Favas* was gone, a Council had been held in his Majesty's Presence, wherein it had been resolved to have 40000 Foot and 8000 Horse, to be distributed in the Provinces as Occasion should require it. That the Marquess of *La Force* had been deprived of the Government of *Biarn*, the Marquess's Son of his Company in the Guards, and *Maupouillen* his youngest Son, had been exiled from



BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 825

they fell upon the *Reformed*, they wounded and otherwise abused, those who came into their hands without distinction; this happened on the 18th of *April*. The next day the Seditious went to the Church-yard, they digg'd up the Corpse, and tore it to pieces. From thence they went to the Church and burnt it, and plundered the Sexton's House. That Fury lasted three days together. The Magistrates, who endeavour'd to oppose it, were themselves abused; however some of the Rioters were sent to Jail. The Court having received Information of that Violence, sent a Master of the Requests to *Tours*, to try the Prisoners without Appeal; he condemned some of them to Death, whereupon the Sedition was renewed, and the Mob more furious than before ran to the Jail, broke open the Gates, released the Condemned, plundered the Reformed Houses, the Commissary himself was in danger of his Life, and obliged to take shelter in a Baker's House, from whence he fled in disguise. The Seditious could not be appeased but by the Promises they extorted from the Magistrates, of the Abolition of their Crimes, and of the Discharge of the Prisoners. But the King understanding this last Sedition, came directly to *Tours*, on the 7th of *May*, with part of his Household, and ordered five or six of the most Seditious to be hang'd out of hand.

Now, as I have observed, the News of that Disaster having reached *Rochelle*, added fresh Fuel to their Discontents; they took for a great Breach of Trust in the King's Council, what they had taken for a Master-piece of Prudence in themselves, to prepare for War during the Negotiations of Peace: The *Bearnese*

H h h 4      Insurrection

Lewis 13.  
1621.  
Pope Gregory XV

Which adds new Fuel to the Discontent at Rochelle.

Lewis 13. Insurrection was very just and innocent in  
 1621. itself; it was a high Crime to have suppress  
 Pope Gre- it; the Marquis of *La Force* had behaved as  
 gory XV. it becomes a Governor of a Province, when he  
 countenanced and supported openly the said  
 Insurrection; he ought to have been reward-  
 ed for it by his Master, and it was in his  
 Majesty an heinous Piece of Injustice to have  
 deprived such a faithful Servant of his Govern-  
 ment. *Du Plessis* himself was not spared, he  
 was deemed no less than a Traitor to the  
 Party, he had sold *Saumur* to the King; some  
 were bold enough to assert, that they had seen  
*Villarnoux*, his Son-in-Law, delivering the  
 Keys thereof to his Majesty, and receiving for  
 his Father-in-Law the promised Reward. No-  
 thing can satisfy them but the securing the  
 Place for themselves, and giving the Govern-  
 ment thereof to the Duke of *Soubize*; for  
 which purpose they caused 1800 Men to march  
 to *Saumur*, and questioning much whether *Du*  
*Plessis* would receive them, and submit him-  
 self to *Soubize* (because he did hold his Go-

, and what is the more surprising is, the Duke of *Rohan* was deeply concerned in that dirty Work. It was found out in time, that he had outwardly dissimulated his real Sentiments while he was employed in reconciling the Differences between the King and the Assembly, till he had obtained the Restoration of *Du Parc d'Archiac* to the Lieutenancy of *St. John d'Angely*, of the King had deprived him the last, on account of his Violences complain'd of by the Inhabitants. And that the said Duke did underhand encourage and foment Discontents and the Obstinacy of the Assembly, contrary to what he had so many times promised, and by words of mouth and by his own hand. So far his Ambition carried him, as to sacrifice, on this Occasion, his Honour, in order to be deemed the Head of the Party, and to get the upper-hand over his Equals, who were more moderate than he.

However the Court, which was instantly *The Court* of every minute Particular of the *marches* to

Lewis 13. at *Amboise* on the 7th, where he sojourn-  
 1621. ed for two days, and continuing his Jour-  
 Pope Gre- ney, he arrived the 11th at *Saumur*. On the  
 gory XV. 9th, *Du Plessis* had sent his Son-in-Law *De*  
*Villarnoux* to meet the King upon the Road,  
 and to receive his Commands about his Re-  
 ception into that City. The Constable told  
 him, that he might do as usual without any  
 Alteration, and that when the King should  
 come to see the Castle, he should order the  
 Garrison to draw out, as usual, &c. More-  
 over, he promised several times, that nothing  
 should be altered at *Saumur*, no more than in  
*the Ball of the Eye*. The very same day ar-  
 rived the Harbingers of the Court, to prepare  
 the King's Lodgings, which they did in a  
 House in the Town, wherein his Majesty had  
 lodged before, and the King his Father too,  
 and even they set up his Bed in it. But on  
 the 11th, the first Harbinger came in the Morn-  
 ing to the Castle, and told the Governor that  
 he could not find a proper Lodging in the

## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 829

of the Gates, of the Draw-Bridges, and of the Lewis 13.  
Store-Houses. The Garrison was sent out of <sup>1621.</sup>  
the Castle, to *Varreins*. Nay, not a single <sup>Pope Gre.</sup>  
Room was left in it for *Du Plessis* and his <sup>gory XV.</sup>  
Family: and Lady *De Villarnoux* his Daugh-  
ter was obliged to follow the Garrison with  
her Children, without being allowed time e-  
nough for packing either their Household Fur-  
niture, or even their Wearing Apparel, or for  
securing any thing in the Castle; so that every  
thing being left at random, that occasioned  
the Plunder, little less than if the Castle had  
been taken by Storm. The King arrived about  
Four of the Clock, *Du Plessis* receiv'd him at  
his landing, for he came by the River. His  
Majesty seemed very kind to him; and when  
he was come up to the Castle, he told him  
that he had not designed to be there before the  
next day. What had been done was excused  
upon the Necessity of the Times, and the  
hurry wherein the Resolutions of the Assembly  
at *Rochelle* had put them. The Governor was  
obliged to leave the Castle, and to take his  
Lodging in the Town.

On the 14th of *May*, he had a Conference  
with the Constable, the Duke of *Chaulne* his  
Brother, *Bullion* and *Deageant*. The Day be-  
fore he had been offered in the King's Name,  
a hundred thousand Crowns, with the Pay-  
ment of all his Arrears, and a Staff of Mar-  
shal of *France*, if he would resign his Govern-  
ment; but he generously refused these Offers.  
So that, being unmoveable upon that Point,  
the Constable did not think proper to insist  
any more. But he endeavoured to persuade  
him, that the King could not intirely trust  
to the Reformed, how faithful soever some  
of them had been to his Majesty's Service at  
all

Lewis 13. all times. That as to himself, his Fidelity  
 1621. indeed could not be questioned. But since  
 Pope Gre- that very Fidelity made him very obnoxious  
 gory XV. to the Jealousies and Hatred of those who pro-  
 fessed the same Religion as himself, it was to  
 be expected that they would endeavour to  
 deprive him of his Station, and seize upon his  
 Government, that he would be obliged to  
 yield to a superior Force, with which he was  
 not able to cope, whereby he would be the  
 occasion of an irreparable Prejudice to the  
 King's Affairs. *Du Pleffis* undertook the De-  
 fence of the Provinces, and told the Constable,  
 that he had read the Instructions of several  
 Provinces given to their Representatives in the  
 Assembly at *Rochelle*, and was very sure that  
 most part of these Deputies had far exceed-  
 ed their Instructions; that his Majesty having  
 expressly forbid to hold any Provincial Assem-  
 bly, it had been, and was still impossible, for  
 the Provinces to take any Measure as to the  
 Proceedings of their Representatives; that it

### VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 831

Heech him to grant him leave to retire, <sup>Lewis 13.</sup>  
 lie in Peace in his own House. <sup>1621.</sup>

He spake these Words with some Mo- <sup>Pope Gre-</sup>  
 re Constable taking notice thereof, en- <sup>gory XV.</sup>

red to appease him, and told him, that  
 nothing was resolv'd upon that Point;  
 His Majesty would do nothing but agree  
 to his own Satisfaction; and that he was  
 loth to desire him to set down in writing  
 his Opinion, about the Difficulties above-men-  
 tioned, and what could be done for the Secu-  
 ring the Place.

Accordingly he delivered a Memoir to the  
 King of *Les Diguieres*; \* whereupon two  
 Councils were held on the 15th, and they were  
 perplexed about it. But though he pro-  
 posed some reasonable Ways for securing  
 the Place to the King's Service, all his Re-  
 monstrances produced no other Effect than that  
 of sending a Reformed Lord to fill the Func-  
 tion of Governour in his stead, and he was  
 to keep the Title thereof. It was re-  
 solved to leave in the Suburbs two Compa-  
 nies of *Switzers*; Count *De Sault*, Grandson  
 of *Diguieres*, was named Commandant of  
 the Place; besides the *Switzers*, there were two  
 Companies of the King's Guards quarter'd in  
 the Castle. The King positively promised *Du*  
 that he would restore him to his Place  
 in six Months time, or sooner: The Con-  
 stable

will insert here the Preamble of that Memoir,  
 Lord *Du Pleffis* don't bargain with the King  
 hereafter, he is wont to pay all Obedience to him;  
 he only calls into his Majesty's Mind the word  
 which his Majesty has been pleased to give him, that  
 nothing should be altered in the Place. —————  
 though the free Obedience he has paid to his Ma-  
 jesty's Will, be a Dependence of his Allegiance unto  
 &c.

Lewis 13<sup>th</sup> stable affirmed the same with many Oaths,  
 1621. and desired him to draw up himself the In-  
 Pope Gre- strument, whereby whatever had been pro-  
 gory XV. mised unto him should be ratify'd. The In-  
 strument was signed on the 17<sup>th</sup> by the Con-  
 stable; and the Marshal of *Les Diguieres*, but  
 the King setting out that very Morning, be-  
 fore it was ready, signed it at *Tbouars* on the  
 27<sup>th</sup>, and sent it from *Niort* to *Du Plessis*,  
 who was then at his House of *La Forest* up-  
 on *Saivre*, for it had been agreed that he  
 should be at liberty to retire thither, till he  
 was fully restored to his Government, and ac-  
 cordingly he was set out from *Saumur* on the  
 18<sup>th</sup> in the Afternoon.

Some Re-  
 flections on  
 the dealing  
 of the Court  
 with Du  
 Plessis.

This Usage of the Court with *Du Plessis*, looks  
 not only exceedingly rude, but also monstrously  
 unjust and ungrateful. Nevertheless, had the  
 King been as good as his Word with his faith-  
 ful Servant, as soon as his Affairs allowed him  
 to perform his Promises, there was nothing  
 in it but what either could be justified by the



BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 833

*Du Pleffis* was in no Condition to withstand <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> *Soubize*, for want of a sufficient Number of <sup>1621.</sup> Forces, he had not 200 Men in the whole, <sup>Pope Gre-</sup> and 4000 were not too much for defending <sup>gory XV.</sup> the Place, because of its large extent ; and had he had a sufficient Number for his Defence, the Court questioned much, whether he would employ them against his Brethren, or not. Therefore the King's Council thought it more expedient not to put him upon the Trial, and make all haste possible for preventing the Succours commanded by *Soubize* from entering *Saumur* ; and no wonder, if in such great Hurry, the usual Formalities were omitted, and several things committed contrary to good Order and Decency. Thus far can we excuse and even justify the Court's Proceedings, as to his particular Occasion.

But on the other hand, I do question much, whether there is any sober Man, that could reflect without the highest Indignation, upon the Usage that great Man receiv'd from Court, from this time down to his Death. Not only, he was not restored, as most solemnly it had been promised unto him, but neither his Household Furniture and Goods, nor his Library, nor the Ammunition which he had bought at his own Expence, and left in the Castle, nor the Debts he had contracted for fortifying or repairing the Place, and for the payment of the Garrison, none of these things were restored unto him. The King's Service permitted not that he should be restored to his Government ; I will allow that. But did the King's Service require, that such an useful and faithful Servant, who for 53 Years together had been indefatigably and almost always successfully employ'd in procuring or promoting

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**Lewis** 13.ing the Safety and Glory of the Crown, and  
 1621. the Welfare of the Kingdom, should be so  
*Pope Gre-* basely, so wretchedly robbed, plundered, and  
*gory XV.* deprived of his own, not of the Profits he  
 had made in the Crown's Service, for he got  
 nothing thereby, but of what he could save  
 upon his own Revenues, nay, of what he  
 had bought at the Expence of part of his own  
 Estate? Oh wretched Condition of a King-  
 dom, when the Prince is so weak, or wick-  
 ed, as to suffer himself to be imposed up-  
 on, or wholly over-ruled by a haughty am-  
 bitious or covetous Favourite or Prime Mi-  
 nister, against the Notions, nay, the Motions  
 of his own Conscience! **Lewis** was sensible  
 enough that *Du Plessis* was, by his great and  
 manifold Services, intitled to the greatest Re-  
 wards which a Subject like him could expect  
 from a grateful Prince; but **Lewis** had not  
 Heart enough to venture upon his own No-  
 tions, he basely, as much as blindly, follow-  
 ed his Prime Minister's Directions; to which

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 835

Some modern Historiographers have been so daring as to blame that truly great and good Man, as if he had left every thing undone for preserving his Place. But I dare to say, that it is easier to follow the Motions of the ZEALOTISM, than to consider attentively the Situation a Man is in, his Circumstances, and to read over and over with a sober Judgment, what he himself has written upon that Subject. *Du Plessis*, from the beginning of the Assembly at *Rochelle*, wrote unto them many times, and sent several Memoirs about the Condition his Place was in, desiring their Concurrence to put it in a state of Defence against any Surprise; they sent twice a Deputy of their own to *Saumur* to examine it, and to confer with the Governor, he visited the Place, he owned that he alone (*Du Plessis*) had done more, for the Preservation and the good Repair of his Place, than they all together for theirs; but that he wanted 3 or 4000 Men in order to keep it. He told him, that the Assembly was about borrowing twenty thousand Crowns at *Rochelle*; that six thousand whereof were designed for a Supply for him, and six thousand Pounds of Gunpowder. *Du Plessis* told him, that he would be much oblig'd to the Assembly, if they would assign him only six thousand Crowns upon some Merchant at *Saumur*, who kept Correspondence with some other at *Rochelle*, and who should pay him ready Money what Sums he should be oblig'd to lay out, which, however, he would not touch till he had exhausted his own. The Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*, had written to the Assembly, that he did not think that five thousand Men were more than sufficient for keeping *Saumur*, and exhorted

Lewis 13.  
1621.  
Pope Gregory XV.  
DuPlessis's  
Apology.

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Lewis 13. them to send such like Assistance to *Du Plessis*.  
 1621. He himself declared openly in one of his Let-  
 Pope Gre- ters to the Assembly, that indeed he had been  
 gory XV able almost to build *Saumur*, and keep it in  
 such Repair as it was, but that he was unable  
 to defend it all alone. Lastly, he said to the  
 same Deputy on the 18th of *April*, when he  
 came for the second time, *I see that your As-*  
*sembly has no regard at all for our poor Churches,*  
*and that you have deliver'd them to be a Prey*  
*to the Enemy, but God will take care of us,*  
*and provide for us.* What regard had they for  
 their Promises, or for the Remonstrances of  
 this brave and truly Christian Nobleman?  
 None at all. They sent him no Assistance  
 either of Money or of Troops; nay, they  
 diverted to other Uses what he might  
 and ought to have expected from *Beauvais*,  
*Dunois, Blaisois, Vendemois, &c.* True it is,  
 that those brave Carvers of the Fortune of  
 others, at the last Extremity, will send to  
*Saumur* a Succour of 1800 Men; but to be

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 837

cessity of Times? What could he have done with less than two hundred Men, in a Place that required above four thousand for holding a Siege?

Lewis 13.  
1621.  
Pope Gre-  
gory XV.

But the last Difficulty seems the more pregnant, What *Du Plessis* would have done had he had a sufficient Number of Troops and every other thing necessary to hold a Siege? Would he have broken through his own Principles, and opposed the King? I answer, that it is ridiculous to argue upon things that never have been. No doubt but he would have acted in a way suitable, both to his Allegiance to the King, and to his sincere Love and Affection and unwearied Care for the Churches; this is fully demonstrated by his repeated Letters, Instances, and Remonstrances to the Assembly, and to several Members thereof, wherein he desired and intreated them earnestly to provide his Place with what was necessary against any Surprise: Therefore I shall not insist any longer upon that Subject.

Now we are to enter upon a bloody War, which for about two Years ruined the Country, and made a havock of its Inhabitants, especially in the *Western and Southern Pro-*vinces. After what I have said all along concerning this Assembly at *Rockelle*, I need not to insist now for proving that this War was unjust on the Reformed side; and all the Sophistry of *Le Vassor* and *Benoit*, can serve only to prove, that it is lawful for a Subject to rise in Arms against his Sovereign, because he takes a Cabbage and a handful of Spillage out of his Garden without his leave; and to set his House on fire, without considering that it contains many Families, that

*The first  
Civil War  
of Religion  
under  
Lewis 13.*

Lewis' 13. have nothing to do with his Fancies, and ne-  
 1621.  
 Pope Gre- vertheless must perish for his Frolicks. And  
 gory XV. indeed, after a thorough Examination of the  
 true Causes of this War, we can find nothing  
 better than some small temporal Concerns,  
 some Government of a Town to gratify the  
 Ambition of one, some Charge or Office for  
 another, the Exemption of some little Taxes,  
 the Alteration of a Name, a Cabbage, a hand-  
 ful of Spinage. Certain it is, that they want-  
 ed the only Case wherein it may be lawful  
 for Subjects to repel Force by Force, an open  
 Persecution to force them to forsake their Re-  
 ligion. Nay, they did not so much as fol-  
 low the Rules of common Prudence, which  
 obliged them to consider, whether they could  
 with a hundred Men fight two thousand, one  
 against twenty; they knew that they could  
 expect no Assistance from the Provinces on  
 this side the *Loire*, very little from those  
 where *Les Diguieres*, *Cbatillen*, and *Par-*  
*daillan* commanded; and they had no Pro-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 839

1, when the very Chiefs of it have blamed Lewis 13. when they have recollected in cool Blood 1621. & they had transacted and done in the Pope Gregory XV. of Passion? And is it not what any so- Reader will conclude from the Political courses of the Duke of Roban? (x)

The King being then set out from *Saumur* the 17th of *May*, as abovesaid, he met no Difficulty in *Poitou*; all the cautious Towns opened their Gates to his Majesty, the Duke of *La Tremouille*, the Lord *Par*, and other Governors, submitted without hesitation; the Prince of *Condé* secured *erre*; the Duke of *Vendôme*, *Vitré*; the Count of *St. Pol*, *Gergeau*; nay, *De Chateau*-Governor of *Pons*, that very violent Man, fomented the Obstinacy of the Assembly was one of the first who surrendered Place upon a Reward of some thousand *lvs.* On the 27th of *May*, the Siege of *John d'Angely* was resolved upon. And the same day, the King being at *Niort*, he put out a new Decree; wherein after having declared all the Places and Men that sided with the Assembly, guilty of High Treason, especially the Cities of *Rochele* and *St.*, he forbade all the Reformed to adhere to that Party, or to acknowledge either that or other Assemblies, Circles, &c. &c. confederating with the Assembly of *Rochele*, and proceeding without the King's Special Licence. Moreover, he obliged all the Reformed, of

I i i 3

what

It would have been tedious to quote at the bottom of the Pages, the same Authors out of which I have abstracted all the Facts related in the three or four Sheets: they are taken out of *Du Plessis's* Life, [V. ad ann. 1621, and out of *Du Plessis's* Letters and Memoirs, Vol. V. ad ann. 1621, till *June*, out of *Mieres's* Life, Book XI. and XII.

executed at first with a great  
but afterwards was somewhat  
Parliament of *Paris* upon *D*  
frances.

*Siege and  
Surrender  
of St John  
d'Angely.*

The Dukes of *Roban* and  
contented with the Court, r  
hand the CAUSE of the Affe  
out the Siege of *St. John*.

Brother in the Place, which  
Men and Ammunition; and  
*enne* for to raise Troops, and  
other requisite Preparations.  
ing summoned, by an He  
*Soubize*, to surrender the Pla  
and by the Practices of a Tr  
it, the Duke was obliged  
Month after. The King p  
hands nothing else but Life  
berty of Conscience, to the I  
which Pretence it was, that  
at *Cognac*, issued out a Decla  
verified by the Parliament of  
by he commanded to demo



BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 841

And so did the Court, and those who abused the King's Name, begin to keep no account of their Word; so did they treat not only the Places that held against the King, but even those which surrender'd at the first Summons; the milder Treatment which they received, was to be dismantled. Nay, notwithstanding the King's Declaration of the last *April*, whereby he received under his Royal Protection, Cities, Towns, Commonalties, &c. Persons of what Quality soever, who should live quietly and peaceably under the Benefit of his Edicts, with whatever belonged unto them, Castles, Houses, Goods, &c. Nevertheless, it was observ'd, that those who trusted to that Royal Word, fared no better than those who were declared Rebels; nay, many fared worse; several Towns and Commonalties were obliged to redeem themselves from Plunder, three, and even four and five times. The Lord of *La Tabarriere*, Son-in-Law to *Du Plessis*, tho' one of the most faithful to the King's Service, was, as one may say, besieg'd in his own Castle, and almost ruined by having for several Months part of the Army quartered upon his Estate, and living there at discretion; several others had the same Fate, either because the Court connived at it, or that the Hatred of Religion prevailed over all the Laws, even of Nature; but it is certain, that never was a War attended with so much Injustice, Barbarity, and all manner of Licentiousness than this was.

The King, going on with his Conquests, arrived in *Guienne*, and found there the like Easiness to reduce the Places that held for the Reformed, as he had found in *Poitou* and *Xaintonge*. *Clairac* was at that time the only

Lewis 13.  
1621.  
Pope Gregory XV.  
Breach of Faith.

The King's Progress in Guienne.

War, were sealed up with  
of the most unfortunate, w  
to the Fury of these mercile  
greatest part of the Garrison  
by the rapacious Hands of  
were drowned in crossing th  
Barbarity of them who w  
them in a safe Place.

*He re-  
ceives a  
congratu-  
latory Brief  
of the Pope.* While the King was bef  
ceived a Brief from the Po  
him upon his Conquest. I  
*donisio*, who had succeeded  
in *January* last, and had t  
*Gregory XV.* He exhorted  
lay down his Arms till he  
*cbelle*, and deprived the H  
Cautionary Towns, and w  
to their Security. (*Philip*  
too at *Madrid*, on the 31<sup>st</sup>  
was succeeded by his Son.

The *Reformed* were unfor  
The Duke of *Mayenne* too  
Places in the District of his

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 843

would be besieg'd, was in the Neighbourhood of *Castres* and *Albi*, to provide for its Defence, and stood with a great deal more of Courage than Success. The Assembly at *Rockelle* made fruitless Endeavours to receive some Assistance from within and without the Kingdom. All the Foreigners denied them. The Intrigues carried on in *Normandy* for the same purpose, became abortive, by the Death of the Undertaker. *Montbrun* could do nothing in *Dauphiné*, because the Duke of *Les Diguieres* his Grandfather-in-Law, was sent thither to appease the Motions of that Province. And the Count of *La Suze* was very near paying with his own Head the Enterprize he had concerted upon *Grenoble*, thro' the Treachery of his Guide. The King had met almost with no Resistance, *St. John of Angely* and *Clairac* excepted. About fifty Towns, several of which were as able to resist as *St. John*, had opened their Gates without waiting for the Cannon, from the Middle of *May* to the End of *July*. And *FAVAS*, the very *FAVAS*, the first Author and the hottest Promoter of these Miseries, sent orders to his Son to surrender *Casteljaloux* and *Castetx*, two of the Cautionary Towns, tho' twelve or fifteen Leagues distant from the Roads where the Royal Army march'd.

At last the King being Master of all the *Montauban* Places, *St. Antonin* excepted, round about *Montauban*, pitch'd his Camp before that Place the 21<sup>st</sup> of *August*, according to the Duke of *Roban*; but the 17<sup>th</sup>, according to *De Pontis*, which is confirm'd by *Bassompierre*, both present at that Siege. The King's Army was of about 24,000 Men, commanded by the Constable: The Dukes of *Cbaulnes*, *Luxembourg*, *Mayenne*,

Lewis 13.  
1621.  
Pope Gre-  
gory XV.

ing Camp of no less than  
4000 Foot. Nothing v  
King's Army, but more  
Pride in the Constable, fo  
good advice. The Marq  
his two Sons, and the Co  
the Duke of *Sully*, got in  
was abundantly provided  
sary for holding a long S  
with an undaunted Courag  
The King had intelligence  
part of them became usele  
tors were served as they d  
ther were discovered. T  
found means to throw a S  
the Place. On both sides t  
ders in that Siege. But t  
ing on a pace, the Sicknes  
the Royal Army, and the  
disheartned by any Effort  
King after three Months  
raise it; having lost goo  
either by Sicknes, or by

Besieged's side, was the Reverend Doctor <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> *Chamier*, Minister and Professor in Divinity <sup>1621.</sup> in the Church and Academy of *Montauban*, <sup>Pope Gre-</sup> who had his Head carried off by a Cannon <sup>gory XV.</sup> Ball.

Before, and during this Siege, the Negotia- <sup>Negotia-</sup> tions for Peace had been still on foot ; there- <sup>tions for</sup> fore there had been great hopes of a happy <sup>Peace.</sup> Conclusion thereof, while the King was still in *Xaintonge* ; but the Assembly of *Rochelle* would not pass this Article, that they should break up at the first Command of the King. During the Siege, several Conferences had been held between the Constable and the Duke of *Roban*, tho' the Court insisted upon a particular Treaty, and the Duke upon a general one, for all the Churches without exception ; however they were like to come to an Agreement, when the Jesuit *Arnoux* endeavoured to create some Jealousies in the King's Mind against the Constable, for which he was paid as he deserved a few Weeks after.

The bad Success of the Siege of *Montauban* <sup>The Con-</sup> proved pernicious to the Constable, he was <sup>stable's</sup> lost in the King's Favour, his Majesty could <sup>Death.</sup> bear no longer with his haughty Deportment. One day as he was passing by, he told *Bassompierre*, Lo ! THE KING, LUINES. Nevertheless he had still Interest enough with the King to oblige that Prince to expel his Confessor *Arnoux*, and to take another in his stead. He was made sensible of the Decay of Favour, especially at *Toulouse*, where the Court went after the Siege of *Montauban*, and repented a little too late for not having followed the prudent Advices of his best Friends not to enter upon a Civil War, which would afford to his Enemies too many Opportunities of doing him  
several

after.

that Place, about the Mid  
Years and about six Mon  
Marshal *D'Ancre*, to who  
in every thing, his Bir  
Good-manners excepted.  
of a noble Extraction, a  
ducation; he was affable,  
serve, when asked after a  
was not so much as a  
any further Education th  
the Faulconry; by which  
himself into the King's F  
tion and Avarice carried  
Lord-Keeper *De Vair*, be  
at *Tonneins*, he immediate  
to promote him to that se  
long Gown in *France*; as  
as to wear hanging at his  
the little Chest, wherein  
together with the Cross o  
Holy Ghost. All the le  
amongst the Long-Gown  
highest Indignation the P

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 847

fulness, Treasons, nothing was ever too black for that Man that might serve for compassing his Ends. Lewis 13.  
1621.  
Pope Gre-  
gory XV.

The Misunderstanding between the Duke of *Roban* and the Count of *Cbatillon*, caused very strange Motions in *Languedoc*. The first, as above said, had been named by the Assembly at *Rochelle*, General of the Upper *Languedoc*, and Upper *Guienne*; and the second commanded in the same Capacity in Lower *Languedoc*, *Cevennes*, *Givaudan*, and *Vivaretz*. But *Cbatillon*, as well as many other Lords of the same Persuasion, did not approve the violent Resolutions of the said Assembly; and consequently was very cautious not to engage himself too far in a War ill undertaken, and worse concerted: therefore some ZEALOTS were always crying out against him, as if he had Intelligence with Court, and betrayed the CAUSE. The Duke of *Roban* countenanced and supported these Zealots; his ambitious Zeal prompted him to break thro' the Rules; as he designed to relieve *Montauban*, he ordered Levies to be made in the Provinces under the Command of *Cbatillon*, without asking his leave, whereat this Lord was much offended. Nevertheless, *Roban* ceased not; but as he wanted more Troops for *Montauban*, knowing that *Cbatillon* would not suffer him to raise them in his Government, as the first time, he thought proper to oppose to that Governour an Assembly of the Churches of the Upper and Lower *Languedoc*, *Cevennes*, *Vivaretz*, and *Dauphiné*, held at that time at *Nimes*, causing them to order, *That the Troops of those Provinces should continue to serve under the Duke of Rohan, and that any other General could not recall them.*

This

Lewis 13.  
1621.  
Pope Gre-  
gory XV.

This Act of the Assembly put *Chatillon* quite out of patience; he positively affirmed, that he really designed to march to the Relief of *Montauban*, but was dissuaded from it by the Duke of *Roban*, who was unwilling that another should partake with him the Glory of that Action. *Roban* was so generally esteemed, and had acquired such a great Reputation not only in *France*, but in the foreign Countries, by relieving *Montauban* so seasonably in sight of the King, and obliging that Prince to raise the Siege notwithstanding his much superiour Forces, that almost the whole *Guienne*, *Languedoc*, and the neighbouring Provinces, declared themselves for him. But the misfortune was, that he was so much puffed up with his Success, and the Credit he had acquired thereby, that he did not care to keep fair with *Chatillon*. This Lord seeing plainly that *Roban* aimed chiefly at the supreme Authority over all the Provinces and their Governors, put it in his head to recall the Troops



## **BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 849**

his widened the Breach between *Chatillon* Lewis 13. 1621. Pope Gregory XV.  
 the Assembly; and whereas that Body composed of hot-headed Men, who list-  
 every violent Counsel; they, of their private Authority, deprived that Lord of his Employments and Charges, without regard either to his Rank and Merits, or Memory of his Grandfather, who had well deserved of the *Reformed Churches*: they were not ashamed to carry their violence so far, as to cast the blackest Blessure upon his Reputation, charging him in publick Act with being a Traitor to their Country. *Roban* connived at all these Doings, was not sorry to see his Antagonist mortified by these Calumnies, and obliged to quit *Montpellier*, where he resided, for avoiding the Fury of the Mob raised against him by his mighty Champions of the Assembly of *Montpellier*. Those of *Montpellier* detained his Son and his Mother-in-Law, as a Pledge for his future Behaviour. The *Nemausian* Assembly had no sooner begun to set up themselves for so many petty Sovereigns, that they did no longer suffer any Superiour. But the People soon grew weary of the Domination of these petty Tyrants, more minding their own private, than the publick Welfare. This became so odious and intolerable, that the Duke of *Roban* was made General of *Languedoc, Cevennes, &c.* as he was formerly of the Upper *Guienne*, and Upper *Languedoc*. Such was the Origin of that great Authority, which that Duke acquired amongst the Reformed. For having repaired to *Montpellier* at the Beginning of the next Year, the Count of *Chatillon* and the Marquis of *Force* had made their private Agreement

stir up against the Rector  
but more especially at  
the first City the People  
notwithstanding all the  
the Magistrates, they  
from burning to the  
*Charenton*, wounding  
the Reformed that fell  
were spurred by a prof  
took the Name of *Dou*  
bare-footed *Carmelite*;  
and bloody Counsels  
of *Germany*, had acquire  
of Sanctity in *Spain*, It  
was a *Spaniard* by his  
Education. After  
and to *Vienna*; his  
degree, that the great  
of his Counsels, as if  
God himself. He was  
*Bobemian* War, because  
and Adviser of all the  
tions carried on against  
the

# VIII. *Reformed Churches in France.* 851

length, and a Foot in Breadth, representing the Nativity of our LORD, That Picture was found in a heap of broken Wood. Blessed Virgin had her Eyes put out, and a wretched Monk published, without any Evidence but his own Word, that the Jews were the Authors of that Prophana-  
Lewis 13.  
1621.  
Pope Gregory XV.

He never shewed that Image without giving a thousand Curses against those who so much abused it. After his Excursions *many*, especially in *Bobemia*, and the bloody barbarous Executions of the poor wretches which he caused to be made in the country, he came into *France*, pretending sent to the King by the Duke of *Bavaria* with the same cruel Views of destroying the Reformed by Fire and Sword.

He was received at *Paris* as a Man immortalized by God himself, and whose Accents were so many Miracles. The People followed after him, and even People of Quarrelship followed him. He lodged in a Convent of his Order; and to render himself venerable, he affected to keep himself

in his Cell, and appeared in publick but once to time, when he thought seasonable for the Farce. Then the wicked Hypocrites received the Homages that were paid next to Adoration; they kissed his Feet; thought themselves sanctified, by touching the Hem of his Garment; they carried away pieces of it, which they kept as Relicks. Under the Influence the Speeches of such a Man on a People so superstitiously prepossessed, was easy to apprehend. He preached nothing else unto them but Sedition and Violence. But the Chancellor, the Duke of *Orleans* Governour of *Paris*, together with

had been so kindly six  
thirty-two Years togeth  
massacre their Fellow-Ci  
ed Profession, which they  
executed, had they not  
the Diligence of *D'Aigne*  
manded in the City, duri  
Count of *Sault*, and wi  
of the City, and quartere  
House-keeper, so that th  
desperate Design were pr  
But at *Paris*, all the C  
the Magistrates, of the  
nor, of the Chancellor,  
fellors of State, was to  
had exhorted the Refor  
publick Exercise, judgin  
ance thereof would be a  
to the King's Authorit  
Duke of *Montbazou* w  
upon the Road that lead  
*renton*, for securing the  
to, and came back from  
hindered not the furio

pher says, that on both sides, some of them <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> were killed. At last, that Sedition was sup- <sup>1621.</sup> pressed by the Parliament's Care, which issued <sup>Pope Gre-</sup> out a Declaration, whereby they took under <sup>gory XV.</sup> their special Protection all the Reformed in the whole Extent of their Jurisdiction. Some of the chief Rioters being apprehended, were put to death (x).

After the Death of the Constable *Luines*, <sup>1622.</sup> the Affairs were managed by the Cardinal of <sup>Condé and</sup> *Retz*, the Count of *Schomberg* and *De Vic*, <sup>the new</sup> who by their means was created Keeper of <sup>Ministers</sup> the Seals. They did their utmost for keep- <sup>insist upon</sup> ing their ground; but the Queen-Mother, and <sup>the Conti-</sup> the Prince of *Condé*, suffered them not to en- <sup>nuation of</sup> joy long that Station. *Mary of Medicis*, now freed of her Enemy, entertained great hopes of resuming her former Authority. *Condé* endeavoured to prevent her. He set out with all diligence to meet the King upon the Road; he met him between *Bordeaux* and *Poitiers*. His first care was to persuade his Majesty to continue the War against the Reformed. That greedy Man was sensible enough, that he would be much better enabled to satiate his Avarice during the War than in time of Peace. The Forfeiture of the Estates of those who were in Arms against their Sovereign offered him a plentiful Harvest; he was so base as to solicit in the King's Council, the Forfeiture of the Duke of *Rohan's* Estate: his Woods were cut down, &c. and he (*Condé*) having obtained the Commission for executing the King's Decree against the Duke, discharged it with all the Passion that could be expected from the worst Foe, and possessed himself of all that escaped from Fire and Sword.

K k k 2

He

(x) *Vie de Du Plessis*, Liv. IV.

Loyalty ; and notwithstanding repeated Declarations in distinction was put betwixt them, but they were abused. Breach of Faith approved of by these to whom *Condé* adhered for compassing their Ends singles out some Instances in this respect, which Memory for ever (y). could to retard the King being sensible that they certainly be opposed by the old Counsellors of Majesty came to the end of *January*. A very few cellor and President *J.* with the King as to persuade from Peace, shewing of their former Error, the requisite Submission resolved to employ the

very secret, lest his new Counsellors should form too great Oppositions against his Intentions. That Negotiation had no Effect for the present, though it was carried very far. *Puiseux*, Secretary of State, a Slave of the Court of *Rome*, and bribed by that of *Madrid*; *Puiseux*, I say, *Condé*, the Cardinal of *Retz*, *Schomberg*, and *De Vic* prevailed in the King's Council, and obliged that Prince to sacrifice the true Interest of his own Crown to the cruel Ambition of the House of *Austria*, and to eat up his own Subjects, and lay waste his own Kingdom, in order to please an unworthy Priest. The Duke of *Les Diguieres* had had several Conferences with the Duke of *Roban* at *Laval*, a small Town near the Bridge of the Holy Ghost; they had agreed together as to four of the most essential Articles, the rest was left to the Determination of the King's Council. The Deputies of several Reformed Lords, together with those of *Roban* and *Les Diguieres* were already upon the Road in their way to *Paris*, when on a sudden, the King set out from that Capital, by the Advice of *Condé*, *Schomberg*, and others of the same Cabal, who were affraid lest his Majesty should be prevailed upon by the Counsels of *Jeannin* and others, to grant Peace to the Reformed, if he waited till the Arrival of the Deputies. His Departure was more like a flight than any thing else, for he went out by a back Door of the *Louvre* in the Evening of the 21st of *March* after Vespers, though he had declared a few days before that he would spend *Easter* Holy-days at *Paris*.

During the Winter, some Actions had passed between the two Parties in the Southern and South-Western Provinces. *Bourniquet* and

Lewis 13.  
1622.  
Pope Gregory XV.

other places, for in the  
they received a terrible  
of *Riez* in *Lower Poitou*.  
*Soubize*, who had seven  
seven hundred Horse, &  
fifteen hundred were ki  
fifteen hundred taken Pri  
Gallies, and most part  
down by the Peasants, fo  
ty hardly escaped: The  
this Action. *Soubize* ver  
a Visit, and gave no oc  
Prudence, when he eng  
Army in a Country, full o  
he could so easily be s  
much discomposed at the  
Army.

*The King's* After that Victory the  
*great Suc-* March towards *Guienne*;  
*cess,* in all his Enterprizes, &  
the beginning of *May*, by  
and burnt to Ashes afte  
*Royans* was forced to surr  
tion to the Marshal of *Vi*



BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 857

was followed by the Lords of *Sully, Orval, Lewis 13. Theobon and Lusignan.* 1622.

On the 8th of *June* the Royal Army came before *Negreplisse*, which was taken by Storm <sup>Pope Gre- gory XV.</sup> two days after, and by the King's Orders all <sup>Negre- plisse de- stroyed by Fire and Sword.</sup> the Men were put to the Sword, the Town burnt to Ashes, two hundred Soldiers that had retreated into the Castle, forced to sur- render at Discretion, were all hanged with- out Mercy, all the Women and Virgins, very few excepted, exposed to the Brutishness of the Soldiery\*. Such was the JUSTICE of *Lewis* the JUST; it consisted chiefly in Acts of Cruelty and Barbarity. True it is, that Town deserved a Punishment for the Per- fidiousness above-mentioned; the Ringleaders deserved Death, and to the utmost: Had the King ordered the Men to be decimated, that would have been a great Severity indeed, but such a one as the necessity required; but to treat the Town in such a manner, there is no- thing in that Action but what shews a great Brutishness and Ferocity, which Ferocity is wholly to be ascribed to the bloody Coun- sels of the cruel *Condé*, a base Soul if ever there were any; who never failed to solicit the King to some barbarous Action or other, whenever he found an Opportunity. Next to that unfortunate Place, *St. Antonin* was be- sieged, and forced after twelve days Siege to surrender at Discretion. Then *Lunel, Som- mieres*, and several other Places were either forced or bought; the Count of *Chatillon* received the Staff of Marshal of *France* at *Ai- guemortes*, which the said Count delivered to his Majesty on the 22d of *August*.

K k k 4

During

\* Mem. de Pontis, Tom. I.

*Lewis* 13. During these Expeditions, the Duke of *Les*  
 1622. *Diguieres*, who aimed at the Constable's Sword,  
*Pope Gre-* and who knew that he could not attain to  
*gory XV.* that high Dignity, without turning Catho-  
*The Duke* lick, to which, for several Years before, he  
*of Les Di-* was fully resolved, took at last that dange-  
*guieres* rous Leap at *Grenoble* the 24th of *July*; and  
*turns Ca-* the very same day he received the King's  
*tholick, and* Letters Patent, which created him High-Con-  
*is made* stable of *France*, and on the 26th he was in-  
*Constable* stalled Knight of the *Holy Ghost*. He was  
*of France.* eighty Years old when he cast such a great  
 Blemish upon his Fame, and confirmed by that  
 odious Act, what *Solomon* says, that *the Adul-*  
*terers will hunt for the precious Life of a Man,*  
*Prov. vi. 26. Her Mouth is a deep Pit: be*  
*that is abhorred of the Lord shall fall therein,*  
*Prov. xxii. 14.* For had it not been for *MA-*  
*RY VIGNON*, heretofore mentioned, first his  
 W——e, though she was married to an Apo-  
 thecary, and now his Wife, whose Ambition  
 and Avarice was unsatiable, and who govern'd  
 him absolutely, very likely he would never

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 859

of marrying the Prince of *Wales* with the Infanta, Sister to *Philip IV.* And though the Marshal Duke of *Bouillon*, provoked at the Treatment his Lordships, Houses, &c. in *Guienne* and *Languedoc*, had received even by the King's Orders, (for *Negreplisse* belong'd unto him) though he had accepted the Neutrality, was treating with the Administrator of *Halberstadt* and the Count of *Mansfield*, for engaging them to assist the Reformed, by making a Diversion in *Champaign*, with the powerful Army of *Reisters* and *Landsknecets*, which they had under their Command ; that Negotiation came to nothing through the wise and prudent Management of the Duke of *Nevers*, Governor of *Champaign*. *Rochelle* could send no Relief, being itself blocked up, by Land by the Count of *Soissons*, who built a Fort, namely *St. Louis*, at a little distance from that City, and which commanded the Channel ; and by Sea, by a Fleet commanded by the Duke of *Guise*, so that they had much ado to defend their Walls. Nevertheless, the great Activity, Prudence and Courage of the Duke of *Roban*, and some brave experienced Officers that commanded under him, would have supply'd several of these Losses, had a strict Union been kept between the Reformed. But the Misunderstandings were carry'd to such a degree, not only between Persons of the first Rank, but even between the Commonalties themselves, that they were in danger of being consumed one by another ; a perfect Anarchy reigned among them, especially at *Montpelier*, there was a Party of certain Fanaticks which carry'd every thing to extremes, and whose violent Deportment caused several great Mischiefs ; among others, they murdered

Lewis 13.  
1622.  
Pope Gregory XV.

Lewis 13. dered, about the beginning of this Year, Pre-  
 1622. sident *Du Cros*, though a Reformed, who had  
 Pope Gre- been sent thither by the Duke of *Les Di-*  
 gory XV. *guieres*, to confer with the Duke of *Roban*  
 about the Articles of Peace; they entered his  
 Chamber and told him, *Thou Traitor, are you*  
*come here to bribe the Duke of Roban in the*  
*name of that fine LES DIGUIERES, who*  
*wishes no better than to see us quite undone?* and  
 thereupon they fell upon him and stabbed him.  
 These Miscreants deemed Traitors to the  
 CAUSE, all moderate Persons who endeavour-  
 ed to bring Matters to some Agreement. The  
 Duke of *Roban*, the Magistrate, and the Con-  
 suls of *Montpelier*, resented that Barbarity as  
 they ought, and caused all the Guilty that  
 could be apprehended, to be severely punished  
 as they deserved (y).

Such being the Condition of the Reform-  
 ed, which is so lively described by their noble  
 Chief in his Memoirs, it is very plain that,  
 without a Miracle, they could not avoid their

**BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 861**

his Royal Protection, being come back with Lewis 13: absolute Refusal of the Inhabitants, ground-<sup>1622.</sup> upon the Fears which the Brave Condé <sup>Pope Gregory XV.</sup> had suggested unto them, that if they suffered themselves to be imposed upon by the promises made unto them, the King would be sooner be in their City, but he would put every thing to Sword and Fire (z). Thereupon the King assembled his Council, and notwithstanding Bullion's and several others En-  
deavours to engage his Majesty not to insist on his Admittance into the City, Condé carried his Point, it was resolved to force them to a Compliance, and the Siege was begun.

It was one of the longest, and of the most <sup>Siege of</sup> arduous; the Besieged, commanded by the <sup>Montpe-</sup> Duke of Roban, and Calonge his Lieutenant, made a brave and stout Defence; the Besiegers, besides a great Number of their Troops, lost several Noblemen and brave Officers, amongst the first was the Duke of Fronsac, Son to the Count of St. Pol. The Conferences for Peace were secretly carry'd on by the King's Orders at St. Privat, between the Constable, the Marshal of Crequi, and some others for his Majesty, and the Duke of Roban, for the reformed. The King's Commissaries insisting upon his Majesty's Entry into the City, the Duke of Roban yielded, and went to Montpelier, being conducted by the Marshal Crequi, in order to persuade the Inhabitants to do the same, and to impart unto them the Articles of the Treaty, among which there is one to which they would never consent, z. That the King should keep Garrison in Montpelier. The Town-House consented, that they should remain in the City as long as the King,

(z) Journal de Bassompierre, Tom. II.

Lewis 13. King, but that it should evacuate it when his  
 1622. Majesty should set out, and even they durst  
 Pope Gre- not propose any thing like it to the People,  
 gory XV. but only that the King's customary Guards  
 should come in along with him. Finally, it  
 was agreed, that his Majesty at his setting  
 out of the City, should leave it at liberty.  
 But, if *Bassompierre* is to be credited in this  
 Point, there was a kind of Connivance in this  
 respect, between the Council and the Duke  
 of *Roban* ; for this Lord said to the King,  
*that though his Majesty should not perform that*  
*Article, notwithstanding its being set down in*  
*writing in the Treaty, the Reformed would not*  
*renew the War for that (a).* The said Duke  
 published

(a) *Journal de Bassompierre*, Tom. II. pag. 283.  
 Edit. de Cologne 1665. It may be said, that though  
 this Lord is acknowledg'd to have been one of the  
 greatest Men, incapable to utter a Calumny on any other  
 Occasion, nevertheless, being a Roman Catholick, his  
 Religion has prompted him to blast the Reputation of  
 the Duke of *Roban*. But what shall we say to the  
 Charge put upon the Duke by *Du Plessis* himself, in his

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 863

published the Apology of his Conduct, as to this Treaty, which is contained in his VIIIth Discourse, to which I refer the Reader.

Lewis 13.  
1622.  
Pope Gregory XV.


After several goings and comings, the Treaty was signed at *Montpelier*, on Tuesday 18th of October; the Duke of *Roban* came into the Camp the same day to pay his Obedience to his Majesty, and the next day the Deputies of the Circle of *Lower Languedoc*, *Cevennes*, and *Givaudan*, and the Consuls of *Montpelier* were presented to his Majesty on their bended Knees, and were graciously received. Peace was proclaimed in the Camp and in the City with the usual Ceremonies. His Majesty made his publick Entry on the 20th. The Marshals of *Crequi* and *Bassompierre* had taken Possession of the City the day before, and had quartered in it the *French* and *Swiss* Regiments of Guards, and the next Morning the Garrison had quitted it. The King stayed here eight days, during which time part of the Army was disbanded. There was a general Procession in the City on Sunday the 23d, wherein the Host was carried. The 23d the two Regiments of *Picardy* and *Normandy* were put in Garrison in the City under the Command of the Count of *Valencé*, contrary to the Treaty. The 27th the King set out for *Provence*.

Treaty of  
Peace concluded.

The Treaty had been carry'd on without the Knowledge of *Condé*, but when it drew near its Conclusion, the King thought proper to give him notice thereof. Though he had guessed before that something like was hatching, nevertheless he could not hear the Confirmation

p. 694. Much more I could say, extracted out of this last Book to the same purport, which I chuse to omit for Brevity sake.

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Lewis 13. firmation of it through the King's own Month  
 1622. without gnashing with his Teeth; his Answer  
 Pope Gre- betray'd what he endeavour'd to conceal, and  
 gory XV.  Spite prompted him to ask leave to go to  
*Italy* to perform a Vow to our *Lady of La-*  
*retto*. The King, desiring no better than to  
 be rid of him, after some Compliments, grant-  
 ing him his Request, and he set out from the  
 Camp for *Italy*, before the Proclamation of  
 the Peace.

The Treaty was published in the form of an  
 Edict. The King before all, supposed the Jus-  
 tice of his Arms against his Reformed Sub-  
 jects; whose Rebellion he ascribed to the Ar-  
 tifices of those who expected to make use of  
 their Simplicity, and of the Confusions of the  
 State, for fishing in troubled Waters, (and that  
 was but too true, as we have said above;) then  
 he call'd God to witness, that his chief aim  
 had always been to procure the Peace and  
 Welfare of all his Subjects. Then he declared,  
 that at the most humble Request of the Re-  
 formed, tender'd unto him by their Deputies he



### VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 865

1. Offices, Estates and Goods granted to the Military Officers the King was obliged to give a Recompence in Money of the Restoration; Prisoners of War, as in the Gallies on account of theurrection, freely released; the keeping of cautionary Towns that remained in the hands of the Reformed, such namely as were contained in the Register of the late King, at *Remes* in the Month of *May* 1598, continued for three Years longer; but the others which had been reduced, and those who had persisted in their Allegiance they were not to be comprised under the name of cautionary Towns \*; (this point-ly against *Du Plessis*, as already observed in the last Annotations:) All the new fortifications, made in the Towns held by the Reformed were to be demolished, but the old ones were to stand *in Statu quo*; but by the 12th Article it was enacted, that *La Rochelle* and *Montauban* should preserve their *Statu quo* new and old; and that those of *Uzès*, *Castres* and *Milband* should be demolished but by halves. The Reformed were expressly forbidden to hold any political Assembly of what Denomination soever without the King's special Licence; but they might hold Ecclesiastical ones, Synods National, Provincial, Colloquies, provided no more but purely of an Ecclesiastical Nature, and Discipline, should be treated of as Ecclesiastical Assemblies. An Amnesty of whatever was done from the First of *January* 1622. to the Date of the present Edict with the

Lewis 13.

1622.

Pope Gregory XV.

Reformed lost in this War above 80 cautionary Towns, taken, or surrendered to the King by the Catholics.

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*Lewis 13.* the same Extent; the like Restrictions specify'd in the Articles 76, 77, 86, of the Edict of *Nantz* were granted; every one who should accept this Edict in a Fortnight's time after the Date thereof, should enjoy the Benefit thereof. The Observation of this Edict was enjoined in the same Form prescribed by the 82d Article of the Edict of *Nantz*, and the King promised to send Commissaries into the Provinces to see it executed.

1622.  
Pope Gregory XV

By a private Brief the King promised, that there should be neither Garrison, nor Citadel in *Montpelier*; that the City should be in the Custody of its Consuls, and that nothing should be altered in it, save only that the new Fortifications should be razed. That Brief was delivered to the Duke of *Roban*, who put it into the hands of the Consuls.

As to the Duke *Roban*, he did not forget himself; he did not care to have the Government of *Angely*, and of some other Places, which had been dismantled, restored unto him; but he contented in lieu thereof

# BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 867

*Montpelier*, was to have one of six thousand <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> Livres. <sup>1622.</sup>

The Reformed Cities engaged in the War, <sup>Pope Gre-</sup> accepted the Edict, even *La Rochelle* itself <sup>gory XV.</sup> paid her Submissions to the Count of *Soissons*, <sup>All the Re-</sup> without consulting the Assembly that remain- <sup>formed ac-</sup> ed still on foot, for some Weeks longer; never- <sup>cept the E-</sup> theless, either that the *Rocbelese*, and the Duke <sup>dict of</sup> of *Guise*, who commanded the Royal Fleet <sup>Peace.</sup> that block'd up the City, were both ignorant of the Conclusion of the Treaty, or that they had a mind to try one another, and to improve afterwards their Advantages: How the Matter stood, that I cannot positively tell; but it is certain, that some days after the proclaiming of the Peace in the City of *Montpelier*, there was a Sea-fight between the two Fleets, wherein they both suffered great Losses. Nevertheless, as they could not be any longer ignorant of the Peace, they agreed to supersede all manner of Hostilities.

So ended a War so rashly concerted, undertook and ill-managed, whereby the Authors and Abettors betrayed their own Weakness, and got nothing better than the Scorn of their Enemies, whereas formerly they had been the Object of their Dread. *Roban* with those of the Deputies that were with him, follow'd the King to *Lyons*, and by his Majesty's Orders named six Persons to be Deputies General attending the Court, out of which the King pick'd two, *Mont-martin* for the Nobility, and *Maniald* for the Commons: and these were the last chosen by a Political Assembly, the King devolving that Right unto the National Synod.

His Majesty arrived at *Paris* about the <sup>1623.</sup> beginning of *January*, wherein he made a joy- <sup>Bill of</sup> ful <sup>Grievan-</sup> <sup>ces present-</sup> <sup>ed to the</sup> <sup>King.</sup>

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**Lewis 13.** ful Entry, on account of his good Success,  
 1623. whereby he had ruined and destroyed part  
 of his Kingdom. The two General Deputies  
 presented an humble Address unto him, re-  
 quiring a Redress of several Grievances which  
 they complained of, and which actually were  
 so many Infractions of the late Edict; such,  
 for instance, were the putting a Garrison and  
 a Governor in the City of *Montpelier*, quite  
 the reverse of what had been expressly sti-  
 pulated, the altering the Constitution of its  
 Government; for by forcible ways, *Valenti*  
 had found means to have half the number  
 of the Consuls to be Roman Catholicks, where-  
 as formerly they used to be all Reformed.  
 The keeping of *Fort Louïs* near *Rochebelle*, though  
 it had been stipulated that it should be razed;  
 the keeping of the Reformed Captives upon  
 the Gallies on account of their Religion. That  
 the King should contribute something towards  
 the rebuilding of the Church at *Charenton*,  
 built during the late War, and would order  
 that of *Tours* to be rebuilt at his own Charge.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 869

*Bergerac* should be released from several Hard- Lewis 13.  
ships and Vexations imposed upon them; that 1623.  
the Troops left in *Languedoc*, *Cevennes*, and Pope Gre-  
other Places, should be disbanded; and a few gory XV.  
other Articles of less moment.

These Articles were answer'd the 4th of *Illusorily*  
*March*, and properly speaking, nothing was answered.  
granted, except the release of the Captives  
upon the Gallies, and an Exemption from con-  
tributing towards the Building of Churches  
for the Catholicks. As to all the rest, they  
got nothing but fair Promises never to be per-  
formed, or they were referred to the Deci-  
sion of the Commissaries that were to be sent  
into the Provinces, and who had their Instruc-  
tions not to do Justice. So that it was plain  
enough; that in the last Treaty, the King and  
his Council designed only to deceive the Re-  
formed, and to ruin them with more ease,  
and at less expence than by a War. It is  
what Chancellor *de Sillery* desired his Brother,  
then Ambassador at *Rome*, to acquaint the Pope  
with: "All the Treaties, says he, that have  
been made with those of the Pretended Re-  
ligion from the beginning of the Troubles,  
none excepted, have been always advan-  
tageous to them, all that had been taken  
from them during the War, was restored  
with Usury by the Treaty. But in this the  
King keeps all that has been taken by  
his Arms, or by Composition; and all the  
new Fortifications of the Places remaining  
unto them are to be razed.—— It is  
to be hoped, that we shall get more with  
Peace than otherwise." And in another Let-  
ter of the 14th of *November*, to the same;  
His Holiness must be well assured, that the  
*Huguenots* have always got the better by

Lewis 13. " by the War, but have been always diminished in time of Peace, and it is to be expected that the same will happen now through the Piety of his Majesty (b)

1623.  
Pope Gregory XV.

The meaning of this is, that they designed to oblige the Reformed, and especially the Nobility and Gentry amongst them to forsake their Religion, by the same means which King Henry the Third had so successfully put in use before the Wars of the *League*, to wit, by refusing all kind of Favour, all sort of Preferment and Advancement to those who were steadfast in their Religion. All the old Counsellors were of the same Opinion with the Chancellor, and it had been one of the Tricks which President *Jeannin* had made use of for diverting the King from entering upon a Civil War; but the new Ministers relished not a Method which deprived them of the Plunder of their Fellow-Subjects, which they swallowed up in their Imagination, wherein they were mightily supported by the Prince of Condé.

Several Decrees of the Council were issued out for depriving the Reformed of their Rights, and for abridging their Liberty. Such was that of the 6th of *July*, whereby they were excluded from the Dignities whereto they were formerly intitled in the University of *Poitiers*; another of the 19th of *August*, which forbade them to sing Psalms in the Streets, or in their Shops; several Sentences were given this Year in the Parliament and in the King's Council, which unjustly abridged the Authority

(b) *Memoirs pour l'Hist. du Cardinal de Richelieu*, par Aubery, Tom. I. p. 514, and 15. p. 521, and 22. Ed. of Cologne, 1667.

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Authority of Parents over their own Children in Matters relating to Religion. Lewis 13.  
1623.

But what happened at *Montpelier* was very near to kindle again the War. The Duke of *Roban* was come back from Court, in order to execute the Treaty of Peace. He was no sooner arrived but *Valencé* put it in his head to arrest him, on pretence that he was come to renew the Troubles, and that he did not follow the Intentions of the Court. The News of that Detention filled up the Minds of the whole Party with Astonishment and Indignation; *Soubize* openly threatened to renew the War. The Court itself was in a great perplexity about the Ways and Means to be rid out of that Labyrinth; some were so base as to endeavour to persuade the King to improve this Opportunity for destroying his Enemy, either by an Assassinate, or by having him try'd by the Parliament of *Toulouse*, which would not fail to find him guilty of High Treason. But at last Moderation prevailed, and Orders were instantly sent to *Valencé* to release the Duke, who was at the same time commanded to quit *Montpelier*, and to retire into the *Upper Languedoc*. We could not believe it, did not *Bassompierre* testify it, that the Duke was beholden for his Liberty and Life to a Diversion Match. The young Queen had prepar'd a Ballet; the Dutchess of *Roban* was to be one of the Actresses. Every thing was ready when the News of the Duke's Captivity arrived. The Dutchess, resenting as she ought that unlucky Accident, declared to her Majesty, that she was not able to perform her part, and desired to be excused. Her Majesty unwilling to lose her Diversion, insisted and prevailed.

*Pope Gregory XV.*

*The Duke of Rohan arrested.*

*And released.*

**Lewis 13.** prevailed with her Royal Husband for the Duke's Release.

1623.  
**Pope Gre-**  
**gory XV.**

**Citadel**  
**built at**  
**Montpe-**  
**lier.**

Another Breach of the last Treaty was, that notwithstanding the Special Brief granted to those of *Montpelier*, that no Citadel should be built in their City, *Valencé* found means to oblige them to have one; for on pretence of looking for means of easing the Inhabitants of the Garrison that was quartered in their Houses, and was very troublesome, he convened an Assembly, wherein but very few of the Reformed Inhabitants assisted, and the Roman Catholicks, most part whereof had been bribed by him, feigned to be persuaded that the best way was to have a Citadel where the Garrison could lodge, that passed by a Plurality of Votes, and notwithstanding the Protest entred by the Reformed, they petitioned the King for leave to build one, which accordingly was granted.

**A King's**  
**Commissa-**

Another Piece of Injustice, was the Declaration given at *Fontainbleau* the 17th of



**ÆVIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 873**

ick Affairs in their Synods; the second, Lewis 13. 1623. Pope Gregory XV. they admitted other Persons besides their Ministers and Elders; and that they took Resolutions contrary to the Intentions and Opinions of the greatest Number, and of the most considerable amongst the Reformed. However the Reformed made no Opposition to a Declaration of this Importance, at least they did it not very far; seeing that few Months after they held Synods in all the Provinces, summoned a National Synod at *Charenton* to meet the first of *September*. They thought they might, by Submissions and Petitions, deliver themselves from this Restraint, injurious on account of the Motives which moved the King to impose it upon them, inconvenient, because they were obliged to open to the Court's View the Secret of their Policy. Indeed at first it very much vexed them. For there were several Provinces where the Governors started a thousand Difficulties about the Nomination of a Commissary for assisting in their Provincial Synods; and they took that occasion to vex, as most proper to exercise their malignant and no less ignorant Zeal against them. At most part of the Deputies to the Synod of *Charenton* arrived there, but after the appointed day, and excused their delay, as having been occasioned by the Difficulties which the Governors had made, having provided as much as they could, the summoning of the Synods in their respective Provinces, the first Commissary who sat in that Capacity in a National Synod, was *Augustus Galand* who truly loved his Religion, but at the same time beloved the King, and, may be, his Principles to the Obedience due by Subjects to their

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**Lewis 13** Sovereign were a little too extensive. He be-  
**1623.** lieved that Sincerity was altogether on the  
**Pope Gre-** Court side. He was made Counsellor of State,  
**gory XV** and served the Court with great Affection and  
 Constancy.

**The 24th** The Synod of *Charenton* opened its Ses-  
**National** sions the first day of *September*. As soon  
**Synod, held** as the King's Commission to the said *Galand*  
**at Charen-** had been read in the Assembly, a Debate a-  
**ton.** rose about that Novelty, whereby their Li-  
 berty was so much abridged ; it was resolved to  
 petition the King upon that score, and in the  
 mean while, for shewing forth their ready Obe-  
 dience to his Majesty, they admitted the Com-  
 missary, and received him with great Marks  
 of Respect. The Lord *De Mont-martin*, De-  
 puty General for the Nobility, acquainted the  
 Assembly with the Endeavours he and his  
 Colleague ——— *Maniald* Esq; Deputy for  
 the Commons, had made for diverting his  
 Majesty from his Resolution concerning the  
 abovesaid Commissary, but that all their Ap-  
 petition and Diligence had been in vain.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 875

which he would not protect. The Deputies <sup>Lewis 13. 1623. Pope Gregory XV.</sup> answer'd, that the said Doctrine was the same with their Confession of Faith. Whereupon it was reply'd, That the King left the Judgment of their Doctrine to themselves, nor would he concern himself with it; but that he would not allow the making any Person to swear upon the Faith of another, or that any of his Subjects should be deprived of the liberty of believing as he would. *Strange Contradiction between Words and Deeds! Every one must be left at liberty of believing as he will. Very good. But then, why did they persecute at that very time, those who could not believe the Doctrines of the Roman Church? Is it not plain, that the Council had nothing else in View but to sow Division amongst the Reformed Churches?* However, the Synod resolved to obey the King's Will as to these two Points, reserving unto themselves the liberty of addressing to the King, whenever they should have occasion to send for any Foreign Minister. And as for the Doctrine of the Synod of *Dort*, the Synod considering that that City is a Dependence and Member of a Foreign Commonwealth, ordered that the Reference had in the said Oath unto that City should be taken away, and shall not be for the future tendered in the Churches and Universities of the Kingdom; and that the Oath should be hereafter taken under the Name of the Doctrine received by the Reformed Churches in *France*, and subscribed to by the National Synod of *Alets*.

The King's Commissary receiv'd a Letter from his Majesty the 25th of *September*, which contained three several Propositions to be made to the Synod; 1°. That the King would not suffer

Lewis 13. suffer the Rev. Drs. *Cameron* and *Primrose*  
 1623. to exercise their Ministerial Functions in any  
*Pope Gre-* Part of his Dominions, not because they were  
*gory XV.* Foreigners, but for Reasons concerning his  
 Majesty's Service. 2°. That whenever the  
 King should grant a Political Assembly, it was  
 his Pleasure, that no Minister should be de-  
 puted to these Assemblies, because that they  
 would be hindred thereby from their Mini-  
 sterial Functions, and he could have wished  
 that they had prevented his Commands on  
 that Subject. But if they did not obey, he  
 should give further Orders about it. Never-  
 theless the Ministers of the Place, where such  
 Assemblies would be held, were not exclud-  
 ed from them. 3°. That this Declaration of  
 his Will should be inserted among the Acts of  
 the present Synod.

The second and third Proposition passed  
 without Contradiction; but as to the first, they  
 sent a new Deputation to intreat his Majesty,  
 that he would relent something of his Seve-  
 rity against the Reverend Professors in gene-  
 ral.

and that in good time, Matters might be settled more to their satisfaction. Lewis 13.  
1623.

*Primrose* and *Cameron*, two of the worthiest Divines that ever came into the Kingdom, were both *Scotchmen*; the first was Professor in Divinity, and Minister in the Church and Academy of *Bordeaux*; the second was in the same Capacity at *Saumur*. They had both offended the Jesuits, especially the first, who had confuted Jesuit *Arnoux*, the King's Confessor, who had boldly asserted, in a Sermon preach'd before the King at *Amboise*, that the *Roman Religion*, but more especially the Jesuits, never did teach that it was lawful for a Subject to murder his Prince when excommunicated by the Pope. As to *Du Moulin*, he had been betrayed either by King *James* or by *Buckingham*, or by both. When he saw that very likely there would be a Civil War in *France*, he wrote to *James I.* who had a great value for him, on account of his great Parts; he flattered him with Epithets, quite contrary to the Man's Genius, as if he had been truly the Defender of the Reformed Churches; he told him, that the Eyes of the Reformed, not only of *France*, but of all *Europe*, were upon him, and expected to see him taking the Defence of the good CAUSE. *Du Moulin* was mistaken in his Notions, King *James* was not such a Man as he took him to be. The Original of his Letter was sent to the Court of *France*, and an Order to arrest him was immediately issued out, but very luckily he escaped out of *Paris*, and retired to *Sedan*, where he was Minister and Professor in Divinity, and lived till the Year 1650, when he died in the 90th Year of his Age. It appears, that there was this Year six hundred twenty eight Ministers

*Pope Gregory XV.*

**Lewis 13.** Ministers actually serving the Churches in <sup>1623.</sup> *France*; and sixty nine Churches not provided with any Minister. The Synod ended their Sessions on the first of *October*. The Rev. Mr. *Durant*, Minister of *Charenton*, had been their Moderator; the Rev. Mr. *Bayles*, Minister of *Lyons*, Assessor; the Rev. Mr. *Le Faucheur*, Minister at *Nimes*, and *Peter De Launay*, Esq; Secretaries (c).

Some Occurrences  
of this  
Year.

As to the Occurrences of this Year, we shall observe, 1°. That the Bishoprick of *Paris* was made an Archbishoprick in *October* 1622, having for Suffragans *Chartres*, *Meaux*, and *Orleans*; the first Archbishop was the Cardinal of *Retz*, Bishop of *Paris* Nephew to the Cardinal of *Retz*, deceased a few Weeks before the Peace.

2°. That Cardinal *de Richelieu* was made of the King's Privy Council: He had received the Cap at *Lyons*, a little after the Siege of *Montpelier*. I shall say nothing of that Prelate, the great Subverter of the Constitution of the Government in *France*, and of

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. He was afterwards very useful to *Henry* <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> and acquired an extraordinary Reputation <sup>1623.</sup> Skill, Sagacity and Prudence by the Truce <sup>Pope Ur-</sup> which he managed between *Spain* and the *Seven* <sup>ban VIII.</sup> *ed Provinces*. He was one of the principal Ministers of the late King, and he acquitted himself most honourably of all the *Em-* *ments* and *Commissions* wherewith he was *ged* by *Lewis* XIII. Finally, *France* lamented the Loss of such a Minister, the great *lence*, *Skill*, *Dexterity*, *Magnanimity* reof she valued and admired.

*Henry* of *La Tour*, Marshal of *France*, Duke of *Bouillon*, Sovereign Prince of *Sedan*, died after President *Jeannin*. The Viscount *Arrenne*, his Father, killed at the Battle of *Quintin*, had married *Anne* Daughter to Duke of *Montmorency*, Constable of *France*. *y*, his Son, was at first known in the World by the Name and Title of Viscount of *enne*. He was thought to be deeply concerned in the Plot discover'd the last Year of *Charles* Ninth's Reign, for which *Francis*, Duke of *Montmorency*, his Uncle, and the Marshal of *Coffé*, were sent to the *Bastile*. Having adhered henceforward to *Henry* IV. he did him very signal Services, for which he was finely recompensed, not only with the Marshal's Staff, but also by his Marriage with the Heiress of the House of *La Mark*, Son of *Sedan*: She being deceased without Children, *Henry* IV. supported the Duke's Possession of the Estates of the House of *Mark*, to the Prejudice of the Count of *Aulevriar*, who was the next Heir. Then the Duke married a Daughter of *William* I. Prince of *Orange*, whereby he became allied to several of the greatest Princes of *Europe*.  
He

Lewis 3. He was one of the greatest Captains of his  
 1623. own times, though sometimes unlucky. As  
 Pope Urban VIII. much expert in the Court's Intrigues, as in  
 the Military Art. *Bouillon* had been for some  
 time dreaded by the late King, and much more  
 by the Queen Regent, she was fain at several  
 times to court him, in order to dissipate  
 the Parties, which he had himself formed.  
 He was steadfast in the Reformed Religion;  
 which he had embraced in his Youth. Though  
 on some Occasions he wanted Zeal and Up-  
 rightness; for, as we have observed in  
 its proper Places, he sacrificed the Welfare  
 of the Reformed Churches to the Views of  
 his too great Ambition. He left after him  
 two Sons and several Daughters. He had the  
 Grief to hear before his death, that *Frede-  
 rick* King of *Bobemia*, his Nephew, had been  
 deprived of the Electoral Dignity, which was  
 bestowed upon *Maximilian* Duke of *Bavaria*.

But the greatest Loss sustained this Year  
 by the Reformed Churches, was that of the  
 great Dr. *Dislaus* *Munster*, who departed this



**VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 881**

of private Persons, who have written Lewis 13.  
that time, are not impartial enough to 1623.  
as a just Ground for our Belief. Pope Ur-  
ban VIII.  
about the same time a Rumour, true or The King's  
I can't tell, was spread in the publick, new De-  
People were going from one Province clarations  
another, to sow Jealousies and Suspicions  
at the Court, even it was said, that they  
were charged with Letters from the Dukes  
*de Montmorant* and *Soubize*, tending to procure an  
election, and free themselves from the  
odious Yoke whereunder they groaned.  
However, that Rumour occasioned a Decla-  
ration of the King, issued out the 11th of  
November, wherein his Majesty was made to  
know that he would not believe that either of  
those two Noblemen were any-wise concern'd  
in those Intrigues, or that the Reformed in  
France had any Thoughts of forsaking their  
Obedience. However, to assure them the bet-  
ter of the Sincerity of his Intentions, he con-  
firmed the Edicts and his last Declarations;  
ordered that the Commissaries should con-  
tinue in the Provinces till they were fully exe-  
cuted; and forbid all Persons of what Rank  
or Quality soever, to write, suggest, per-  
suade, or give ear to any thing contrary to  
his good Intentions, or the publick Tranquil-  
lity; to go or send into the Provinces, or to  
Assemblies held to the same effect, and to  
say any thing that tended to renew the War,  
under pain of being punished as Disturbers of  
publick Peace. The razing of *Fort Louis*  
at *Rochelle*, the releasing *Montpelier* of its  
siege, the redressing of so many Grievances,  
which they complain'd of, the performing of the  
promises so solemnly made upon that Subject,  
could have gone much further towards the  
proving

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Lewi 13. proving the King's Sincerity, than all those  
 1623 Declarations, which were plainly contradicted  
 Pope Ur- by so many open Acts of Infidelity, Injustice,  
 ban VIII. and Violence.

1624. The Commissaries sent into the Provinces  
 The Com- for putting the Edict in execution, impaired  
 missaries the Condition of the Churches instead of mend-  
 unjust Pro- ing it. The Course which they took served  
 ceedings. only to evince that the Court made but a May-  
 game of them. I shall single out only one  
 or two Instances. The King had promised  
 the Reformed of *Tours* after the Sedition in  
 1621, to preserve their Privileges, and to  
 supply them with a Sum of six thousand Livres  
 for rebuilding their Church in the same Place  
 where it stood before it had been burnt and  
 pulled down by the Seditious. But contrary  
 to this Promise, the Commissaries forced them  
 to sell the Place, and to lay out the Money  
 in the Purchase of another very incommodi-  
 ous for them. The same thing almost hap-  
 pened at *Gergeau*. But at *Remorentin*, the in-  
 justice was still more ruinous to their Church

**BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 883**

now one of the Commissaries for *Poitou* and *Lewis* 13.  
*Xaintonge*, behaved himself ; he yielded almost <sup>1624.</sup>  
in every thing to *Amelot* his Partner, who <sup>Pope Ur-</sup>  
ruined the Churches, and deprived them of <sup>ban VIII.</sup>  
their ancient Rights and Privileges, under the  
appearance of Honesty. And what was more  
intolerable in *Cbalas* was, that out of Com-  
plaisance for his Colleague, he approved of  
the Petition of the Clergy of *Xaintonge*, the  
whole Strain whereof was full of Malice,  
making a single and private Fact, once com-  
mitted during the War, to be the ground of  
a general Complaint ; as if it had been an Af-  
fair wherein all Places were concerned, and  
the Misdemeanor of every day. So that the  
Reformed oftentimes were branded thro' the  
softness and neglect of their own Commissaries,  
who sought to please the strongest Party, for  
the Advancement of their Fortune. By these  
means the Catholicks reaped, even in the time  
of Peace, the same Advantages they could  
have expected from a successful War ; and  
while they eluded by a thousand Artifices,  
equally base as they were odious, the Pro-  
mises made before *Montpelier*, the Catholicks  
were every where put in possession of what-  
ever had been promised unto them by the  
Reformed. *Rochelle*, notwithstanding the Sub-  
sistence of *Fort Louis* which annoy'd them  
to the last degree, and which ought to have  
been razed, had any Sense of Probity, Faith,  
Honour and Religion been left in the King  
and his Council, *Rochelle*, I say, consented  
that the Catholicks should begin again their Ex-  
ercises ; and accordingly Ma's was said in that  
City in the beginning of 1624. But the Ca-  
tholicks willing to stretch out their Liberties  
further than it was allowed, and walk in Pro-

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**Lewis 13.** <sup>1624-</sup>  
**Pope Ur-**  
**ban VIII.**  cession through the Streets, they met two Files of Soldiers, who forced them to go back into the Place from whence they were set out. The Intention of the Citizens was good and wise, they designed to prevent the Mischief which such a Novelty would certainly have been attended with; but the verbal Process which they drew up in order to justify their Intentions, and which they sent to Court, served only to exasperate the Court against them, and to confirm the King in the Resolution he had taken to humble that City.

*Forerun-*  
*ners of a*  
*new War.*

It was impossible that so many Acts of Injustice and Perfidiousness should be committed without causing great Alterations in the Minds of Men; and every one saw plainly that Peace could not be of a very long duration. Nevertheless the Court was not as yet disposed for War, because the Government was not as yet well settled. The old Cardinals were jealous of *Richelieu*. *Puiseux*, and the Chancellor, his Father in-Law, began to totter in the Prince's Favour; and the

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vernment, and hastned the Resolutions our Lewis 13. Enemies had taken against us. *La Vieuville*, <sup>1624.</sup> *Pope Urban VIII.* who was beholden for his Advancement to Chancellor *De Sillery*, ruin'd his Benefactor, and brought *Puiseux* into Disgrace. These two Ministers, bribed by the Court of *Spain*, made the King's Power subservient to the Grandeur of the House of *Austria*. But *La Vieuville* followed Maxims quite opposite; by his Counsels the Court resumed its former Schemes, and took a liking to its ancient Alliances. That Minister was soon served as he had served *Sillery* and *Puiseux*. Gratitude is none of the Courtier's Virtues. *Richelieu*, who was in great part beholden to *La Vieuville* for his Admittance into the King's secret Council, incapable to bear any Superior or Equal in the Management of Affairs, found Pretences enough for sending his Benefactor to the *Basil*. Nevertheless he followed his Maxims; and all his Designs aimed at the Depression and Ruin of the House of *Austria*. And as he was unwilling to be deemed at first less zealous for his Religion than others, he thought that he was bound in honour to hasten the Destruction of the Reformed, already much weaken'd by the Success of the last War. And the wonder was, that *Spain* being informed of the Cardinal's Intentions, took it in its head, to the Misfortune of the Reformed, to raise that Party by its Intrigues. Foreseeing that the Change of the Ministry would be attended with great Alterations in the Affairs of *Europe*, whereby she might be a great loser, if she did not cut out some Work within the Kingdom for the *French*; he resolved not to let slip the Opportunity

Lewis 13 which the Discontents among the Reformed  
1624- gave her to renew the Civil War.

Pope Ur-  
ban VIII.

The Peace of *Montpelier* was so openly violated, that there was hardly one Article left unbroken, so that all the Churches had some reason or other to complain. But the Condition of the *Rochelese*, who, notwithstanding their repeated Intreaties, had not been able as yet to obtain the demolishing of *Fort-Louis*, and saw themselves blocked up by Troops quartered in several adjacent Places, from whence they could easily annoy them: That Condition, I say, filled other Reformed Cities with dread. They beheld with a deep Sorrow the approaching Fall of that potent City; and could not question, but the Design was laid to destroy them one after another. So that all those, who believed that the subduing of their Cities would prove the Ruin of their Religion, expected that through some great Providence, their Affairs might be retrieved, but not otherwise: And so nobody

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tofore in the Party; and likewise, because <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> they were afraid to offend the *English* and <sup>1624.</sup> the *Dutch*, who had just then concluded a <sup>Pope Ur-</sup> *League* with the King against *Spain*. <sup>ban VIII.</sup>

Nevertheless they yielded to the Intreaties <sup>1625.</sup> of the *Rochelese*. *Soubize* came to his Bro- <sup>Second Re-</sup> ther, who was then at *Castres*, and they a- <sup>ligious Ci-</sup> greed together that the first should fit out <sup>vil War</sup> some Ships at *Rockelle*, on pretence of a long <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> Voyage, and should endeavour to intercept the Fleet at *Blavet*; that if he succeeded in the Attempt, the Duke of *Roban* should engage the Provinces where he had Interest to rise in Arms; but if he missed, he should disown his Brother. Their own Estates, and the ready Money they had was the Fund which afforded them necessary Supplies for such an Enterprize. When every thing was ready, *Soubize* was betrayed by *Noailles*, one of his chief Officers, who unravelled the Secret. But *Soubize's* Diligence was such, that having sailed from the Isle of *Rbé*, by the beginning of 1625, with only three hundred Soldiers and one hundred Seamen, fully resolved to die or conquer; on a sudden he turned to *Blavet*, enter'd the Port, and seized upon all the Ships and Men of War that were in it, and even the Admiral. Then he landed, intending to attack the Fort; but he met there with a greater Resistance than he expected; for it was defended with twelve or fifteen Pieces of Ordnance, and the Garrison had been reinforced upon the Advices given by the Traitor *Noailles*; and the Duke of *Vendôme*, Governor of *Brittany*, having instantly marched to the Relief of the Place with a powerful Reinforcement, *Soubize* saw himself obliged to be upon the Defensive. For three Weeks toge-

**Lewis 13.** ther he was wind-bound in the Port of *Blavet*, exposed to the Fire of the whole Artillery of the Castle; and in order to deprive him of all hopes of Escape, *Vendôme* caused the Entrance of the Port, which was narrow enough, to be shut up with an Iron Chain and a Cable as big as a Man's Thigh. Every one thought *Soubize* absolutely undone. The Duke of *La Tremouille*, the Marshals of *La Force* and *Cbatillon*, the Deputies General of the Reformed Churches attending the Court, the Consistory of *Charenton*, the Cities of *Rochelle*, *Nimes*, *Uzez*, and several other Reformed Commonalties exclaimed against *Soubize's* Enterprize, and disowned him. The whole Party feigned to forsake him, and to deliver him up to the King's Resentment; who for his part declared him guilty of High Treason. But a fair Wind altered suddenly the Face of Affairs, and the People's Language. And he, who was secretly detested as a Pirate, was proclaim'd as a great Man, his Prudence, Courage and Undauntedness were exalted to the Skies. *Soubize* improving the Opportunity, cut the Chain and the Cable, and sailed from the Port of *Blavet*, carrying along with him the King's Ships and those of the Duke of *Nevers* which he found in the Port. Being return'd to the Island of *Rbé*, he took that of *Oleron*, remain'd Master of the Sea, and defeated in that manner the pretended Scheme of the Blockade of *Rochelle*.

*Some Reflexions on his second taking up of Arms.*

We shall give the Duke of *Soubize* his due. His Prudence, Diligence, Courage, and Intrepidity in the Execution of his Scheme, cannot be sufficiently commended. But it was a pity, that it was not employ'd upon a better

Occasion.



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Occasion. True it is, that the Reformed were injured a thousand ways ; their Grievances were not redrest ; their humble Petitions were scornfully rejected ; the Treaty of *Montpelier* was shamefully broken almost in all its Articles. But was the time proper for the two Dukes to attempt to right the Churches by Force of Arms ? No, indeed. The Court of *France*, at last awakened out of that fatal Slumber wherein she had laid for about fifteen Years together, and which had been procur'd by the Opium of *Madrid* and *Rome*, was really in earnest, to exert her Strength against the House of *Austria*. An Alliance had been of late concluded between *France*, *England*, *Savoy*, and the Republick of *Venice*, for supporting and restoring the *Palatine* House to its Hereditary Dominions and Titles ; for the Recovery of the *Valteline* ; for restoring the Liberty of *Italy* ; and re-establishing the Balance of Power in *Europe*. And a separate Treaty had been concluded of late with the States-General, whereby their High-Mightinesses were engaged to lend so many Ships well manned to the King whenever required, to fight against whomsoever should attack him without any exception. Great Preparations were making by Land for executing that Scheme : The Constable had already joined the Duke of *Savoy* with the Army under his Command, and he waited only for a Reinforcement for entering the *Milanese* ; when on a sudden the Duke of *Soubize*'s Attempt stops the King, alters his Scheme, and draws upon the whole Party the Reproaches and Odium of all the Powers Allies of *France*, not excepting the Protestants and the Reformed, who exclaimed as

Lewis 13.  
1625.  
Pope Urban VIII.

*Lewis* 13. loud as any other against such a Piece of high  
1625. Imprudence, and even saw themselves oblig-  
*Pope Ur-* ed to help the King for bringing to Reason  
*ban VIII.* his Reformed Subjects. Had they waited six  
Weeks or two Months longer, they would  
certainly have obtain'd most part of their just  
Demands; such as the Demolishment of *Fort-*  
*Louis* near *Rochelle*, of the Citadel at *Mont-*  
*pelier*, &c. &c. And it is what *Bassompierre*  
observes very judiciously, "The *Huguenots*,  
" says he, bore impatiently that a Fort built  
" by the Count of *Soissons* at about a Mile  
" from *Rochelle* subsisted, notwithstanding  
" that it had been expressly stipulated (by  
" the Treaty of *Montpelier*) that it should  
" be demolished. Nevertheless, they knew  
" that the King's Designs were advantage-  
" ous to their Religion," (and so they were,  
and such indeed as *Du Plessis* had always de-  
sired and advised) " and that the King would  
" order it to be demolished in a little time;  
" as he would have done, had they requir-  
" ed it of him, when he would have been

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most part of the Provinces dreaded Lewis 13.  
 renewing of the War. The Duke of <sup>1625.</sup>  
 found it very difficult to engage them <sup>Pope Ur-</sup>  
 a Plot, though he omitted nothing for <sup>ban VIII.</sup>  
 purpose, even things much unbecoming  
 only a Man of his Rank, but even a sin-  
 honest Man; for he affected to walk,  
 he entred any Place, having the Bible  
 d before him, and would speak to no-  
 , before he had been sometimes for two  
 rs together on his bended Knees before  
 Pulpit in the Church. And his Lady  
 Duchess of *Roban* carry'd it still fur-  
 , she was in Mourning, and she oftentimes  
 pleased to travel in the Night with Flam-  
 x, so that her Coach and Retinue being  
 t and covered with black, that mourn-  
 sight frightened the Peasants. They had  
 prospect of Assistance from abroad; con-  
 wise, the *English* and the *Dutch* joined  
 the King. True it is, that the first were  
 e generous than the others, and we shall  
 ever admire and praise Captain *Pennington's*  
 istancy, who could never be prevailed  
 neither by Threats nor Promises, to fight  
 inst People of his own Persuasion, whom  
 knew to be unjustly persecuted. True it  
 that he delivered the Ships under his Com-  
 nd to the *French* King; but it was after  
 repeated Orders of the King, who was  
 eived by *Buckingham*, a Man exceed-  
 gly more hurtful to his Country than the  
 gue, which raged this Year in *London*:  
 nd it is remarkable, that the far greatest  
 rt of the *English* Sailors follow'd the Ex-  
 ple of their Captain, refusing to fight a-  
 inst their Brethren in *Christ*, so that these  
 ips were manned with *French*, &c.

So

*Lewis 13.* So then these two Lords could expect nothing but from *Spain*. And what a Reproach! <sup>1625.</sup> to have sacrificed as much as it was in their power, the Welfare, not only of their own Brethren, not only of their own Country, but of all *Europe*, which groaned under the intolerable Yoke of the House of *Austria*; to have, I say, sacrificed these things to their own Ambition, by obstructing, as much as they could, the Intentions of their own King? Must we wonder, if *Richelieu* persuaded his Master to pursue to the last his Reformed Subjects, and not to desist till he had put it out of their power, ever more to cause any Disturbance, and obstruct his Designs against the natural Enemies of his Crown? Let then some others admire the Courage and Fortitude of the Dukes of *Roban* and *Soubize*, and extol their great Feats; for my part, considering them as the Authors of the Miseries to which our Churches were exposed under *Lewis XIII.* I can but compare them to *Hannibal*, to whom, in many respects, they both were like, especi-

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Advancement which the King would offer <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> them in his Land and Sea-Armies. It is said, <sup>1625.</sup> that his Majesty offered to the Duke of *Roban* a Regiment of twelve hundred Men kept <sup>Pope Urban VIII.</sup> on foot, besides his Company of Gens-d'Armes, and thirty Life-Guards; to the Duke of *Soubize*, a Squadron of ten Men of War, in the Fleet designed against *Genoa*, upon Condition, that he should restore five Ships of the Duke of *Nevers* taken at *Blavet*. As to *Rochelle*, the King promised to raze *Fort-Louis*, as soon as they had razed themselves the new Fortifications made in *Rbé* and *Oleron*, &c. It is certain, that the City of *Rochelle*, and the Duke of *Soubize* sent a Deputation to the King, to which the Duke of *Roban* was obliged to join his own Deputies. They presented their Bill containing twenty one Articles, which were favourably enough answer'd in the Month of *July*. But the Spirits of People were grown too difficult to be pleased; amongst others, the *Rochelese* required, as a Preliminary, that *Fort-Louis* should be razed. They were puff'd up with the Success *Soubize* had had against the King's Fleet, commanded by *Houttein*, Admiral of *Holland*, in the absence of the Duke of *Montmorancy*, Admiral of *France*; he had burnt the Rear-Admiral of *Zelande*, and sunk or taken four others, and kill'd above 1500 Men of the Enemies.

But the two Noble Brothers, dreading some <sup>Rout of</sup> cross Accident which might render their Con- <sup>Soubize.</sup> dition worse, and willing to improve the Circumstance of the Times, endeavoured to persuade them to accept what was offered. The Duke of *Roban*, who for obtaining in whole what was refused in part, had been oblig'd to summon an Assembly at *Anduze*, where-  
in

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Lewis 13. in War had been resolved by his Intrigues,  
 1625. summoned another at *Milband*, in order to  
 Pope Ur- have Peace accepted; wherein indeed he would  
 ban VIII. not have succeeded, had not *Soubize* been in-  
 tirely routed, through the Perfidiousness and  
 Treachery of the Rear-Admiral of *Rochelle*.  
 On the 11th of *September*, the Royal Fleet  
 made a Descent in the Isle of *Rbé*, seized it,  
 with that of *Oleron*, where they took five hun-  
 dred Prisoners, who surrendered at Discretion.  
 The *Rocbelese* lost nine Ships, the largest where-  
 of, namely the *Virgin*, had but five Men left  
 to defend her, she was surrounded by four  
 of the Royalists, and as Captain *Durant*, who  
 commanded her, saw no other way of escap-  
 ing, he set fire to the Powder, and by that  
 means she was blown up, and the four Roy-  
 alists with her; seven hundred and fifty Men  
 perished by that Accident, amongst whom  
 was the Count of *Vauvert*, Son to the Duke  
 of *Ventadour*. Besides these Losses upon Sea,  
 and in the Islands, the Reformed were not  
 more fortunate upon Land. The Duke of

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 895

King told them, that he granted them a general Peace, for all those who had risen in Arms; but he added, *as to Rochelle it is another thing.* Lewis 13.  
1625.  
Pope Urban VIII.

That Exception of *Rochelle*, put a stop to the Conclusion of the Treaty, because the Deputies were not empowered to treat without that City: which Union was very ill resented at Court. The *Rochelese* were no less stunned by the Rout of *Soubize*, than the rest of the Reformed; and falling on a sudden from a presumptuous Steadiness into the lowest Degree of Humility, they craved, in the most submissive manner, that Peace which they had refused a few Months before with so much Haughtiness. Their Deputies prostrated themselves at his Majesty's Feet, crying for Mercy. But the inflexible Monarch answer'd them as a Master who will punish before he will forgive, and referred them to his Chancellor to be further informed of his Pleasure. The Terms which the Chancellor imposed upon them were so hard, that they could not be accepted; the Council and the Government of the City was to be put on the same footing as in 1610; they were to admit an Intendant of Justice; their Fortifications were to be razed; the King was to be admitted with all due respect, whenever he should think proper to come into the City; they were not to keep any Man of War of their own, or borrowed from others; and their Merchant Ships should take Permits of the Admiral of *France*; they were to restore Goods and Estates to the Ecclesiastics; and likewise to restore certain Carriages and Merchandizes belonging to the Inhabitants of *Orleans*, which had been seized by

Lewis 13. by the *Rocbelese*. Upon these Terms, they might have been comprised in the Treaty of Peace.

1625.  
Pope Ur-  
ban VIII.

All the Intreaties of the General Deputies were fruitless. The King would not relent; and it was only at the *Englisch* Ambassador's Instances, that they obtained some Alleviation, as I am going to say. *James* the First died, and was buried this Year. *Charles* the First, his Successor, concluded and consummated, to his own and his Kingdoms' unspeakable Misfortune, the Marriage, whereof his Father had treated with *Henrietta* of *France*, youngest Sister of *Lewis*.

1626.  
Peace  
made by  
the Media-  
tion of the  
King of  
England.

The King of *Great Britain*, very eager after the Restoration of the Elector *Palatine*, his Brother-in-Law, which *James* had begun to pursue a few Months before his Death, at the Intreaties of his Parliament, bearing with great Uneasiness any Obstruction that could hinder *Lewis* from exerting his Power against the House of *Austria*, sent Orders to his Ambassadors in *France*, the Earl of *Holland* and Sir *Carleton*, to spare nothing in order to put an end to the Civil War: Consequently they work'd so effectually on the Court and on the Reformed side, that they obtained the desired Success. They gave the Reformed to understand, that the King their Master would be Guarantee of whatever was promised unto them. Especially they promised to the *Rocbelese*, that the King their Master would insist so effectually upon the razing of *Fort-Louis*, and to have mitigated the hard Terms imposed upon them, that he might answer for the Success.

Upon these Intreaties and Promises the *Rocbelese* yielded at last, and the other Cities, *Montauban*, *Castres*, *Nimes*, and *Uzez*, which persisted



### III. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 897

only on account of *Rocbelle*, yield- <sup>Lewis 13-</sup>  
ise. Peace was then concluded on <sup>1626.</sup>  
of *February*. The Alterations made <sup>Pope Ur-</sup>  
Terms imposed upon the *Rocbelese*, <sup>ban VIII.</sup>

very considerable; instead of an In-  
of Justice, spoken of in the second  
it was said, that they should admit  
minissaries, Executors of the Treaty,  
ght remain in the City as long as they  
hink fit; the fourth Article, which  
f the King's Reception, was omitted,  
as the seventh, about the Concerns  
Merchants of *Orleans*. But in their  
ie Restoration of the Roman Reli-  
the full liberty of its Exercise, and  
ious Ceremonies was inserted; and the  
ion, that *Fort-Louis* should not be raz-  
hat it should be taken care of in such a  
that its Garrison, no more than those  
and *Oleron*, should not annoy their.

Instead of the demolishing their For-  
is, the Court was satisfied with the  
f the *Fort Tadon*; and it was said,  
y should follow the Laws of Trade,  
vileges saved, instead of obliging them  
Permits of the Admiral of *France*.

f of these Articles was drawn up, under  
was a Promise to allow the Réform-  
joy the Fruits of the Answers made  
ir Bill in *July* last at *Fontainbleau*, (for  
refer the Reader to the Collection of  
fc. at the End of this Book) provid-  
m their side they should restore things  
me State as then they were. But lest  
*belese* should take advantage of this  
, they were expressly excluded from  
it was declared, that the King granted  
other Favour, besides what was in-  
serted

Lewis 13.

1626.

Pope Ur-  
ban VIII.

serted in the preceding Deed concerning them. The Deputies of the Reformed had written their Names in this place: But under, there was a third Deed signed both in their own Name, and in the Name of the Deputies of the Dukes of *Roban* and *Soubize*, of the *Languedoc*, *Rochelle*, *Montauban*, *Castres*, *Nimes*, *Uzez*, and *Cevennes*; whereby they solemnly declared, that they had besought the King, with all the Respects and Submissions possible, to forgive them what was past, and to grant them Peace, promising a perfect Fidelity for the future, &c. Which the King had been graciously pleased to accept, and thereupon had given his Royal Word for a Peace; out of which however *Rochelle* had been excepted. That they had received that Favour, as a signal Instance of his Majesty's Clemency, and promised inviolably to stand by their Promises of Fidelity and Obedience, and to restore the Places taken since last *July*.

At the same time, in order to secure to themselves the Protection of the King of *England*, whom they imagined to be Guarantee of the said Treaty, they required a Deed from his Embassadors, which was delivered unto them the 11th of *February*, whereby they declar'd, that the razing of *Fort-Louis*, when Affairs should permit it, had been promised unto them, provided that the *Rochelese* should submit; and that had it not been for such a Promise, neither the *Rochelese* would have accepted the Peace, nor the Reformed would have yielded what they had done at the Instances of the King of *England*. Upon these Considerations they were to expect the powerful Intercession of his *Britannick* Majesty their Master, that they might obtain a full Satisfaction.

That

## Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 899

That Deed was not well drawn; it did not mention the Guaranty of the King of *England*, but only a Promise powerfully to intercede with the King of *France* for a full Execution of the Articles granted to his Reformed Subjects, and that, because out of respect for him, they had yielded to the Terms offered unto them : That is all. Nevertheless, we shall see the next Year King *Charles*, saying in full Council, *That he was Guarantee of this Peace, and consequently obliged in Conscience to see all the Articles thereof duly performed.*

Lewis 13.  
1626.  
Pope Ur-  
ban VIII.

The Cities of *Rockelle* and *Montauban* having ratified the Treaty, the first on the second of *March*, and the other on the sixth, an Edict was published in the same Month, containing twelve Articles. The Introduction spoke of nothing but Clemency and Pardon on the King's part, and Submissions and Supplications reiterated by the Reformed, and particularly by those who remained in Obedience, which the King said was the better sort, and the far greatest part, to the Remonstrances of whom he had had a special regard when he had accepted the Submissions of the rest. The first Article confirmed the REGISTERED Edicts and secret Articles; and declared, that they had been well and duly observed in the Reign of the late King, and after his Death, till the beginning of the last Commotions. That was a downright *Falshood*, inserted only to serve a Turn, and to render the Reformed the more odious. The second restored the Roman Religion, in all the Places where the Exercise thereof had been interrupted during the Troubles, as likewise all Goods, Estates, Rights belong-

Edict of  
Peace.

Lewis 13. ing to the Ecclesiasticks, even all their Move-  
 1626. ables that could be found in being. The  
 Pope Ur- third granted the same Favour to the Re-  
 ban VIII. formed for the Exercise of their Religion,  
 and for the Church-Yards which they were  
 possessed of in 1620. The fourth contained an  
 Amnesty of all Acts of Hostility; even of  
 those that might have been committed from  
*October* 1622, till the publication of the pre-  
 sent. The fifth concerned the raising of Mo-  
 nies, and gave a discharge of it after the same  
 manner as it was done by the Articles of the  
 Edict of *Nantz* concerning the same Matter.  
 The sixth restored the Seats of Judicature, the  
 Receits, the Officers of the Exchequer to the  
 Places from whence they had been removed  
 by reason of the Troubles. The Privileges  
 of the Cities held by the Reformed were like-  
 wise confirmed. The usual Methods in the  
 electing of Consuls, were to be observed:  
 And the Appeals of Persons aggrieved were  
 to be judged by the Chambers of the Edict.  
 The seventh reversed all Sentences passed.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 901

Edict of *Nantz*. The eleventh forbid for the <sup>Lewis 13.</sup>  
future, all sorts of political Assemblies of <sup>1626.</sup>  
that Denomination soever, unless they had a <sup>Pope Ur-</sup>  
pecial Licence to hold them, and all manner <sup>ban VIII.</sup>  
of Associations and Correspondences. But the  
ecclesiastical Assemblies were allowed about  
their Affairs of Church-Discipline, and con-  
formable to the Declaration of *April* 1623,  
which enjoined the Synods to admit a Com-  
missioner deputed by the King. All new For-  
fications and raising of Money without a  
pecial Licence were forbid. The last ordered  
the Execution of the Articles relating to *Ro-*  
*chelle*, and the Restitution of the Cities and  
Castles taken by the Reformed during the War.

All *Europe*, but especially the Confederates, <sup>Conduct of</sup>  
viz. the *English, Venetians, Dutch, and Swit-* <sup>Richelieu.</sup>  
zers, expected that Peace being thus conclud-  
ed in *France*, Cardinal *de Richelieu* would  
turn his Arms against the House of *Austria*.  
But that was, for this time, very far from his  
ministry's Thoughts. He had been divert-  
ed from them by the Insurrection of *Soubize*,  
and had fully determined to bring down the  
reformed Party, and to deprive them of all  
their Strong-Holds, and especially of *Rochelle*,  
that they might be no longer in a Condition  
of obstructing him in the Execution of his  
schemes. Besides that, he was surely ac-  
quainted with Plots that were laid against him

Court, in order to remove him from the  
government. No wonder then, that for com-  
pleting his Ends, at these beginnings of his  
ministry, he declined to engage any further in  
foreign War. It was upon that very account,  
that the Constable of *Les Diguieres* had made  
late but an inglorious Campaign in *Italy*,  
where, quite contrary to the Expectation of the

*Lewis 13.* *Venetians* he had attacked the *Genoese*, instead  
 1626. of entering into the *Milanese*, and forcing the  
*Pope Ur-* *Spaniards* to execute the Treaty of *Madrid*,  
*ban VIII.* which had been transacted and concluded some  
 Years before by the good Management of *Bas-*  
*sompierre*, whereby the Restitution of the *Val-*  
*teline* to their Sovereign Lords the *Grisons*,  
 was expressly stipulated. And it was upon  
 the same account that he had made Peace  
 with the Reformed, till he could see himself  
 superior to his Enemies, at the head where-  
 of no less a Person than the Duke of *Anjou*, the  
 King's only Brother, was to be put, through  
 the Intrigues of the Queen-Mother, who be-  
 gan sadly to repent her too great Eagerness  
 for the Cardinal's Promotion.

*Peace con-*  
*cluded*  
*with*  
*Spain.*

Therefore while that cunning Prime Mi-  
 nister was flattering the *English* Ambassadors  
 with the Notion, that it was only in their  
 Master's Consideration, and for being the bet-  
 ter enabled to execute the Plan formed be-  
 tween the two Crowns and their Allies a-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 903

hat they having raised great Scruples in the Lewis 130  
Conscience of the Queen Mother, their Mis- 1626.  
iefs, about the Lawfulness of the War against Pope Ur-  
the *Catbolick* King, and in behalf of Here- ban VIII.  
cks, they persuaded her to send positive Or-  
ers to *Du Fargis* to conclude at any rate  
e Treaty, promising to take upon herself  
whatever Consequences such an extraordinary  
tep might be attended with. And so she  
ecame unknowingly the Tool which the Car-  
inal wanted for attaining his End ; for after  
uch Noise in the King's Council against  
*Du Fargis*, *Richelieu* managed his Majesty with  
ich a Dexterity, that the Treaty was accepted  
nd signed by the King, with some small A-  
endments. This Treaty, was call'd the Trea-  
y of *Monçon* in *Arragon*, though it was con-  
cluded at *Barcelona* ; but the Legate *Barbe-  
isi* being arrived in this last City, where  
e King was then, the Count Duke of *Oli-  
arez*, Prime Minister, and the others con-  
erned in that Affair, were much perplexed  
t this coming of the Legate, lest he should  
bstruct the Conclusion of the said Treaty :  
n order to avoid which, they thought that the  
etter way was to antedate it, as if it had been  
one at *Monçon*, while the Court was in that  
lace.

Now in order to have a right Notion of *A short*  
his famous Treaty of *Monçon*, concerning *View of*  
he Affairs of the *Valteline*, it is proper to *the Affairs*  
bserve, That that small Country, watered by *of the Val-*  
he River *Adda*, which renders its Soil ex- teline.  
remely fertile, stood very convenient for the  
*paniards*, as being a Pass through which they  
ight very commodiously bring their Troops  
om *Germany* into *Italy*, and from *Italy* into  
*Germany*. It is bordered on the *East* by the  
N n n 3 *Tirolese*,

*Lewis 13. Tirolese, on the West by the Milanese, where-  
 1626. of it was a Dependency before the Grisons  
 Pope Ur- seized upon it, at the Instigation of Pope Ju-  
 ban VIII. lius the Second, who attempted to expel the  
 Spaniards out of Italy. Maximilian Sforza,  
 Duke of Milan, yielded the said Country to  
 the Grisons, as an Acknowledgment for the  
 Assistance they had given him for restoring  
 him into his Dutchy of Milan; which Grant  
 was confirmed by King Francis the First,  
 when he conquered the Milanese, after the  
 famous Battle of Marignano in the Year 1515.  
 Since that time there had been always a strict  
 Alliance between the Crown of France and  
 the Grisons; their Republick was engaged not  
 to grant a Passage through the *Valteline* but  
 to the French Troops only, denying it to any  
 other Sovereign. Henry the Fourth renewed  
 that Alliance, which was to subsist not only  
 for his Life and his Son's, but even for eight  
 Years after the Decease of this last. Never-  
 theless, in the time of the Debates between*




BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 905

no Stone unturned, in order to obtain the <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> renewing of the same Privilege as before, which <sup>1626.</sup> occasioned great Heats and Animosities amongst <sup>Pope Ur-</sup> the *Grisons*; and whereas the Council of <sup>ban VIII.</sup> *France* was quite SPANIOLIZ'D, the Resident *of France* at *Turin* had Orders to repair to *Coire*, in order to oppose any Alliance which might prove prejudicial to that subsisting between *France* and the *Grisons*. But that Minister made such a Demonstration of too great a Partiality for *Spain*, on pretence of supporting the *Roman Catholick Religion*, that he drew upon himself the ill-will of the *Grisons*; and the *Venetians* on the other hand prevail'd so far, as to make use of severity against those who thwarted their Design, some of whom were banished, and others were corporally punished as Seditious. The *Grisons* Catholicks being exasperated at that, they resolved to be revenged; they addressed themselves to the Governor of *Milan*, and desired the Protection of the King of *Spain* for the *Valteline*. Thereupon the Duke of *Feria*, Governour of *Milan*, would not let slip so fair an Opportunity of making himself Master of the *Valteline*; he formed an Intrigue with some of the *Grisons* exiled, and some Male-contents of the *Valteline*, on pretence of delivering them from their Oppression, and of hindering the Protestant Ministers which the *Grisons* had settled in that Country, from extirpating the Catholick Religion. On the 19th of *July* 1620, one PIANTA, with the Chevalier ROBUSTEL, having gathered together some Troops in the *Tirolese* and the *Milanese*, entered the *Valteline*, and being supported by the Malecontents of the Catholick Religion, they made a general Massacre of the Reformed,

*Lewis* 13. and others who sided with the *Grisons*. And  
 1626. whereas the *Grisons*, notwithstanding all the  
*Pope Urban VIII.* Precautions of the Rebels, found means to  
 send some Troops of their own, and of the  
*Seven United Provinces*, for to quell the Re-  
 bellion; *Feria* took from thence occasion to  
 declare openly, and to send speedily *Spanish*  
 Troops commanded by experienced Officers,  
 on pretence to maintain the Catholick Re-  
 ligion, in a Country wherein the *Protestants*  
 did their utmost to oppress it, and made him-  
 self Master of all the Strong-Holds, and of  
 the whole Country. The *Grisons* in that Dis-  
 tress addressed the King of *France*, who be-  
 ing at that time incumbered with a Civil War,  
 could not effectually assist them, but he sent  
*Bassompierre* to the Court of *Madrid*, where  
 by his great Dexterity he concluded the Trea-  
 ty already mentioned, whereby the King of  
*Spain* solemnly promised to restore the *Val-  
 teline* to its true Lords, the *Grisons*. That  
 Treaty however was of none Effect. It would  
 be too tedious here to relate all the mean  
 and base Tricks made use of by the *Spaniards*  
 to keep the *Valteline* for themselves, till  
 the Year 1623, when by a new Device of their  
 own, they proposed to put the said Forts  
 in trust into the hands of the Pope; where-  
 to the Council of *France*, then devoted to  
 the Court of *Madrid*, consented with this Pro-  
 viso, that it should be only for three Months.  
 Instead of three Months, eighteen were al-  
 ready gone, without any Conclusion of that  
 Affair; when the Ministry being alter'd in  
*France*, and the *Spanish* Faction quite down,  
 the Marquis *De Cœuvres* was sent Ambassa-  
 dor to the *Switz* Cantons, and to the *Gri-  
 sons*, for to exhort them to exert themselves  
 for

## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 907

for the Recovery of the *Valteline*; and having prevailed with them, he invaded the Country in November 1624, and in less than <sup>1626.</sup> *Pope Urban VIII.*  nine Months, he conquered the whole Country, the Forts of *Riva* and another excepted. The Insurrection of *Soubize* obstructed the further Progress of the King's Arms.

The *Pope* made very heavy Complaints against that Expedition of *Cœuvres*, he pretended that he had violated the Respect due to his Standards, whereby he had incurred all the Thunders of the *Vatican*; he pretended further to make use of his old Topick, that he had a Right to deprive the Heretick Sovereigns of their Dominions; and consequently, that the *Grisons* being Hereticks, he might dispose of the *Valteline* at his pleasure, and such other like rusty Stuff of his own. The Court of *France* had very little regard to these Arguments. *Bassompierre* so strongly evinced in a full Diet the Falshood and Heinousness of these Topicks, that notwithstanding the *Pope's* Nuncio's Endeavours, the Catholick Cantons unanimously resolved to support the Interest of the *Grisons* against *Rome* and *Madrid*. They were soon followed by the Protestant Cantons, when they heard that the King had granted Peace to his Reformed Subjects. All *Europe* was in expectation of some favourable Revolution in behalf of the Princes and States that groaned under the tyrannical Yoke of the House of *Austria*; but they were all in a fume, when the shameful Treaty of *Monçon* was published, whereby all their Hopes vanished away.

The Articles concerning the *Grisons*, were *Treaty of Monçon.* as follows: That the Affairs of the *Grisons* and of the *Valteline*, should be restor'd in the

Lewis 13. the same State as they were in the Year 1617.

1626. So the Grisons were restored to the Possession  
 Pope Ur- of their Estates. That no other Religion be-  
 ban VIII.

besides the Catholick shall be publickly profes-  
 sed in the *Valteline*, *Chiavenna*, and County  
 of *Bormio*. That the *Valtelinians* shall chuse  
 their Governors and Magistrates, either a-  
 mong themselves, or amongst the *Grisons*, pro-  
 vided they be Catholicks. That these Elec-  
 tions shall be confirmed by the *Grisons*; but  
 they shall not refuse the Ratification there-  
 of. *What a prodigious cropping of their Rights  
 of Sovereignty!* That the Forts seized up-  
 on from the *Pope*, should be restored unto  
 him, in order to be instantly levelled to the  
 ground (c). How this Treaty was received in  
*Switzerland*, and the Debates that arose upon  
 it amongst the *Grisons*, that don't belong to  
 this History. What I have said upon that  
 Subject, was only to give a new Instance of  
 the Character of that Antichristian Religion,  
 which, on pretence of saving their Souls, deprives  
 the Sovereigns of their temporal Dominions.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 909

and was expressly enjoined to be careful to <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> see the Edicts observed, and chiefly that of <sup>1626.</sup> 1623, and to hinder the keeping of any Con- <sup>Pope Ur-</sup>venticles at *Castres* without his leave. His <sup>ban VIII.</sup> Instructions contained six principal Articles. The first renew'd the Promises of the King's Good-will, while faithful Obedience should be paid him. The second, exhorted the Reformed to live in Concord with the Catholicks, and to judge equitably of them, promising to see that the Catholicks should do the same. The third, exhorted them to renounce all Associations, Leagues, and Correspondences, either abroad or at home, but only with the King; and *Galland* was to declare, that his Majesty never had a mind to revoke the Edicts, which he evinced by these Arguments; because he had confirmed them when he entered upon his Majority; because he had renewed his Alliances with Foreign Protestant Princes and States; because he had augmented the Gratuities granted by his Father to the Ministers; because he made use of the Reformed Lords in sundry great Affairs; and lastly, because in their repeated Insurrections, he had been always ready to show them Mercy, as soon as they were ready to submit. The fourth, was of a very singular nature. Its aim was to oblige the Ministers to turn Informers one against another, and to brand themselves with Infamy; For the Commissary was to exhort them to inform against those Ministers who had held Intelligence with the *Spaniards*, notwithstanding the Amnesty published for what was past during the late War: Then he was to receive a Declaration of the Synod, agreeable to that delivered by the  
the

910 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. the Provincial Synod of *Realmont* (f) for the  
 1626. *Upper Guienne*, and to assure them, that the  
 Pope Ur- aim  
 ban VIII.

(f) For the better understanding of this, we must explain what the Synod of *Realmont* was, and what had been transacted there in regard to the foreign Correspondences. The Duke of *Reban* being solicited by the *Spaniards*, had made a Treaty with them, and had sent *Campredon* into *Spain*, for more positive Assurance of the Assistance that was offered, and the Treaty had been concluded by the said *Campredon*, with considerable Promises. Now, as the said Envoy was coming back from *Spain*, Peace was made both with the Reformed and *Spain*. He was arrested, carried into the Prisons of *Toulouse*, and the Treaty being found upon him, he was tried for his Life. The first President *Masuyer* had already received the last Edict, in order to have it registered by his Parliament; *Campredon* was intitled to the Benefit of the Amnesty granted for all past Transgressions; but *Campredon* was a Reformed, and *Masuyer* a virulent Papist, who knew neither Justice nor Modesty in Matters concerning Religion. In order to gratify his bloody Dispositions, he concealed the Edict, till *Campredon* was executed. That Action was certainly of the most heinous nature, seeing that it was blamed and condemned even by the Court of *Rome* itself.

• Mem.

pour l'Hist.

du C.

But the Catholics were much pleased with this fancy, and treated with Seign as the Duke of

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 911

aim of this Inquisition was not to punish the <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> Guilty, but lest the Innocent should be in- <sup>1626.</sup> volved in the Crimes of others. The first <sup>Pope Ur-</sup> ordered the Commissary not to suffer the Sy- <sup>ban VIII.</sup> nod to meddle with any thing that was not of meer Discipline: And the last forbid the Ministers to go out of the Kingdom, to settle themselves elsewhere without the King's Licence; and the Synods to send any Minister to foreign Princes and States, either for ever, or for a time, without a royal Licence; pretending that the mixture of Manners and Customs of foreign Countries, might alter the Duties of Obedience in his Subjects.

This Instruction of *Galland* was ill resented by the Synod: And *Chauve*, who was Moderator, told him very roundly, that a Man, zealous for his Religion, ought not to have charged himself with such Instructions, which tended to over-reach and dishonour his Brethren. Then he answered Article by Article, with as much Firmness as Prudence. As to the first, his Answer was full of Submission and Promises of Obedience. To the second he

after those who might have been any way concerned in *Campteden's* Negotiation; and the better to disguise the Cheat, they cover'd it with the general Name of a Correspondence with Foreigners. The Synod itself was not aware of the Snare. They look'd upon it as a means of shewing forth their high Detestation of such like Crimes, and accordingly, they drew up an Act, whereby the desired Inquisition should be made, but not one Informer could be found. But the National Synod took the Matter quite otherwise than the Provincial had done, and justly supposed, that such a Justification imply'd always a Suspicion of a Propension to the Crime: Therefore they exclaimed against *Galland's* Proposal, they censured the Synod of *R.almont*; but for all that, the Chamber of the Edict, which had been transferred from *Castres* to *Beziers*, in order to obtain its Restoration, betray'd the Cause in this particular.

Lewis 13. he promised that Moderation and Equity  
 1626. which the King required. But whereas the  
 Pope Urban VIII. Catholicks were the Aggressors, and carry'd  
 ~~~~~ their hatred beyond all bounds, he enjoin'd  
 the Commissary to beseech the King to pity
 the Fate of his poor Reformed Subjects, abused
 in their Persons; disturbed in the Exercise of
 their Religion; deprived of their Churches;
 dispossessed of their Church-yards, and several
 Corpses of their nearest Relations having
 been digg'd up out of their Graves. As to the
 third Article, he affirmed that no body knew
 of any Correspondences held with Foreigners
 to the prejudice of the Kingdom's Welfare;
 and omitted not to slide into his Speech some
 Jerks against the Doctrine and Attempts of
 the Jesuits. As to the fourth, which men-
 tion'd the Act passed in the Provincial Sy-
 nod of *Realmon*, and the Transactions there-
 in, *Chauve* complained loudly of the Capti-
 ousness of the Commissary in that Synod,
 just as if he had a mind to insinuate, that
 some Ministers were charged with having held
 Correspondence with the *Spaniards*; but he
 praised God, for that after the strictest In-
 quiry, none had been found guilty, no not
 even impeached. As to the fifth, which for-

two for General Deputies attending the Court. ^{Lewis 13.}
Maniald, Deputy for the Commons was dead, ^{1626.}
 and *Hardy* had been subrogated in his stead ^{Pope Ur-}
 by his Majesty's Authority, without consult- ^{ban VIII.}
 ing the Party concerned therein. This un-
 precedented Step visibly aim'd at the sup-
 pression of the Privileges granted to the Re-
 formed by the Edict of *Nantz*, whereby the
 Court let them see, that if they did not com-
 ply with their Will, the King knew how to
 bring them to Compliance. The Synod was
 very sensible of that, nevertheless they en-
 deavour'd to ward off the blow; they sent a
 Deputation to Court, with a Remonstrance
 containing eight Articles; 1°. That his Ma-
 jesty would be pleased to cause the Modifi-
 cations put by the Parliaments to the late
 Edict, to be totally reversed; 2°. That his
 Majesty would be pleased to do them Justice
 upon manifold Vexations, which they com-
 plain'd of; 3°. That their Churches pulled
 down even since the Peace, should be restored,
 and Commissaries sent into the Provinces to
 see the said Edict executed; 4°. That the Rev.
Mr. Peter Du Moulin, should be allow'd to
 return into his Church, (*Charenton*;) 5°. That
 a Political Assembly should be granted; 6°. That
 the Aid granted for the Ministers should
 be continued: The two last were in behalf
 of *Du Candal* Esq; their Receiver-General,
 they required that the Deficiencies should be
 made good unto him.

The Deputies were very kindly received
 at Court; but after a Month's stay, they
 brought nothing but fair Words and Promises,
 only the first and the two last Articles were
 favourably answered, besides that, the King
 granted them ten thousand Livres for defray-
 ing

Lewis 13. ing the Charges of the Synod, and twelve hun-
1626. dred Livres to the Deputies for the Charge
Pope Ur- of their Journey. As to a Political Assembly,
ban VIII. he absolutely denied it; but he granted them
 a more ample Warrant than the first for nam-
 ing the General Deputies, out of which how-
 ever he challenged all Persons depending on
 any of the great Lords. All the Reluctance
 of the Synod, and their Protest proved in-
 effectual; they were at last forced to yield;
 or else the Reformed would have been de-
 prived from this very time, of their Right
 of naming their General Deputies. So that
 they named six Persons, three for the No-
 bility, and three for the Commons, out of
 which the King chose the Marquis of Cler-
 mont for the first, and *Bafin*, an Attorney,
 for the Commons.

Then the Synod resolved to petition the
 King for the full Liberty of the Ecclesiasti-
 cal Assemblies, which were kept under great
 Restraint by the Presence of his Commissary,
 though he was then professing the same Re-
 ligion with them, but he was a Man depend-
 ing upon the Court. They exercised the Disci-
 pline against several Delinquents and scanda-
 lous Ministers, and especially against one *Ps.*

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in France.* 915

The Constable *De Les Diguieres* died this Lewis 13.
 year, by the middle of *September* in the 84th 1626.
 year of his Age, being born at *St. Bonnet* Pope Ur-
Champ-Saur, in the Province of *Dauphiné*, ban VIII.
 first Day of *April* 1543. His Father was The Con-
De Bonne, of *Les Diguieres*, and his Mo- stable's
 ther *Frances* of *Castellane*; he was christened Death.
 the Name of *Francis*. The day of his
 death, the Borough of *St. Bonnet* was acci-
 dentally burnt to Ashes, and the same thing
 happened on the day of his Death. If his
 biographer is to be credited, *Les Diguieres*
 descended of one of the most ancient
 noble Families in *Dauphiné*, but others don't
 agree with him; howbeit, it is certain, that
 his Virtue and Military Atchievements he
 attained from the lowest Degree to the highest
 dignity of the Sword. The Dignity of Con-
 stable was extinct in *France* with him: And
 an Edict of *January* following, both that
 the great Admirals, were suppressed.
 We have already observed, that the last 1627.
 Edict of *Fontainebleau* had never been done with Prepara-
 design to keep it, but rather with an In- tions for the
 tention to wheedle the Reformed, whose Ruin, third War.
 was fast for their Privileges and temporal Wel-
 fare, was already decreed. It was one of the
 principal Reasons for which the Cardinal su-
 perintended the Execution of his Scheme to
 subvert the House of *Austria*. Nevertheless,
 the Reformed would have borne patiently the
 yoke, and, may be, never thought of shaking
 it off, had it not been for the Duke of
Guise, who tamely suffered himself to be-
 come the Tool of the Duke of *Buckingham*.
 It is so true, that properly speaking, we
 may call this third War, the Duke of *Buck-*
ingham's War. And indeed, that Favourite's
 VOL. IV. O o o Lasciviousness,

Lewis 13. Lasciviousness, Desire of Revenge, Greediness

1627. after Power, was the only Occasion of the
 Pope Ur-
 ban VIII. beginning of this War, and the Duke of Ro-

ban's boundless Ambition, if we will spare the Word of QUIXOTISM, accelerated the Ruin of what was left remaining to the Reformed, of the Privileges, Rights and Liberties granted them by the Edict of *Nantz* &c. Let us explain this more fully.

Buckingham had been sent into *France* to bring over *Henrietta*, his Master's Consort—He fell in love at the Court of *France* with *Anne of Austria*, *Lewis XIII's* Wife; nay, he was so impudent as to declare his Passion to that Princess. *Richelieu* was informed of it, and *Richelieu* was himself prepossess'd with the same Passion for the Queen; alarmed at *Buckingham's* Declaration, his Jealousy was kindled, and he had such an Influence upon the King his Master, that afterwards his Rival could never be admitted to speak to the Queen in private. Enraged at this, *Buckingham*, at his return, missed no Opportunities to create into his Master a Dislike, not only of the *French* Nation, but even of his Consort, in order that a breach ensuing between the two Courts, he might procure to him-

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 917

the Assistance of *Buckingham*, who did not ^{Lewis 13.} scruple to betray the honour of his Master ^{1627.} for gratifying his own Lust. The two Courts ^{Pope Urban VIII.} began to be at variance on account of some Ships seized on both sides. *Buckingham* was named Ambassador. But his Mortification can't be expressed, when being at *Canterbury* ready to cross the Channel, *Richelieu* let him know by *Bassompierre*, who was himself at *Dover*, waiting for a fair Wind, that his Presence would not be acceptable at the Court of *France*. At this the vain Man flew into a Passion, and keeping no bounds, he swore, *That since the Court of France would not see him in a Capacity of an Ambassador, she would be forced to see him in a Capacity of a General.* That Braggado suited very ill a Man like *Buckingham*, who had no Capacity at all for one of his Station, unless it was about Dressing and Manners of *Petit Maitre*, but who in respect to Politicks and the Military Art, was a meer Blunderbus. He was as good as his Word, that is to say, he engaged his Master to declare War against *France*, on pretence that the Edict of *Fontainbleau* granted to the Reformed, not only was not performed, but was even violated in the most essential Parts. So it happens, that the Evils which befall Kingdoms, proceed from the Selfishness of Favourites, who trample upon Justice, subvert all good Order, alter all good Maxims, play with their Princes and States in order to keep their ground, to raise their Fortune higher, or to revenge themselves. He was declared Admiral of that formidable Fleet which made a Descent in the Isle of *Rhé*, and was forced to reembark with more haste than they had landed, after having lost

Lewis 13 good part of the Land Forces, through the
 1627. Neglect and Ignorance of their Admiral and
 Pope Ur- General, who understood better how to curl
 ban VIII. his Hair, and to perfume himself, than how
 to command a Fleet.

But *Rapin* ascribes this Rupture with *France* to another Cause besides the above-mentioned; and he tells us, that *Buckingham* and his Accomplices, being sensible, that an Agreement between the King their Master and his Subjects would prove their Ruin, seeing little likelihood of recovering the *Palatinate* by Force of Arms, and fearing the King would at length be tired of a fruitless War with *Spain*, induced him to carry his Arms into *France*, in order still to keep him under a Necessity of raising Money by extraordinary Methods, and thereby perpetuating his Misunderstanding with his Subjects, on which the continuance of their Credit intirely depended (g). That is one of *Rapin's* Conjectures, which indeed seems not ill ground.d, considering *Buckingham's* Character.

However, King *Charles*, deceived by his Favourite, resolved upon a War with *France*, and declared the Grounds of it to his Council, not forgetting his imaginary Guarantee of

one without the other, but conjointly. That ^{Lewis 13.} he would maintain his Land and Naval Forces ^{1627.} at his own Expences until the end of the ^{Pope Ur-} War; he declared, that if they would not ^{ban VIII.} listen to his Offers, his Majesty would look upon himself as freed from his Word before God and Men. Lastly, he required that the Duke should send as soon as possible a Gentleman, to let the King know the Resolution of the Provinces as well as his own. That is *Roban's* Relation of the Message sent to him by the King of *Great-Britain*, when he little expected it, as he takes care to insinuate it before, and it is upon the said Message that he grounds his Apology (*b*).

But let it be said, with respect to the Memory of that great Captain, I much question the Sincerity of the said Relation, though supported by the concurring Testimony of the Authors of the Duke of *Sully's* Memoirs. And first of all, I am much surprized at his speaking of this as of an unexpected Event, *Being in that Resolution*, says he, (that is, as he expresses it just before, judging that we had no Remedy within ourselves for the Disease, I was praying to God for the Deliverance of *Rochelle*) lo! comes to me a Gentleman from the King of Great Britain, who remonstrated unto me, that being Guarantee of our Peace, he pitied our Sufferings and would seek for proper Remedy, &c. That is Word for Word what *Roban* says. Now his Brother *De Soubize* had been in *England* for several Months, and was still eagerly soliciting *Buckingham* to grant the *Rochellese*, and

O o o 3

the

(*b*) Discours IX. du Duc de Rohan, ou Apol. du Duc de Rohan sur les derniers Troubles. Mem. de Sully, Tom. IV. p. 303.

Lewis 13. the whole Reformed Party a powerful Assistance. And can we suppose, that the Duke of Roban was ignorant of his Brother's Dealings and Transactions? Can we suppose, that he knew not before this time what Success he had had in his Negotiation? Indeed such a Supposition would be a very extravagant one. But if he was acquainted with every thing, then why doth he feign to be surprized at the coming of the King's Messenger? To what purpose is this Expostulation of his *Now*, says he, *I ask my Censors what bad to do thereupon; if I had refused these Offers (of King Charles) and that after the loss of Rochelle, the King of Great Britain had it published, that it had been my Fault if it had not been delivered, in what Repute should I have been? Should I not have been execrable unto all those of my Profession?* It is very easy to answer, Why did he put himself under that sad Dilemma? Why did he so eagerly sue for such a Message to him even since the time, when hardly Peace was published? Had he waited till Rochelle was really blocked up, and then implored the help of the King of England, and put him in remembrance of his Engagements, he would have done better, though not for the best. But to concert Measures with a Foreign Power, so long before any danger should appear against his own King and Country, for introducing him into the Kingdom, in his own Country, without any previous Declaration of War, I beg leave to say plainly, that it is High-Treason in the first place, and far from being the Protector of the Reformed Churches, he has been their Destructor. But one will say, What did he get by that? Has he not been a Loser,

VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 921

great one too? 'Tis true, but he did ^{Lewis 13.}
pect it so, when he began the fatal Game ^{1627.}
he had play'd in his own Country for ^{Pope Ur-}
ay Years, to the great Scandal of every ^{ban VIII.}
Man, and the great Detriment of our
Churches: Besides that, it is well known,
very Man of his Lordship's Temper,
ventured their All in Expectation of some-
better, or at least in Expectation of get-
me and Repute in the World.

Secondly, Can we suppose that the Dukes
ban and *Soubize* were not thoroughly
nted with the Character of *Buckingham*
f the King his Master? The first had
ligion at all, and King *Charles* hated
Presbyterians. If they were not acquaint-
h that, they were very poor Politicians,
g in Men whom they knew not. But
he was in *England*, and certainly he knew
ingham perfectly well, since he had been
sing with him almost every day for
twelve Months. If they were acquaint-
h the Character of both the King and
vourite, they certainly knew the true
es of their entering upon this War;
it is so, with what Conscience could
engage their poor Brethren in *France*
ak through their Allegiance and rise
ns? It is but too true, that the two
Brothers bustled as much as they could,
ir Emissaries, in this, *viz.* King
s Resolution of assisting the Reformed;
is certain, that they carried things so far
that Pretence, that *Rohan* fomented, as
as he could, the Discontents of the Re-
, especially about the Consulsips at *Nimes*
lez, which he hindered from coming to
reement, and supported these Commonal-

*Lewis 13. ties in the Resolution of suffering every thing,
 1627. rather than to yield the least of their Pri-
 Pope Ur- vileges, and put the others in a Condition to
 ban VIII. support them (b).*

Now to return, conformably to the Articles stipulated with *Soubize*, and the Promises made by *Roban*, that as soon as the *English* should have made a Descent in *France*, he would rise in Arms, and oblige the Provinces of the *Lower Languedoc*, part of the *Upper*, the *Cevennes*, the *Rouergue*, &c. to declare for him, King *Charles* fitted out a Fleet of a hundred Sail, with ten thousand Land Forces, which put to Sea at the beginning of *July*, under the Command of the Duke of *Buckingham*, who was attended by a great Number of Lords, and other Persons of Distinction, amongst whom were the Duke of *Soubize* and the Marquis of *St. Blancard*. His *Britannick Majesty* had proposed to send three Fleets with ten thousand Men in each; the first was to make a Descent upon the Isle of *Rhé*; the second was to come into the River of *Bordeaux*, and land in *Guienne*; while the third should invade *Normandy*. Besides that, my Lord *Montagu* had been sent to the Dukes of *Lorraine* and *Savoy*, in order to engage those Princes to

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 923

this unexpected turn, *Soubize* and *Belcher* Secretary to the Admiral, took a Boat, and landed at one of the City Gates, where the *Duchess Dowager of Rohan* received them, and brought them into the City. Then *Soubize* desired that the City-Council should be assembled in the Town-house, wherein being admitted, with Secretary *Belcher*, this last delivered his Master's Credentials, and exhorted them to improve the present favourable Opportunity, for delivering themselves from the impending Danger they were in. But neither his Speech, nor the certainty they had of their approaching Ruin, could prevail over the *Rochellese*, and engage them to accept the Assistance offered unto them. They sent a Deputation to the Duke of *Buckingham*, for to return their most humble and hearty Thanks to his *Britannick Majesty*, for the great Concern he was pleased to express for their Preservation; but desired to be excused from accepting of his Offers, till they had consulted the general Body of the Reformed Churches, whereof they were but particular Members. Thereupon the Admiral resolved to make a Descent upon the Isle of *Rhé*, contrary to what he had agreed with *Soubize*, before he left the Fleet to come to *Rochelle*, viz. that they should begin by a Descent upon the Isle of *Oleron*, because it was kept only by twelve hundred Men, and there was no Fort in it that could resist above eight days, and also because that Island had abundance of Wine, and other like Provisions. 2°. Not to undertake any thing till *Soubize* should be come back. But the Scheme was altered when *Soubize* was gone, and either because the Admiral was afraid, lest *Thoiras*, who commanded

in

Lewis 13. in *Rhé*, and had already three thousand Foot
 1627. and two hundred Horse together, should in-
 crease his Forces, or that he would not par-
 take the Glory of this Action with *Soubise*,
 he put to sail before he was come back, made
 his Descent, overthrew whatever he met to
 oppose him, and would certainly have carried
 the Castle, had he pursued his Victory
 but he staid five days, and gave time to *Their*
 to put the Castle in a state of Defence.

That Success encouraged the *Rockellese*, they
 sent some trusty Persons to the Duke of *Ro-*
han, and to the Reformed Cities of *Guienne*
 and *Languedoc*, to give them notice of the
 present State of Affairs, and ask their Advice
 thereupon. The Duke improved this Op-
 portunity, he exhorted the *Rockellese* to re-
 ceive the Assistance, which God, as he pre-
 tended, sent them; and desired them to give
 him more positive Assurances of their Inten-
 tion to join with the *English*, that he might
 more easily persuade the Reformed Cities of
Guienne and *Languedoc*, to do the like.

On the other hand, the Court was in
 great Consternation, when the News of that
 Descent reach'd it. The King was dange-
 rously sick, and it was thought proper to con-
 ceal it from him till he should be out of dan-
 ger. When he began to recover, *Lewis* ap-
 plied himself to find means to expel the *Eng-*
lish out of *Rhé*: He sent proper Persons to
 the *Rockellese*, for to assure them of a speedy
 Redress of their Grievances, provided that
 they would not join with the *English*: The
 Duke of *Roban* was presented with a round
 Sum of Money in his Majesty's Name, but
 he refused it; and several Letters were written
 by the King's Command, to the Reformed
 Cities

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 925
Cities of *Guienne, Languedoc, &c.* in order Lewis 14
to engage them, to give publick Decla- 1627,
rations of their strict Adherence to his Ma- Pope Ur-
jesty's Service, and that they would not join ban VIII.
those who should accept the Offers made by the
King of *England*.

These Measures of the Court obstructed, for
a while the Intentions of the Duke of *Roban*.
The *Rocheleuse* flattered with the hopes of a
speedy and advantageous Agreement with the
Court, did not answer him so precisely as
he expected. He was perplex'd at it. A
General Assembly of the Reformed, was the
surest way of getting the unanimous Consent
of all the Commonalties, for accepting the
Offers of the King of *England*. But that way,
was unpracticable at that time, when there
was no previous Declaration of War: It was
not likely that any Commonalty would ex-
pose itself to the King's Indignation, by
sending their Deputies to an Assembly un-
duly and unlawfully summoned. Therefore,
the Duke thought more adviseable, to desire
the Cities of *Lower Languedoc* and *Cevennes*,
where he had a greater Interest, to send him
at *Nimes* some proper Persons, with whom
he might confer about Matters of great mo-
ment, without letting them know what it
was. He was in hopes, that these two Pro-
vinces would draw in the others in time. He
succeeded as he desired; one thing only trou-
bled him a little while, he questioned the Zeal
of the City of *Uzez* for his Service, because the
Powers of its Deputies were not full enough;
therefore he repaired to that City, with the
Deputies that were with him, and formed
there an Assembly, wherein after having
declared in a set Speech, the manifold Infrac-
tions

Lewis 13. tions of the Edicts, the manifold Grievances
 1627. where-under they groaned without any hopes
 Pope Ur- of Redress, if they did not repel the Violence
 ban VIII. by force of Arms. It was resolved to accept
 the Offers of the King of *England*: *Roban* was
 declared General of all the Forces of the Reform-
 ed of the Kingdom; he was charged to sum-
 mon a General Assembly, which was to subsist
 during the War; and to make all other requi-
 site Preparations for waging War with Success.

Accordingly, he made great Levies of Men,
 most part at his own Expence; he drew the
 Plan of several Enterprizes upon several strong
 Places, which were to be executed all at
 one and the same time; but which all mis-
 carried. Finally, he omitted nothing of what
 could be expected from a brave and expe-
 rienced General. On the other hand, *Augus-
 tus Galland*, whom we have seen the King's
 Commissary in the two last National Synods,
 spared no trouble for obstructing the Duke
 of *Roban* in *Guienne* and the *Upper Langue-
 doc*, where he was come, since the Descent of
 the *English*, with a Commission from his Ma-
 jesty. He engaged the Cities of *Montau-
 ban*, *Castres*, *Pamiez*, and several others, so-
 lemnly to declare, that they would remain

VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 927

he *Rocbellese* had not as yet declared them- ^{Lewis 13.}
 s, nay, they had even offered to fight ^{1627.}
Englisch, and to help the King to expel ^{Pope Ur-}
 out of *Rbé*. But either, that the Car- ^{ban VIII.}
 was stiffly bent to the Destruction of
 City, or that he had received Intelli-
 : of their above-mentioned Deputation
 ie Duke of *Roban*, and to the Reformed
 s of *Guienne* and *Languedoc*; or that they
 suspected to wait only till they had ga-
 d their Harvest and Vintage, and then
 would side with the *Englisch*; howbeit,
 Duke of *Angoulême*, who commanded the
 's Army in *Poitou*, blocked up the City as
 as he could: Thereupon the *Rocbellese*
 red themselves openly for the *Englisch*,
 published a Manifesto, wherein they set
 the Reasons that had obliged them to
 that Step. The Duke of *Roban*, being
 ned of this, published likewise a Mani-
 containing the Infractions of the two
 edicts; the Reasons he had to be moved
 se Infractions, and to make his Address
 e King of *Great Britain*, whom he stiles
 untee of the last Treaty; he affirms, that
 efires nothing else but the Observation
 e Edicts; and offers to banish himself
 f the Kingdom, whenever the said E-
 shall be executed, to avoid the creat-
 f any Jealousy and Suspicion (j).
 the other hand, the King issued out
 Decree, wherein he promised a strict
 vation of the Edicts, and his royal Pro-
 n to those who should persevere in their
 lty, a free Pardon to those who had
 ed from it, if in a certain limited time,
 they

Lewis 13. they did return to their Allegiance; and threaten'd to punish with the utmost rigour the obstinate Rebels and their Adherents. The Duke of *Soubize* was proclaimed Traitor, by a Decree of the Parliament of *Paris*. But that of *Thoulouse* went much further, the beginning of the next Year against the Duke of *Rebais*, for though he had no Jurisdiction or Authority over the Peers of the Realm, they doom'd him to be drawn and quartered at four Horse-Tails; they declared him ignoble, promised fifty thousand Crowns Reward to whomsoever should murder him, and to make him Noble. Whereby three or four Wretches being encouraged to attempt upon the Duke's Life, were apprehended, and suffered death.

**Rochelle
besieged.**

The King being hardly recovered from his late fit of Sickneſs, ſet out for his Army near *Rochelle*, where he arrived about the 12th of *October*. I don't intend to enter into the particulars of that famous Siege, too well known to be here repeated, nor to ſpeak of the three inglorious Expeditions of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and his Succeſſor, the Earl of *Denbigh*. Had they concerted Measures with Cardinal *De Richelieu*, for promoting and haſtening the Ruin of that poor City, they could

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 929

Capitulation were signed. On the 29th the Lewis 13.
Deputies of *Rochelle* paid their Submissions 1628.
to the King. On the 30th, his Troops took Pope Ur-
possession of the City; and on the 1st of No- ban VIII.
vember, the King made his publick Entry,
and stayed in that City till the 19th of the
same Month. Such was the dreadful Cata-
strophe of that opulent and powerful City,
after near thirteen Months Siege, and about
fifteen Months Blockade. Above twelve thou-
sand People perished in it through Famine,
which was such, that the Duchess of *Roban*,
and the Dowager her Mother-in-Law, who
were in the City, were forced, it is said, to
feed upon the Leather of their Coaches. Had
the *English* Admiral been so kind as to lend
them some Provisions, for subsisting only eight
days longer, the King would have been oblig-
ed to raise the Siege, on account of the Se-
verity of the Weather, of the Distempers
which began to rage in the Army, and of
the Storms which ruined the Dike, which the
Cardinal had made for shutting up the En-
trance of the Harbour, and of the important
Affairs which required his Presence elsewhere.
But such was the Will of Almighty God,
the Sins of our Ancestors called for his Ven-
geance. One must look with Astonishment
upon this dreadful Calamity. About fifty-
five Years before, *Rochelle* had withstood a
long Siege against a royal Army, not inferiour
to this in any respect. God had sent them
Deliverers from the *North*; *Charles IX.* was
obliged to raise the Siege, and to leave them
in the full Enjoyment of their Liberties and
Privileges. Now that that City was in a far
better Condition, as to her Fortifications and
Riches, she became a Prey to the Victorious,
she

Lewis 13.
1628.
Pope Ur-
ban VIII.

she loses all her Privileges, Rights, Immunities, Titles, &c. nothing of their former Grandeur was left unto them, but the sad Remembrance of not having made a right use of it. What Inference shall we draw from it? Not that of the Duke of Roban: But we shall say with the Wise and Virtuous Du Plessis, who foreseeing what sad Consequence the Obstinacy of the Assembly in that City would draw upon them, he told them, *True it is, that the Rochellese made themselves very conspicuous for their Virtue and Fortitude in the Siege of 1574, and that their City has been extremely well fortified since that time. But it was a necessary Defence, and not a wilful War on their part, they fought not for Form's sake only, but for the most essential Points. And those who are still living, may remember the great Distresses whereto she was reduced: And we have not every day Polanders to deliver us (k).*

Articles of
the Capi-
tulation.

The two Duchesses of Roban, having refused to be admitted in the Capitulation, were kept close Prisoners till the War was near an end. As to the Inhabitants, they were treated favourably enough; but, as I have said, the City lost all its Privileges. There was a Declaration published in November, containing twenty-four Articles. The six first concerned the Restoration of the Catholick Religion in its full Pride and Arrogance. [The Reformed had stipulated, that they should enjoy the free Exercise of their Religion in the City; and they expected that they should not be deprived of the Place where they usually resorted for publick Worship: But that Place having

(k) Lettres & Mem. de Du Plessis, Tom. V. ad ann. 1621.

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 931

having been given to the Catholicks, another ^{Lewis 13.} was appointed for them without the Walls, ^{1628.} where they might build a Church if they had ^{Pope Ur-} a mind. They complained of that Infraction, ^{ban VIII.} but they were told, that the King having ordered the Walls to be pulled down and the Fortifications levelled, by that means their Church, which otherwise would have been without, should then be within the City.] By the seventh, a Cross was to be erected in the Place of the Castle, upon the Pedestal whereof the History of the Reduction of the City should be engraved, and the Anniversary celebrated by a general Procession every first Day of *November*. By the eighth, a Monastery was to be founded at the Point of *Coreilles*, which should preserve the History of the *Dike*, upon two Plates affixed at the Church Gate. The four next contained the Amnesty of whatever was past, and a Confirmation of the Edicts, for the free Exercise of the Reformed Religion. The nine next deprived the City of all its Franchises and Privileges, and put it upon a Form of Government quite new. The twenty-second Article forbids the Foreigners, though naturaliz'd, to live in the City, without a special Licence under the Great Seal. By the twenty-third, the Reformed, who were not Inhabitants before the Descent of the *English*, were forbid the same. These two Articles occasioned afterwards manifold Vexations. By the last Article, the Inhabitants could not keep Arms, Powder, Ammunition, nor trade abroad without a Licence.

I must not omit here to say something of the Mayor *GUITTON*, who was considered like a Hero, by all those who respect Virtue

Lewis 13. wherever it is found, and even the Ca ho-
 1628. lick Authors speak of him with Encomium.
 Pope Ur- The most considerable Officers of the Royal
 ban VIII. Army, were curious to see him after the Re-
 duction of the City. Some have said, that
 the Continuation of the Mayoralty had been
 promised him ; but that when he went to pay
 his Respects to the Cardinal, he was told, that
 he was no longer a Mayor, and that his Emi-
 nency would not admit him but as a private
 Man. Whereat being provok'd, as it is said,
 he answered, that if he had expected to be
 dealt with after such a manner, he would
 have found means to hold out some da-
 ys longer (1).

*Affairs of
 the Duke
 of Rohan.*

The Duke of *Rohan* met with greater Diff-
 culties in *Languedoc*, than he had expected,
 through the Intrigues of *Galland* and of the
 Duke of *Montmorancy*, Governor of the Pro-
 vince. He could never prevail with the Marquis
 of *Malauze* to follow his Example ; on the
 contrary, he opposed all his Designs. Neverthe-
 less, the said Marquis feigned to have a mind
 to be reconciled with *Rohan*, and promised
 to declare for him, as soon as the Cities of
Castres and *Montauban* should do the same, and
 when a General Assembly of the Reformed
 should be on foot : But when what he waited
 for came to pass, he declined to perform his
 Promise. Notwithstanding these Oppositions,
Rohan got together a small Army of four
 thousand Foot and two hundred Horse, with
 which he made several Exploits in *Rouërgue*,
 where he took *Milbaud* and some other Places;

(1) Mem. du Duc. de Rohan, Liv. IV. Journal de
 Bassompierre, Vol. II. Le Vassor Hist. de Louis XIII.
 Liv. XXIV. XXV. Benoit Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes,
 Tom. II. Liv. IX.

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he got the better of the Duke of *Montmo-* Lewis 13.
rancy, who engaged him with inferior Forces; 1628.
 then he took *Pamiez* and some other Towns *Pope Ur-*
 in the County of *Foix*; from whence he was *ban VIII.*
 obliged to come back into the *Lower Lan-*
guedoc, in order to oppose the Prince of *Con-*
dé. He kept the Field with various Success,
 sometimes prosperous, at other times unfor-
 tunate; he had three Armies to withstand,
 and was never dismay'd by the manifold and
 great Difficulties he had to encounter almost
 every day. Had his great Courage and great
 Capacity been employ'd upon a more proper
 Subject, he would certainly have deserved the
 greatest Encomiums from Posterity. From
 the beginning, he had been disappointed by
 the *English* of the promised Assistance. The
 Admiral let him know by my Lord *Mon-*
taigne, that having altered his Scheme, he
 could not send any Troops into *Guienne*, so
 that he freed him from his Engagement, and
 he might shift for himself the best he could.
 Most part of the Reformed Lords were very
 far from approving his Insurrection, several
 of them opposed it with all their might. He
 was thwarted by several Commonalties. But
 notwithstanding all these Obstructions, he stood
 till his ground at the surrender of *Rochelle*.
 But when the News of its Reduction came
 into *Languedoc*, it cannot be expressed what
 damp it put upon every one's Spirits. Every
 one strove to be the first to make their Sub-
 mission to the King, and to have his Share
 of the free Pardon, and other Advantages,
 which his Majesty promised to all those who
 would return to their Allegiance. Neverthe-
 less the Duke found means to allay these Fears,
 and to supersede the Resolutions of several.

Lewis 13. The King's intended Expedition into *Italy*,
 1629. for settling the Duke of *Nevers* in the Suc-
 Pope Ur- cession of *Vincent* Duke of *Mantua*, gave him
 ban VIII. hopes of being able to retrieve the Affairs of
 The King's his Party, and by a new Treaty lately con-
 Expedition cluded with *Spain*, he expected to be in a
 into Italy. Condition to perform Wonders. What was
 not his Amazement when he saw himself dis-
 appointed in his Expectations? The King
 went into *Italy*, he saw, he conquered. He
 set out from *Rocbelle* on the 19th of *No-*
vember. He arrived in his Capital about the
 second or third of *December*. He made but
 a short stay in that City, for his Army be-
 ing in full march, he set out on the fourth
 of *January* 1629; he forced his Passage through
 the *Alps*, which was disputed by the Duke
 of *Savoy*, in the middle of *February*; he sup-
 ply'd *Cazal*; he settled the Duke of *Man-*
tua in the Possession of his Dominions; he
 concluded a Treaty with *Spain*, another with
 the Duke of *Savoy*, and another with the King
 of *England*, wherein the poor Reformed were
 forsaken, though his *Britannick* Majesty had
 solemnly promised not to treat without them.

His Return Then *Lewis* returned to *France* with his
 into the victorious Army in the beginning of *May* =
 Cevennes. And then it was, that the Consternation be-
 came general amongst the Reformed Party.
 Every one thought of making a private Treaty
 with the Court, for avoiding their utter Ruin.
 The Duke of *Roban* was worsted on two or
 three several Occasions. The royal Army
 besieged *Privas*: The Inhabitants quitted the
 City the 14th day of the Siege; they retired
 into the neighbouring Mountains, where most
 part were killed. The Garrison of the Fort
 capitulated, but far from keeping the Articles,
 they

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they were all put to the Sword, hang'd, ^{Lewis 13.} or sent to the Gallies. That cruel and bar- ^{1629.} barous Breach of Faith struck every one with ^{Pope Ur-} Terror. *Aletz* capitulated after eight days ^{ban VIII.} Siege; the King entred the City the next day, the 16th of *June*. The Articles of the Capitulation were strictly kept. Several other Cities, dreading the Fate of *Privas*, and encouraged by that of *Aletz*, were willing to accept of a private Treaty, which the King offered them. But the Duke having remonstrated to the Assembly, the necessity of remaining united together, in order to obtain better Terms by a General Pacification, than they could do by a private Agreement, most of them yielded to his Remonstrances: And whereas he saw plainly, that the greatest number of the Commonalties were perfectly tired with the dreadful Calamities, which this War was attended with, and that they could not subsist any longer without a Peace, which they would buy at any rate, he thought in earnest to come to a Treaty. For which End, he summoned an Assembly of all the Commonalties of the *Cevennes* at *Anduze*, in order to break another which was held without his leave, and he succeeded therein. Then he sent for *Candiac*, Counsellor in the Parted Chamber of *Languedoc*, who had already made several Journeys to Court in order to procure a Treaty; he ordered him to repair thither for the last time, and to tell the Cardinal from him, that he was a good *Frenchman*; that he desired the Welfare of the Kingdom, and the Peace of the Reformed Churches. But that many brave Men and himself, should lose their Lives, and their All, rather than not to obtain a general Peace conformable to the Edicts.

Lewis 13. That it was a dangerous thing to deprive
 1629. Men of Courage and Honour, and who are
Pope Ur- armed, of all Hopes. That he would never
ban VIII. listen to any private Treaty ; but that if four
 days only were granted unto him, with an
 Assurance that nothing should be attempted
 during that time, and the requisite Securities for
 removing the General Assembly from *Nimes*
 to *Anduze*, he was sure to bring a general
 Treaty to a happy Issue. His Petition was
 granted after some difficulty.

Conferen- The Assembly of *Nimes* being arrived at
ces at An- *Anduze*, the Conferences were opened. The
duze. only Article whereupon the Deputies insisted
 the most was, that of the Fortifications of
 their Towns, which they would by no means
 consent to have levelled. That put a stop
 to the Conferences. The Provincial Assembly
 of the *Cevennes* desired to have the Opinion
 of the Town-House of *Anduze*, who were
 more concerned than others in the matter.
 They referred themselves to the said Provincial

the War. After a thorough Examination of ^{Lewis 13.} the Matter, it was resolved to yield, and the ^{1629.} Deputies were sent back with full Powers to ^{Pope Ur-} conclude the Treaty. The Duke of *Roban* ^{ban VIII.} desired the Assembly to remember his private Concerns, when the publick ones should be adjusted: Which was accordingly done, and Peace was concluded at *Aletz* the 27th of *June*. The Articles whereof may be seen in the Collection of Edicts.

The Duke obtained three hundred thousand Livres for himself, out of which he was obliged to pay two hundred and forty thousand Livres of Debts contracted during this War. He retired to *Venice*, where his Duchess was gone before him, but he was not admitted to the King's Presence.

So ended the third and last Civil War, on *Some gene-* Account, or rather on Pretence of Religion. *ral Reflec-* The Affairs of *Bearn* occasioned the first. *tions upon* The Non-Performance of the Treaty of *Mont-* *these three* *Civil* *Wars.* *pelier* caused the second. And the Hopes of saving *Rochelle*, was the occasion of the last, says Monsieur *De Roban*. I am surprized at one of his Reflections. In our former Wars of Religion, says he, Zeal, Secrecy, and Fidelity, was to be found, (in the Reformed.) Our People trusted in the Chiefs of the Party. Upon one of their Letters, they began a War, they attempted to seize upon the best Cities in the Kingdom, &c. But now we have more Trouble to fight against the Infidelity of the Reformed, their Indifferency for Religion, and their Baseness, than against the Ill-Will of our Enemies (*m*).

Du Plessis had discovered the Reasons of that difference, when in the Years 1620 and

P p p 4

1621,


(*m*) Mem. du Duc de Rohan, Liv. IV.

Lewis 13. 1621, he foretold them, by the Rules of
 1629. his Prudence, and great Sagacity in Affairs,
 Pope Ur- that they ought not to expect to find in the
 ban VIII. People such a Zeal, such a Courage, if they
 entered unnecessarily upon a War, as they had
 showed forth in the Civil Wars under *Francis*
II. Charles IX. Henry III. and during the
 time of the *League*, because the Case was quite
 altered. In those days their Lives, their Wives
 and Children, their Religion, their Con-
 science, whatever is dear to a sober Man lay at
 stake. But now, the question was only a-
 bout some temporal Concerns, some little Tri-
 fles in comparison of those great Motives which
 had induced those of the last Century to
 repel Violence by Force; and which animated
 them with a Courage and Fortitude, a Zeal
 and Fidelity, a Trust in their chief Leaders,
 answerable to the Greatness of the Cause, which
 they undertook to defend. The like could
 not be expected now, they did not groan under
 any Persecution. They enjoyed the free Ex-
 ercise of their Religion, under the Benefit of
 the Edicts. Their Lives, Goods, &c. were
 secured unto them, if they would but live
 quietly with their Neighbours; how could it
 be expected, that they should expose their

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itany Disparagement of the true Merit of the ^{Lewis 13.} Duke of *Roban*, not to ascribe unto him what ^{1629.} is not his due. I am as great an Admirer of ^{Pope Ur-} his Political and Military Virtues and At- ^{ban VIII.}chievements, as any body else; but as to his Christian Graces, I beg leave to be excused, if in that respect I differ from others. His Ambition was boundless, and the Oppositions which he met with, far from checking it, served as a new Fuel to inflame it. He could not bear with his Equals, hardly was he able to suffer a Superior. His Behaviour towards the greatest Lords of his Party, during the two first Civil Wars, plainly evinces what I say here. He could not be at rest, till by his Intrigues, he had exposed the Count of *Chatillon*, Governor of the *Lower Languedoc* and of the *Cevennes*, to the greatest Affront that could be put on a Man of that Quality, and had forced him out of *Montpelier*, and had had the said Government allotted to himself. It is not to be expected, that a Man of such a restless and aspiring Genius should long remain himself quiet, nor suffer others to enjoy the Benefits of Peace. Therefore he was seen at the Beginning of the Queen-Mother's Regency, after the Assembly of *Saumur*, carrying things so high at *St. John of Angely*, about the Election of a Mayor, that he rose in Arms against his Sovereign. In 1615, he joined in the same Rebellion with the Prince of *Condé*: For what? Was it for obtaining a Redress of the Grievances of our Churches? Indeed, I will not wrong him so far, as to say that he was not at all sensible of these things: But whereas no Man knows better the secret Thoughts of a Man, and the Motives of his Actions, than the Spirit of a Man which

Lewis 13. which is within himself, we must believe
^{1629.}
Pope Ur- upon the Confession of the Duke of *Roban*
ban VIII. himself, that if the Grievances of our
 Churches were the Pretence, the Opinion he
 had of being not respected enough at Court,
 was the true Motive of his Insurrection; he
 owned so much to the Queen Regent. See
 his own Memoirs, Vol. I. Book I. pag 57.
 wherein he shews himself such as he was.
 Let us follow him in all the three other Re-
 bellions of 1621, 1625, and 1627; who was
 the Author or Abetter of them? If we read
 his Memoirs with Attention, we shall find
 that the Duke of *Roban* was the Man. He
 headed the Reformed in the three last Wars,
 tampering, by his Emissaries, with the Pro-
 vinces and their Assemblies, in order to be
 declared their Chief. The first War, by his
 own Confession, was kindled through the Am-
 bition of *Favas*, *La Force*, and *Cbatillon*, and
 the Obstinacy of the Assembly at *Rochelle*.
 Consequently the Reformed, who sided with
 the said Assembly, were in the wrong. Con-

no less eager in soliciting them under-hand, ^{Lewis 13.}
by his Emissaries, to persist in their Obsti- ^{1629.}
nacy, and not to break, as they were com- ^{Pope Ur-}
manded; it is very easy to guess at the true ^{ban VIII.}
Motive of his Actions. 

The second War was begun upon a meer Suspicion of a pretended Design laid against *Rochelle*. Now I leave it to a sober and considering Reader to judge, whether a meer Suspicion can be a just ground for beginning a War? Whether it is lawful for a Subject to attack his Sovereign upon a meer Suspicion, that his Sovereign designs to attack him; especially when such a Suspicion has no better ground than the whimsical Fancy of a Man, or a burning Desire to gratify his Ambition by whatever Means just or unjust, lawful or unlawful? And indeed was it likely, that while the King was making the necessary Preparations for his Expedition in *Italy*, where he intended to be in Person, he should have entertained any Thoughts of setting his own Kingdom all in a flame? If such a Whimsy was palatable to a Duke of *Roban*, or of *Soubize*, it will never be so to any thinking Man. No wonder, if from this time, the Cardinal advised the King his Master to supersede all other Enterprizes; till he had thoroughly subdued that Faction, and put it out of the power of the two Brothers to obstruct his Designs.

The third Civil War brake out, as we have said above. The Pretence was the Inexecution of the Treaty of *Fontainbleau*, whereof King *Charles* fancy'd himself to be Guarantee; but the real Motive was, the Duke of *Buckingham's* Selfishness: which however he would never have ventured to indulge at that rate,

Lewis 13 rate, had he not been spurred to it by the
 1629. strong Solicitations of *Soubize*. So that the
 Pope Ur- two Brothers came again upon the Stage, un-
 ban VIII. der the same Shape as heretofore. Were they
 obliged to it through the Importunities of the
 Reformed? Had they been addressed to by
 the Provinces and Commonalties? Not at all;
 at least, I find not a single Instance of any
 Province or Commonalty, that had desired
 their Assistance and Mediation, before any of
 the three Civil Wars was broken out, except
Rochelle before the second War. But I find sever-
 al Complaints about their Restlessness. It was
 then of their own accord, that they treated
 with Foreign Powers, that were at that time
 natural Enemies of the Crown of *France*, viz.
England and *Spain*, but more especially the
 last. It was a Work peculiar to themselves,
 wherein the Churches had no hand at all,
 and for which they expressed their utmost De-
 testation in their last National Synod at *Castres*.
 Things being so, I wonder at the Duke of
Bellin complaining in his Memoirs of the

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in the former Wars, it was not for Places ^{Lewis 13.}
and Preferments, but for preserving their Lives ^{1629.}
and a good Conscience. But this, as *Du Plessis* ^{Pope Ur-}
demonstrated unto them upon several Occa- ^{ban VIII.}
sions, was not the Case, in the Civil Wars
under *Lewis XIII.* nothing but some tempo-
ral Concerns were to be found in the bottom.
No wonder if the Duke met so much Stiff-
ness and Reluctancy; People do not care to
endanger their All for a Trifle, and to en-
gage in a War against their Sovereign for a
Cabbage. None of the Provinces on this
side the *Loire*, could be prevailed on to side
with the Duke; and most of those who through
fear, or hopes, were forced to side with him,
did it with such Reluctancy, that it was plain
enough, that their Hearts and Consciences dis-
owned what their Hands were forced to do.

And now we are gone through these eight
or nine Years of boisterous Winds, which
ruined the beautiful Face of our Churches.
For the future, we shall see them recover-
ing apace, and making full amends for the
Faults they were fallen in, through the Deceit-
fulness of the ambitious aspiring Men amongst
them. Happy would they have been, had
they had to deal with a Prince, in whose Bo-
som, Gratitude, Honour, Honesty, Fidelity,
could have found Admittance! But they had
to deal with a proud, unjust, perfidious one,
with *LEWIS XIV.* who, though beholden
for his very Crown to their faithful Services,
treated them worse than if they had sided
with the Prince of *Condé*, in order to deprive
him thereof.

The Reformed having had little to do in
the Affairs of the Government from this time

Lewis 13. down to the repealing of the Edict, besides
1629. their suffering Persecution for Justice sake,
Pope Ur- I have but very little to relate about them,
ban VIII. besides the Titles of the Edicts, Declarations,
~~~~~ &c. &c. issued out against them from time  
to time, to deprive them by little and little  
of the Benefits granted them this Year, by  
the Edict published at *Nimes*. I shall insert  
them, after I have given here a Collection of  
the Regulations made amongst themselves, of  
some of the most considerable Transactions,  
Edicts, Declarations, &c. made and publish-  
ed, during the twenty first Years of *Lewis*  
*XIII's* Reign, and end this Volume with an  
Appendix of our Sufferings under the last  
Persecution.



**COLLECTION** of *Memoirs, Regulations, Acts, Deeds, Declarations, Edicts, &c. done and published by the Reformed themselves, or against, or in behalf of them, in the first twenty Years of Lewis XIIIth's Reign. Serving to illustrate the History of that time.*

**MEMOIR** drawn by DU PLESSIS before the meeting of the political Assembly at Saumur in the Year 1611, in order to render the said Assembly more useful to the Welfare of the Reformed Churches.

**THE** Provinces shall be exhorted, by reason of the Importance of Affairs and Conjuncture of Time, to depute thither the qualified and most able Persons.

Also, besides the Deputies, to require the Lords and other Persons of the greatest Authority, to be present, and that, by Letters purpose, from the private Assemblies, directed to them.

And it will be prudent in them, when they shall be assembled, to judge, if, at this time, wherein we should all closely unite, it will be proper to relax from the last Resolution, and how far, for to retain Fidelity, and to avoid Confusion.

In the Letters of Attorney, which shall be given to the Deputies, two things seem requisite, besides their Instructions.

The one, that they may adhere to whatever shall be thought useful and servicable to the Churches, proposed by others, that they may profit by each other's Prudence.

The

Lewis 13.

The other, that they may, and be oblig'd to tarry, either all or part of them, as it will be thought proper, until the said Assembly be satisfied.

It seems proper, that the Demands of the Provinces should be moderate; that is, founded as much as possible, expressly, and consequently, on the Edicts and Concessions, save, to extend or diminish them, as the Times will admit of it, that the Enemies may not say, that we take Advantage of the publick Misfortune, and try to pick a Quarrel: That our weaker Provinces also may not take occasion to persuade themselves, that because the others are safe, they little care for their Ruin.

But the Weaker ought to acknowledge, that the Strength of the others will be their Surety and Safety, that their Apprehensions may not deprive the more Powerful of the Means and Courage of doing them any good.

Therefore coming nearer to the Demands which may be made, remaining within the abovesaid Bounds, they seem to be as follows.

That the Edict of *Nantz* be restored to us in its full Force, as it had been made with us, and afterwards underwent Restrictions, and was cut off in several things without us.

That the Grant of Cautionary Towns be restor'd to us in like manner.

That the Places which we have been made to lose, to the prejudice of the said Grant, by the Governors changing their Religion, or by other Means, be deliver'd up to us.

That all the Cautionary Towns be continued in our Possession, at least for ten Years.

That the whole Sum of Money which had been granted us for the keeping of the Gar-  
risons

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prisons of the said Towns, and half of which hath Lewis 13.  
been since cut off, be restored to us. {

That it be paid Quarterly, without any Deficiency, and on the Spot, and that the Receivers may not be turn'd out of the Receipts on any pretence whatever, until the said Quarter be paid.

That a Regulation be made and obtain'd for providing the vacant Governments by reason of the Abuses, which have been and may be committed therein, to the prejudice of our Security.

That it be also permitted to entertain and fortify the said Places, which by length of Time fall to decay, and without that, will be useless to them.

Afterwards, they may complain, that under pretence of the said Towns which are held by the Reformed, the said Reformed have hitherto been excluded from all other Offices and Dignities, contrary to the express Article of the Edict, as if they could, nor ought not to deserve any thing more by their Services; which may be particularly describ'd.

That the Resignation and Demises of the Government of the said Towns be no longer admitted of, without the Consent of the Churches, whose Security is therein concern'd.

The like for the Presidents and Counsellors of the Chambers.

That Liberty be entirely restored to them, for the composing, printing, vending, and distributing of all Books concerning their Doctrine.

It must not be thought strange when any new Demands shall be made, since that ever since the publick Misfortune, nothing else has been seen on all sides; seeing also the new

*Lewis 13.* Importunities of the Roman Catholicks of Bearn, and of the Jesuits; and the more, because that in the Death of an absolute King, able to repel all violent Designs form'd against us, we have lost our principal safety; which however depended chiefly on his Concessions.

#### CONCERNING RELIGION.

That if there be any City, from which the Exercise of Religion be too far distant, his Majesty be desired to bring it nearer, to that end, that they being nearer the Magistrate, they may be less exposed to the Insolence of the Mob.

That the Article of the Burying-Places, which gives rise to so much Barbarity and Cruelty, be reform'd.

That the Sum appropriated to the Churches be augmented, considering its smallness, and the great Number of Churches.

That the Preachers and Confessors who teach, that those will be damn'd that communicate, serve, or assist the Reformed, be punish'd as seditious People, Disturbers of the publick Society, and Infringers of the Edicts, by which their Majesties have declar'd their Intention, of re-uniting the Affections of their Subjects.

#### CONCERNING THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.

That two Masters of the Requests may be given them, to report the Affairs concerning them to the Privy Council; the first time without a Fine.

A Reformed Notary in every Royal Tribunal, at least in the Cautionary Towns, paying a moderate Fine.

FOR

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**FOR THE CAUTIONARY TOWNS.** Lewis 13.

That the Jesuits may not reside in the Places given us for our Sureties.

*Item*, Seeing the Confusion of the Times, we must not doubt, but that among the Provinces, where there are no Cautionary Towns, and in which there are nevertheless a great Number of Reformed, there may be some that will demand Cautionary Towns; and there may, perhaps, be some means found to accommodate some of them : but it will be prudent in the General Assembly, to see, according to the time, how far it will be proper to support their Demand. Moreover, for the Direction of the Affairs of our Churches, it seems necessary to require.

A General Assembly every two Years, for the Renewal and Instruction of our General Deputies; and it will give so much the less Alarm, as it will be less extraordinary.

*Item*, That our Deputies be ordinarily at Court at his Majesty's Expence, being two in Number, named by the said Assembly : Which it is necessary to explain, because it is commonly grudg'd us as a Favour, and that there is nothing about it in the Edict.

And that the Provincial Deputies address themselves to the said General Deputies, without being obliged to have recourse to the Governors and Lieutenant-Generals of the Provinces.

These Advices being thus resolved upon among them, were by the Means and Authority of the Mareschal De Les Diguieres, carried into the Provinces of Dauphiné, and Vivarez, Provence, Lower Languedoc, and other neighbouring Provinces; and at the Mareschal De Bouillon's Care, into those of

950 · *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
*Lewis 13. Anjou, Brittany, Poitou, Xaintonge, Lower*  
*Guienne, and others.*

The Provinces conformed themselves pretty near to these Instructions, both because they came from Persons, of whose Fidelity, Affections, and Abilities, they were assured; and especially, because they thought them reasonable, and just, containing nothing contrary to the Fear of God, and the King's Service; on the contrary, containing many Things which being exactly followed, might tend to the Advancement of *Jesus Christ's* Reign, and to the Welfare of this Realm.

**GENERAL REGULATIONS** *drawn up in the*  
*General Assembly of the Reformed Churches*  
*of France, held at Saumur by the King's*  
*Permission, Anno 1611.*

IN each Province there shall be established a Council, to deliberate on the Affairs of the Churches of the Province. Which Council

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WHEN it will be necessary to convene the Provincial Assembly, the Council shall give notice to all the Churches, either one by the means of the Colloquies, according to the Order observed in each of the Provinces, to meet on such a day, in such a Place; and to send their Deputies thither, either by Churches, or Colloquies. Lewis 13.

FOR which end, the Elders of every Consistory shall be careful to give notice to the chief Members of their Churches, to meet on such a *Sunday* at Sermon-Time; after which, the Pastor shall give the Heads of Families Notice to stay, to consult on the Affairs of the Church, which may concern them.

BY the Advice of which Heads of Families, Persons shall be deputed from each Church to meet at the Assembly of the Colloquy, or in that of the Province, according to the Order observ'd, as abovesaid, which Persons are to be in such a Number, as shall be thought proper, by the Majority, provided that there be some of the Gentry, Clergy, and third Estate, as far as it will be possible.

IN the said Provincial Assemblies they shall vote by single Persons, unless some Church should require the voting by Churches, or in those Places where the Assembly is composed of the Deputies of Colloquies, if any Colloquy should desire the voting by Colloquies.

NO one shall be capable of being admitted into the said Provincial Assemblies, except that he be called thither, and be named in the Letters.

THE King's Officers and other Magistrates, must be present in the said Provincial Assemblies, when they shall be called thither by

*Lewis* 13. the Order above prescribed, and shall seat themselves with the Nobility, or third Estate, not being admitted to compose an Order by themselves.

THE Presidents who are to preside in the said Provincial Assemblies, shall be chosen from among the Nobility, by the Majority.

THE Provincial Assembly shall send to the General Assembly, but five Deputies at the most, and three for the least; which shall be chosen from the most able who shall be found in the said Assembly, from among the Gentry, the Pastors, and the third Estate, as much as possible.

THE Councils composed as aforesaid in each Province, shall have the following Functions and Inspections:

To wit, To distribute the Advices which they have received, either from the General Deputies at Court, or from the neighbouring Provinces, or from elsewhere, according to their Exigency; to all the Churches and Towns



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Council of each Province, a certain Stock of <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> Money, as a hundred and fifty Livres, to defray the Expences of the said Dispatches, and repay those who shall have advanced it, and the Deputies of the contiguous Provinces shall confer together to resolve themselves upon this Order before they depart.

If the Advice received by the Council of the Province be such, that it may alone provide concerning it, it must be done instantly, and without delay ; else they will do prudently and wisely to call such Persons to strengthen themselves by their Advice, as the matter in question shall shew to be convenient.

NAMELY, in case of some notable Infracti-  
on of the Edict, Sedition, Tumult, Attempt  
upon any Place, or such other of Consequence,  
Satisfaction for which should either be neg-  
lected, or should require to be more vigo-  
rously sued for, the said Council may, if they  
chuse it, desire such of the neighbouring Pro-  
vinces as they shall think proper, to assist them  
with Council, as far as three for the least :  
Who at their first Request shall be oblig'd  
to cause one or more of their Council to meet  
in such a Place, as the abused Province shall  
appoint, to consult together, of all good and  
lawful means, to obtain Redress for the said  
Infracti-  
ons committed in the Province, requir-  
ing their Attendance, and to make it their  
own Cause, all the same as the offended Pro-  
vince : Which not being redressed, the said  
Provinces being joined by the Deputies of  
their Councils, will do prudently to consult  
if it be necessary to give the other Provinces  
notice thereof, and appoint them a Place, whi-  
ther they should send their Deputies, to concur  
unanimously in that Prosecution.

**THE** foregoing Article according to the General Union of the Churches of this Kingdom, which obliges them to a mutual Sense of each others Wounds, for the Welfare of their Majesties Service, and this Kingdom's Peace, that a Province that has been grievously offended, may not, of itself, have recourse to violent Remedies, as Reprisals, or some other sort of Revenge, by which it might bring itself and all the other Churches consequently to Extremes : But may be partly kept by their Prudence within lawful means, partly strengthened by their support, to obtain Justice and Redress for the Fact committed.

**THIS** same Order shall also be observed, in case any one professing the Reformed Religion, should undertake any thing rashly, and without being called thereto, to the prejudice of the publick Tranquillity.

**THE** said Persons of the Provincial Councils shall for the King's Service, and the Preservation of the Churches, take care that the Towns given into the Custody of the Reformed, shall be kept in good Order, and that the Governors and Captains to whom they are committed, shall do their Duty therein.

**AND** to that End, the said Governors and Captains are admonished to consent, that now and then the said Councils should depute able Persons from among themselves, or of the Province, to visit the said Towns and Garrisons, for to give an Account thereof to the Province. In which Visit they are to take care, that all their Soldiers, by reason of the Fidelity chiefly required therein, be well known to be of the Reformed Religion, and that they be not taken from among the natural Inhabitants of the Towns, or their Suburbs, seeing that it is  
requisite

**VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 955**

to strengthen them with Men : which <sup>Lewis 13.</sup>  
aforesaid Governors and Captains are also  
ordered to observe.

AND because great Abuses have been here-  
before committed, in the number of Soldiers,  
which could and ought to be entertained in  
said Towns, which in the uncertainty of  
this time, if they should continue, might put  
to irreparable Inconveniences, the said Go-  
vernors and Captains are required for the Wel-  
fare of his Majesty's Service, Discharge of their  
Honour and Conscience, and to avoid the  
Blame which they might otherwise incur, to  
conform themselves to what follows :

NAMELY, that they shall take the third  
part, as well of the Sum ordained on the pub-  
lick Establishment, as payable in ready Money,  
clear and free from all manner of Charges, and  
as for the two other Thirds, that they consent  
to give their Receipts, in the hands of any  
one who shall be named by the Council of  
the Province, who shall receive it by his hands,  
and shall therewith pay the Soldiers at the  
Bank, and make satisfaction for the other  
Charges of the Garrison and of the Town.

MEANING, that out of those two Thirds  
he be holden to pay the Lieutenant-Governor,  
if there be any, the Captains and Soldiers,  
according to the Salary allotted them by the  
Governors and Captains, the Serjeant Major,  
the Drummer, the Gunners, and other neces-  
sary Officers ; also to furnish the Guard-Room  
with Wood and Candles, in those Places where  
the Townsmen do not furnish them, Mat-  
resses, Beds, Sheets, Washing, and other U-  
tensils for the Soldiers, Renewal of Arms, Re-  
pairs of Centry-Boxes, Bridges, Swipes, Barriers,  
Palisadoes, even for the new mounting the  
3 Artillery,

Lewis 13. Artillery, when the Council of the Province  
will judge that it may and ought to be done,  
without too great a Prejudice to the ordinary  
Garrison.

AND therefore it must be the said Council's  
Care, or of those whom it shall appoint for that  
purpose, to make an Account by Valuation,  
as near as possible to the Truth, of what the  
said Charges may yearly amount to, to reserve  
the Fund thereof, and not to oblige the Gover-  
nors and Captains to keep more Men than they  
can. And he, who shall be entrusted with the  
said two Thirds, shall give an Account of all  
the said Management, to the said Council in the  
Governor's Presence: And the said extraor-  
dinary Charges cannot exceed the third or  
fourth Part of the said two Thirds for the  
space of each Year.

IF any Fund is given by their Majesties  
for the Repairs of Fortifications of the said  
Towns, the said Governors shall order what  
use it must be put to, as those who have

**Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 957**

Officers appointed for that purpose, be re-Lewis 13.  
newed in due Time and Season, that they  
may not decay; also that the Powder, Matches,  
and other Ammunition subject to decay be  
dried, beat again, and refreshed, with the  
greatest Caution possible; and in a word, the  
Governors are exhorted to take in good part  
the care which the said Members of the Coun-  
cil will take of all that will concern the  
Preservation of the said Towns, and to give  
all Aid and Assistance to those who shall be sent  
thither by them.

THE said Members of the Council shall  
strive, by reason of the strict Union which  
ought to subsist between all those of the Re-  
formed Religion, to extinguish by all amicable  
Means, as much as it lies in their power,  
either by themselves, or by the Interposition  
of some other, all Suits, Quarrels, Animosi-  
ties, and Jealousies, which might be or arise  
amongst them, of what Quality soever they be.

IF any of the Governors or Captains of any  
of the Cautionary Towns chance to die, they  
shall endeavour to have the Regulation made,  
or to be made by their Majesties concern-  
ing that Case, strictly executed in all its Cir-  
cumstances.

ALL the Provinces and their Councils shall  
keep a strict Correspondence with those that  
border upon them; and in order to keep it  
the better, they shall be careful to send their  
respective Deputies to their reciprocal Pro-  
vincial Assemblies.

AND as to the general Correspondence, the  
Provinces shall receive the Ways and Means  
to keep it of the General Assembly while it  
subsists, and of the General Deputies attending  
the Court, after their Separation.

AND

*Lewis 13.*

AND in order to maintain the Union so necessary between the Churches, they shall meet together by their Deputies, once a Year, at an appointed Place; taking care that a Member of the Council of every Province should be there present: for which purpose, the Assembly before breaking up shall name the Council, who is to appoint the Day and the Place for the first Year, which shall take care that the Place where the said Assembly is to meet should be commodious, and that the said Assembly should be held without Noise, and shall aim at the procuring the best Advantage of the whole Body, as much as the Circumstances of the Times can allow it. These Conferences for a few days, shall entertain the Union of the Churches, and renew the Sense of their common Concerns, and inform them of their mutual Condition. Done at *Saxony* the 29th of *August* 1611.

*Articles agreed and granted by the Queen-*

THAT the Edicts shall be published anew, <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> with a Declaration confirming the Briefs, Grants and Concessions of the late King, Forgiveness of all past Offences, and Orders that all manner of Proceedings against the Reformed shall remain null and void.

THAT the *Rochelle* should not be called to any Account for what had been done at *Coudré*, and that the Men of War that cruize upon their Coasts should be recall'd.

THAT those of the *Lower Languedoc* should be heard upon the Affair of *Aigue-mortes*; and in the mean while, the said Town should be put in Trust in the hands of the Count of *Cbatillon*.

THAT the razing of *Vesfeires* should be superseded, and the Remonstrances of the Province of *Languedoc* upon that Subject be considered.

THAT nothing shall be altered at *Mas-d'Aginois* in *Lower Guienne*, and *La Vessiere* shall be restored as Governor of the Place.

THAT the Viscount of *Panjas* shall be ordered to suffer, under him, Captain *Pré* in *Mazeres*.

THAT the Troops that are in *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, and the Neighbourhood, shall be ordered to depart from these Provinces.

THAT *La Roche-Beaucourt*, and *Foucault*, shall depart from *St. John d'Angely*.

THAT the Company of the first shall be given to the Duke of *Roban*, and that of the second to him who shall be named with the Duke of *Roban's* Consent to be the King's Lieutenant in the said Town of *St. John*.

THAT the Place of Serjeant-Major of the said Town becoming vacant, either by Death or otherwise, shall be filled up according to the Duke of *Roban's* Desire.

THAT

960 *History of the Reformation, and of the*  
*Lewis 13.* **THAT** the Pensions of the Dukes of *Ro-*  
*han* and *Soubize*, shall be paid unto them with  
all the Arrears.

**THAT** none of the said Duke's Friends,  
or Adherents, shall be called to an Account,  
or otherwise molested; and that their Pen-  
sions, if they had any, shall be paid unto  
them, upon the same footing as before the  
Assembly at *Saumur*; and that the Baron of  
*Saugeon* shall no longer be molested, but on  
the contrary, he shall be set at Liberty. The  
said Duke says, that these Articles were pretty  
well performed\*.

*October 1,*  
*1614.* That Day, a Declaration of the King's Ma-  
jority was issued out, and at the same time,  
a Confirmation of the Edict of *Nantz* in all  
its parts, and of all other Articles granted  
to the Reformed, together with the Regula-  
tions made, Decrees given concerning the In-  
terpretation or Execution of the same. All  
secret Correspondences, Leagues and Associa-  
tions, either within or without the Kingdom,  
or Deputations without the King's Licence,  
to foreign Princes, Friends or Foes, were strict-  
ly forbidden, as well as the receiving of any  
Pensions, or other Gratuities from foreign  
Princes. This Declaration was registered in  
Parliament the 2d of *October*.

*April 30,*  
*1615.* The House of the Nobility and the Clergy  
assembled in the States General, held at *Pa-*  
*ris* in the Month of *October* 1614, having re-  
quired the King to perform strictly what he  
had solemnly promised in his Coronation-Oath,  
concerning the Extirpation of Hereticks. The  
Reformed were justly alarmed at that; and  
the Court dreading the Consequences thereof,  
the King was advised by his Council, to issue  
out

\* Mem. du Duc de Rohan, Liv. I. p. 31.



out a Declaration upon that Subject, which Lewis 13.  
 accordingly he did on the 12th of *March* }  
 1615; wherein, after having blamed the pre-  
 posterous Zeal of his Clergy, he declares, That  
 all the Edicts, Declarations, and private Ar-  
 ticles granted in behalf of the Reformed, ei-  
 ther by the late King, or by himself, toge-  
 ther with the Regulations, &c. concerning  
 the Interpretation and Execution of the Edict  
 of *Nantz*, or in consequence thereof, shall  
 be strictly observed, and the Offenders punish-  
 ed, as Disturbers of the publick Peace. That  
 Declaration was register'd in Parliament the  
 30th of *April*.

The Prince of *Condé* having rebelled against Decem. 7.  
 his Sovereign, because his sordid Avarice found 1615.  
 not its Account in the present Government;  
 he soon engaged the Duke of *Roban*, whose  
 Ambition was ready to starve for want of  
 proper Fuel, in the same Rebellion with him;  
 and this left no Stone unturned, till he had  
 drawn several of the Reformed Churches in  
 the *Southern* Provinces in the same Precipice.  
 Therefore, the King, by the Advice of his  
 Council, issued out a Declaration register'd in  
 Parliament the 7th of *December* 1615; where-  
 in, after having set forth the incongruous  
 and false impudent Insinuations, whereby *Con-  
 dé* and *Roban* endeavoured to deceive his  
 Subjects of either Religion, and had already  
 deceived but too many, he declares his royal  
 Intention to be, that the Edict of *Nantz*, De-  
 clarations, Regulations, Decrees, &c. issued  
 out in behalf of the Reformed, either by his  
 royal Father, or by himself, should be strict-  
 ly kept; and promises that every Contraven-  
 tion, if any there is, shall be faithfully re-  
 dressed; he promises a free Pardon to whom-  
 soever

**Lewis 13.** soever shall return to his Allegiance a Month after the Publication of the Presents: and receives under his royal Protection those who shall remain, and persist in their Loyalty.

**August 4.**  
**1616.** By the Treaty of Peace, made and concluded between his Majesty and the Prince of *Condé*, on the 6th of *May* 1616, and the secret Articles thereunto annexed, the Confirmation of the Edict of *Nantz*, and other Grants as above was expressly mentioned, and besides, the Creation of a new Office of Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, instead of *Peter Berger*, who had turned Catholick: the Confirmation of *Villemereau* in his Office of Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, and of *Le Maître*, Master in the Chamber of Accounts, though they had turned Reformed; the disowning of what the Clergy had done concerning the Publication of the Council of *Trent*; the putting the Castle of *Leytoure* under the Care of an Officer of the Reformed Profession, were amongst other things express-

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ordered the Members thereof to be prosecuted <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> with all the rigour of the Law.

But by another Declaration register'd in <sup>July 5.</sup> Parliament the 5th of *July* 1619, his Ma- <sup>1619.</sup> jesty was pleased to reverse the former, on account of the Fidelity and strict Adherence to the King's Service, which the said Assembly then at *Rochelle* shewed forth, when they were solicited by the Queen-Mother, who had just then made her Escape from *Blois*. The King graciously received their Deputies, and forgave whatever was past.

I shall but just mention the Declaration of February the 27th of *February* 1620, against the Assem- <sup>27, 1620.</sup> bly lawfully held at *Loudon*, because I have already spoken of it in its proper Place.

Following the Order of Times, I must insert here the Memoir delivered by *Du Plessis* to <sup>DuPlessis's</sup> his Son-in-Law *De Villarnoul*, to be by him <sup>Memoir.</sup> tendered to the Assembly of *Rochelle*, dated the 22d of *April* 1621.

THE AFFAIRS are now come to such a pass, that we must not flatter ourselves, either with the hope that the King will not march against us, or with the notion of his being diverted from it by some other Business. For the Resolution is taken, the Preparations made, and the Day appointed for his setting out: Nothing can divert him, but the speedy Satisfaction the Assembly shall give him, which consists in the Obedience which they must pay to his Command to break up, on which account his Majesty promises to do strict Justice.

That Separation looks very hard, on account of things past; which have filled our Minds with Jealousies and Suspicions, lest the

Lewis 13.

things promised should not be performed. But the Assembly must consider, whether the Expedients hitherto proposed, the Securities given to Monsieur *De Favas*, and the Assurances so expressly received by those, who have had the honour to interfere in that Business, are not sufficient for allaying these Suspensions. Besides, the Execution of the greatest part of things either required or promised is so easy, that it may come to pass with the time requisite for securing their Retreat, after their Act of Separation.

But above all, they must ballance the Perils very certain, whereto they expose themselves by remaining assembled against the King's Will, with the pretended Dangers wherewith they imagine their Separation will be attended. They must consider what Condition we are in at present under the Benefit of the Edicts, and that wherein we shall be, when we shall be deprived of the same; in what Calamity we do cast all the Churches beyond the *Loire*, and what Burthen we do put upon those on this side that River. And where is the Man, how strong soever, who did ever expose himself to a Siege, when he could avoid it by fair means?

They must also consider, that it is very likely that all those of our Profession SHALL NOT THINK IT VERY JUST AND REASONABLE that they should ruin their own Houses and Families, and hazard their own and their Posterity's Welfare, and even that Liberty of Conscience which they enjoy, for supporting the said Assembly, THE USEFULNESS WHEREOF THEY DO MUCH QUESTION, whereas they feel and see its Inconveniencies; from whence will arise, at least a Division amongst ourselves, and from thence an unavoidable

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avoidable Ruin. A Division, indeed, which <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> cannot be small, seeing that the greatest and the most considerable amongst us incline to a Separation upon the Terms abovementioned. Besides, there is the King's Declaration ready to be published, whereby the Fearful will think themselves secure, though they should be told, that thereby they will not fare better than others. *For the present Danger is always more persuasive than a future one.*

It is needless for the Deputies to say, that they fear the Censure of their Principals, who have bound them by certain Articles of their Instructions; for in the present state of things, were they themselves obliged to explain them, they would give them quite another meaning. BUT RATHER, the said Deputies OUGHT TO MIND, THE ACCOUNT WHICH CERTAINLY THEY SHALL BE CALL'D TO BEFORE GOD for so many Souls, which by their Obstinacy they expose to the Temptation of rebelling against God. Let them mind the Reproaches of so many Churches and Families, who shall impute unto them the Miseries and Calamities whereto they will certainly expose them without need.

Let them mind the Judgment of the Princes and States our Neighbours, professing the same Religion with us, who look upon the Continuation of the Assembly as a meer Obstinacy, and declare openly, that they would not support it by any means; nay, they judge it hurtful and detrimental to all Christendom, because the Court take it for an Excuse and Pretence, which is not quite ill grounded, for not opposing the common Enemy so powerfully, as it would be requisite.

R r r 2

True

True it is, that the *Rochellese* bravely held out a Siege in 1573, and they can say, that since that time their City is much better fortified; but then they held out a Siege through necessity, and not wilfully and arbitrarily — they fought not for form's sake only, but for the very essence of things. And those who lived at that time, may remember the great straits they were reduced to; and we have not every day *Polanders* to deliver us. The Skilful in the Military Art know, that any City can be taken, how strong soever it be — How brisk soever the Defence might be, it serves only to spin out the time, till it might be relieved; but let us speak upon our Conscience, from whence do we expect that relief, if it is once besieged? Indeed it is a great Virtue in Citizens to chuse to be buried under the Defence of their City's Liberties. But as great an Imprudence and Rashness it is, to draw, without necessity, upon themselves and their Families such a dreadful Calamity, and all the Miseries wherewith it is attended.

Some there are, who ground their hopes upon the Discontents of some Princes and Lords who have forsaken the Court: But we must not expect that any other, besides those of the same Profession with us, would, or could suffer with us, or for us. On pretence of curing our Diseases, they shall mind their own; and our Ill-wishers know very well how to extricate themselves at our own Expence.

For these Causes, and several others heretofore mentioned, my Opinion is, that we must necessarily break up our Assembly, and do it without Reluctancy; taking, however, the best Securities possible for the things promised unto us: thereby we shall engage God Almighty

Almighty to be with us; we shall soften our King's Heart, to do us good; we shall satisfy all Christendom as to our good Intentions, and all those who are of the same Opinion will think themselves obliged to side with us, and to take our part; and at all Events, being all united together in the same mind, we shall feel with the same Heart the Evils which might follow; otherwise we are in danger to find ourselves divided. Done at *Saumur*, as above.

Such were the wise Remonstrances of the judicious *Du Plessis*. But these strong Arguments were as so many Pearls, which were cast before Swine; he had to deal with Men much like the deaf Adder, that stoppeth her ear; which will not hearken to the Voice of the Charmers, charming never so wisely.

The King being informed of the unaccountable Proceedings of the Assembly at *Rochelle*, who made great Preparations for War, &c. issued out his Declaration, which was registered in Parliament the 27th of *April* 1621. Wherein, after having set forth what he had done for hindering the said Assembly, and the disrespectful Carriage of the same towards him; he declares his Resolution to visit his Provinces, in order to remedy the Diseases they were affected with; he confirms anew the Edicts, Declarations, &c. granted to the Reformed, either by his Father or by himself, and promises that they shall be strictly observed in behalf of his Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion, that shall remain faithful to their Allegiance, promising to keep them with their Goods, Chattels &c. under his royal Protection.

Louis 13.

June 7,  
1621,

The Assembly persisting in their Obstinacy, and the Dukes of *Roban* and *Soubize* having openly declared themselves, the King issued out another Declaration, registered in Parliament the 7th of *June*, whereby *Rochele*, and its Inhabitants, and other Persons, together with *St. John d'Angely*, were declared Rebels: And enjoining all the Reformed, to promise upon their Oaths, not to adhere in any wise to the said Assembly, or to any other held, or to be held, without the King's special Licence.

August 5.  
1622.

Whereas the King was informed, that certain Persons went from one Province into another, charged with Letters, tending to raise Jealousies and Suspicions in the Minds of those of the Reformed Religion, that persever'd in their Fealty, and engage them to join the Rebels: His Majesty issued out his Declaration, registered in Parliament the 5th of *August* 1622, whereby he forbids his said Subjects to quit and forsake their Houses and Habitations, either in Towns, or in the Country,



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Synods, either National or Provincial, or to <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> treat of any thing else, but what concerns their Doctrine and Discipline; and in order that his royal Intention should be duly executed, his Will is, that a Commissary professing the Reformed Religion, named by himself for the National Synods, and by his Lieutenants or Governors of Provinces for the Provincial, should assist in his Name in those Assemblies.

A Proclamation was issued out and registered in Parliament the 18th of *February* <sup>Feb. 18. 1625.</sup> 1625, against the Duke of *Soubize*, and his Adherents, promising them Pardon and Forgiveness of their Offences, if in a Month's time, after the Publication of the Presents, they should return to their Allegiance; and threatening them to be punished according to Law, if they persisted in their Rebellion: The like Promises of Protection and Execution of the Edicts, for those who persisted in their Loyalty, were made in this as in the former Declarations.

**ARTICLES** *contained in the Bill of Grievances, presented to the King by the Deputies of the Reformed in the Month of October 1625, and which served as the Basis of the Edict granted them in March 1626, and registered in Parliament the 6th of April ensuing.*

The first named forty-three Places, wherein they required that the Reformed Religion should be restored, as it was in 1620. The second required the Restitution of the Churchyards, which had been taken from the Reformed in several Places, eight whereof were specified. *Both Articles granted.* By the third they desired that the Ministers should be al-

*Lewis* 13. lowed Liberty of dwelling wherever they should please, a Liberty which had been granted them by the General and Private Articles of the Edict of Nantz. *Granted.* By the fourth, they required to be exempted from contributing towards the Reparation of Churches, and other things that favoured of a Compliance with the Roman Worship. *Granted,* unless there was some Agreement made between the Reformed and Catholics. The fifth contained a Complaint that frequently the Bodies of the Reformed were digged up again, under pretence that they were buried in Catholick Chapels or Church-yards. *Indirectly answered, and referred to the 18th and 23d Articles of the Edict of Nantz, and to the Decree of the Council of the 25th of August, 1620.* The same Article contained Complaints of the demolishing of some Churches, of the banishing of several Persons only on account of their Religion; which two Articles were favourably answered. The sixth mentioned the de-

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Right to be admitted to all sorts of Offices <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> and Employments. *Redressed.* The twelfth was made in behalf of the parted Chambers, and of the Officers which composed them, for the Preservation of the Jurisdiction of the said Chambers, and the Dignity of their Officers. *Granted.* By the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, they demanded, that the Reformed should be restored to their Goods and Estates, whereof they had been in any wise deprived. An Amnesty for all Acts of Hostility. That the Declaration published before *Montpellier* should be registered in the Chamber of Accounts at *Paris*. *All three granted.* The sixteenth required a Discharge for the Taxes due during the Troubles, by those who rose up in Arms in 1621, and that the Receivers should be obliged to restore what they had received of the same. *Granted as to what remained due, but not as to the Restitution.* By the seventeenth, and the three following, they required a Remission for what had been done notwithstanding the Safe-Conduct of the Duke of *Roban*, which he had revoked. *Granted.* The Preservation of the Privileges of the Reformed Cities and Commonalties, especially as to the Election of their Consuls and Councils. *Granted as to the Towns still in the hands of the Reformed.* That each Party should be reciprocally discharged from the Debts contracted without the Consent one of the other. *Granted as to Debts not paid as yet.* That the Debts of the Reformed should be equally assessed. *The King will advise.* The twenty-first, that they may hold Political Assemblies. *The King will grant it, when asked for at the time of the Election of the new General Deputies.*  
*The*

Lewis 13.

August 12.  
1627.

The Duke of *Soubize* being landed at *Rochelle*, in order to sollicite that City to admit the *English* Fleet ; a Proclamation was issued out against him, and his Adherents, which was registered in Parliament the 12th of *August* 1627, whereby they were declared Rebels, Traitors, and Perfidious, &c. and as such having forfeited their Lands, Estates, Manors, Titles, Offices, &c. &c. and where their Persons could be apprehended, to be brought to Justice, and prosecuted to the rigour of the Law ; unless, in eight days time after the Publication of these Presents, in proper Places they should return to their Allegiance with the requisite Submissions, and make a Declaration thereof before proper Officers. What was observable in this Proclamation is, that Fathers and Tutors were made answerable in their proper Person for their Sons and Pupils. For the Court had taken notice during the former Wars, that they were used to send their Sons or Pupils to the Reformed Army, while they themselves staid at home, in order to preserve their Estates ; for avoiding which, it was declared, that unless the Fathers and Tutors should serve in the King's Armies, or give such other full Evidence of their having no hand at all in the Defection of their Sons or Pupils, they should be punished themselves as Rebels.

August 27.  
1629. *The King's Edict given at Nimes, July 1629, and registered in the Parliament of Thoulouse the 27th of August in the same Year.*

THAT Edict contained a long Preamble, wherein, in an insulting manner, were described  
I the

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 973

the several means made use of for bringing <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> the Reformed back to their Allegiance. The taking of *Rockelle*; the sacking of *Privas*; the voluntary Submission of *Aletz*, were represented in a Rhetorical Strain, little usual in the Edicts. They named 25 Cities well fortify'd, which, however, had not been so daring as to wait for the King's Cannon; and which, with the Duke of *Roan*, and the Nobility of several Provinces had implored his Clemency by their Deputies; offering to level their Fortifications, in order that their Fidelity should be no longer suspected. Then the King, through the only Compassion for the Miseries of his Subjects, and in order perfectly to win the Affections, even of those, who, by their repeated Relapses, were become the Objects of his Justice, declared in twenty-two Articles, what was to be observed for the future. That Edict was said to be PERPETUAL and IRREVOCABLE: And according to the usual Style, the Restoration of the Roman Religion was enacted by the first Article, as you may see in the Edict itself here inserted.

I. That the Catholick, Apostolick, and Roman Religion, shall be restored and resettled in all the Cities and Places of those Countries, from whence it had been expelled; and all the Ecclesiastick Churches, Goods, and Houses, within the said Provinces, shall be restored to those to whom they belonged, without any Prosecution for the Revenues received or taken. In which Churches, and in all the said Places, the Exercise of the said Religion shall be freely and peaceably performed, without Lett or Molestation. Nevertheless we order, that in all the Monasteries within the said Cities returned

**Lewis 13.** returned to our Obedience, there shall not be put in or settle any other Monks, than such as live exactly in the observance of their Order, according to the Letters which they shall receive from us.

II. And desiring nothing more than a perpetual Union between our Subjects, as we are desirous, and as it is our Intention, to maintain those who profess the Pretended Reformed Religion, in the free and peaceable Exercise of it, we cannot but desire also their Conversion, for which we continually offer up our Prayers to God. For which Reason, we exhort all our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion to lay aside all Passion, that they may be capable of receiving the Light of Heaven, and be fitted to return to the Bosom of the Church, in which for these eleven hundred Years together, the Kings our Predecessors have lived without Change or Interruption: Not being able in any thing whatever to give them a greater Testimony of our Paternal Affection, than to admonish them to observe the same way to Salvation, which we observe and follow ourselves.

III. We order, that all the Parishes of the



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bury in Oblivion, in behalf of the said Duke <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> of *Roban*, and of all the Inhabitants of the said Cities and Places, as also to those of the Flat Countries, who adhered to them, all things past from *July 21. 1627.* to the Day of the Publication of these Presents, made in every Seneschalship, of the Articles of Grace, which we granted them the 27th of *June* last. We have discharged them, and do discharge them of all Acts of Hostility, rising in Arms, hiring of Soldiers, Enterprizes as well by Sea as Land, General and Particular Assemblies, more especially the Assembly of *Nimes*, seizure of Ecclesiastical Rents, Royal or Private Money, Coining of Money of what Alloy or Stamp soever, Printed Libels, Popular Tumults and Commotions, Riots, Violences, Enterprizes upon the two Towns of *St. Amand*, and Castles of the Lord, the Castles of *St. Stephen*, *Val Francesque*, and *Florac*: Also the Murders and other Accidents, happening at the taking of *St. Germier*, and *Castres*, in *January* last: Also the Inhabitants of *Uzes*, for the Murder of the *Sieur du Flos*: And the Consuls of the said Place, for the Decrees put forth against them by the Parliament of *Tboulouse*, and Chamber of the Edict at *Beziers*: Also the *Sieurs Daubais*, *James Genoier*, *Paul Saucier*, and *Andrew Pelissier*. For the Nomination and Designation made of their Persons, to be Consuls of *Nimes*, in 1627. and their executing the Office during that Year: Together with all the Consuls and Political Counsellors, and the Prothonotary of the Consular House, for the Prosecution against them by reason of the said Consulship of *Nimes*, as well in our Council, as in the said Court of Parliament, Chamber  
of

*Lewis 13.* of the Edict, and Court of Aids at *Montpellier*: Also the Inhabitants of *Anduze*, for the Murder of the *Sieur de Mantaille*, and the Condemnations of the said Consuls, and particular Inhabitants of the said City during these Troubles. The Inhabitants of *Milland*, for what was done against the *Sieur de Ruesavas*, and discharge them of the Restitution of four thousand Livres taken from the *Jacobins*: The *Sieur de Gasque*, for encouraging the Inhabitants of *Alets* in their Breach of Safe-Conducts, Impositions and raising of Money, Establishment of Courts of Justice, Officers and Counsellors through the Provinces, and executing of Sentences past in those Courts, in Matters Civil and Criminal, and Regulations of Municipal Constitutions, and their executing their Offices in the said Cities when they were in Rebellion; together with the Advocates, that practised in their Employments, before the said Judges, Officers, and Counsellors set up in the said Cities: Also



the said Troubles, melting of Artillery, seizing of Ammunition, Dismantling and Demolishing of Cities, Castles and Towns : Also the taking of *Mervez*, *Aymargues*, and others, Burnings of Churches and Houses by Order and Authority of the said Duke of *Roban* ; and from all Criminal Prosecutions by reason of the same ; without prejudicing the Civil Interests of the said Religious Ecclesiasticks, for which they shall apply themselves for Justice to the Chamber of the Edict. We discharge them also from all Leases and Farms, of all Ecclesiastical Benefices and Estates, of which the said Ecclesiasticks were deprived by the Chieftains, who had the General Command. Our Pleasure in like manner is, that they enjoy the full Contents of the preceding Amnesties, and of all that has been acted and negotiated since the abovementioned Time, notwithstanding all Proceedings at Law, Decrees and Sentences issued out against them in the mean time ; even the Decrees themselves of the Parliament of *Toulouse* and *Bourdeaux*, and Chamber of *Beziers* and others, against the said Duke of *Roban*, to whom we will, that all his Honours and Dignities which he enjoy'd before shall be preserved, prohibiting all Prosecutions in the Cases aforesaid. In respect of which, we impose perpetual silence upon all our Attorneys General and their Substitutes ; excepting always those execrable Cases reserved and excepted by the Edict of *Nantz*, and others subsequent, of the Civil Interest, by reason of the Fact committed at *Vezzenobre* and *Tournay*, and of the Moveables which shall be found in specie taken from those who were under Obedience to the King.

*Lewis* 13. V. And in pursuance of our Intentions, to maintain all our Subjects professing the Pretended Reformed Religion in the free Exercise of the said Religion, and in the Enjoyment of the Edicts to them granted; Our farther Pleasure is, that they enjoy the Benefits of the said Edict of *Nantz* and other Edicts, Articles and Declarations registered in our Parliaments, and that in pursuance of the same they have the free Exercise of the said Religion in all Places where it has been allowed them.

VI. That all Churches and Church-yards, that have been taken from them or demolished, shall be restored them, with liberty to repair them, if there be any necessity, and that they deem it convenient.

VII. We order, that all the Fortifications of the said Cities, shall be razed and demolished, only the enclosure of the Walls, within the space of three Months, by the sedulity of the Inhabitants: In whom we more especially


excepting the Fruits and Revenues of their <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> Goods, the Moveables which shall not be found in Specie, Woods cut down, and Debts which have been received till this present time, actually and without fraud, after judicial Prosecutions and Constraints. Nevertheless our Pleasure is, that the preceding Declarations given upon the Fact of the said Reprisals, till the present Commotions, peremptory Decrees, and Proceedings and Agreements made upon them, shall take place, and be executed, notwithstanding all Decrees to the contrary. Our Will also is, that the Heirs of the deceased *Sieur de Mormoirac* shall be restored to their Estates.

IX. We permit them to re-enter their Houses, and to rebuild them if there be occasion; and as being our good and faithful subjects, we permit them to reside and inhabit in such Cities and Places of our Kingdom, as they shall see convenient, except in the Islands of *Rbé* and *Oleron*, *Rockelle* and *Yvias*. We also permit the Inhabitants of *Samiers*, who were not in the said City at the time when it was taken, to return and enjoy all their Goods, after they have submitted themselves, and taken the Oath of Fidelity before such Persons whom we shall appoint.

X. Our Officers residing in the said City, who have not paid the Annual Duty, shall be admitted to pay it within two Months, as well for what is past as for the present Year. And as for such as are deceased, having paid the said Annual Right, the Offices which they held shall be preserved to their Widows and Heirs. And as for those whose Offices we have supply'd by reason of the Troubles, they shall be continued in their

Lewis 13. said Offices, notwithstanding the Patents given to others, and their being settled therein. Our Pleasure also is, that the Officers of particular Lords, who were admitted upon dear Purchases, and put out by reason of the said Troubles, shall be restor'd to their Employments.

XI. All the above-mentioned shall be discharged, and we hereby discharge them of all Contributions, Quartering of Soldiers, as well in the preceding, as present Troubles. Also the said Commonalties and particular Members thereof are discharged from all Obligations to indemnify and save harmless all Reparations of Damages, which may be pretended against them, by reason of Imprisonments, Executions, and Expulsions out of the said Cities, by order of the Duke of *Roban*, or the Councils of the said Cities, or any others by him set up as well during the present as preceding Troubles. And as for Taxes and other Monies laid upon the Country, in case the

shall be in Office, to the end that those of the Lewis 13.  
 Reformed Religion might be assessed for the   
 said Sums.

**XIII.** They shall also be discharged from prosecuting the Catholick Inhabitants and others, for the Remainders from them due for the Rates of the preceding Years, notwithstanding the Discharges they had obtained by our Letters Patent, as by the Decrees of the Court of Aids at *Montpellier*: As also from all that remains to be paid of Taxes and Impositions assessed upon any of them, the Catholics being exempted by the Orders of the Governours of the Provinces, or others our Commanders in chief, during the preceding and present Troubles.

**XIV.** The Inhabitants of *Castres* also shall be discharged from Restitution of whatever they took by Force of Arms in opposition to our Service.

**XV.** The Charges which shall be laid upon the said Cities, shall be equally born by all the Inhabitants of the same, according to the custom at all times usual. Only that the Debts contracted by the Catholick Inhabitants, shall be born by themselves alone; and those contracted by those of the pretended Reformed Religion by themselves.

**XVI.** Sentences passed by those who have been commissioned for the Administration of Justice in the said Cities, whether in Civil or Criminal Matters, shall take place, excepting Appeals to the said Chambers, in cases which have not been adjudged by the Provosts, or at a Council of War.

**XVII.** The Order anciently observed in the said Cities, as well touching the Consulship as the Municipal Government, and the

**Lewis 13.** Meeting of the said Consuls and City-Council shall be kept and observed, as before the Troubles.

XVIII. The Assemblies of State in the Country of *Foix*, shall be held after the accustomed manner, and all the Cities shall be summoned that were usually present.

XIX. The Consuls, Receivers, Collectors and Commissaries, that managed the Publick Money during the preceding and present Troubles, shall be acquitted and discharged, they bringing into the Chambers the Accompts which they have given of it; nor shall the Chambers pretend to any Fees, nor to require a Review of the said Accompts. And as for the Inhabitants of *Nimes*, who pretend themselves not obliged to carry in their Accompts into the said Chambers, our Will is, that the ancient Custom shall be observed.

XX. The Seats of Judicature, Audits of Receipts, and other Offices, remov'd by reason of the present Troubles, shall be restor'd and settled in the Places where they were before: Also the Election newly created to be settled at *Montauban*, but removed to the Town of *Moissac* by reason of the Troubles, shall return to *Montauban*, after the Fortifications are demolished.

XXI. Also the Chamber of the Edict, now sitting at *Beziers*, shall be restor'd to the City of *Castres* after the Fortifications are demolished; and shall remain in the said City, according to the Edict of *Nants*, notwithstanding our Ordinance of *January* last, and the Decree of the Parliament of *Tboulouse*, upon the 102d Article thereof: Which Chamber his Majesty will have maintain'd in all things allow'd by the Edicts and Regulations.

XXII.

XXII. All these Graces and Concessions, it <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> is our Will and Pleasure, that the above-mentioned enjoy, that were in Arms upon the twenty-seventh of *June* last. And as for the Cities and Persons that submitted to our Obedience before that Day, they shall particularly enjoy the Things contained in the Letters Patent, which have been granted them for that purpose.

So we command our faithful and beloved Counsellors in the Parliament of *Tboulouse*, &c. And for the more firm and stable Duration of these Presents, &c. Given at *Nimes*, in *July* 1629, and the twentieth of our Reign.

Sign'd *Lewis.*

And below, by the King,

*Pbelipeaux.*

Read, Publish'd, and Register'd, at the Request of the King's Attorney-General at *Tboulouse*, in Parliament, *August* 27, 1629.

Sign'd *De Malenfant.*

THAT Edict in the main was not disadvantageous to the Reformed; they having no Duke of *Roban* or *Soubize* to solicit them out of their Allegiance, the Duke of *la Tremouille* had turned Catholick about two Years before, and the rest of the great Lords of their Religion minding only the Advancement of their Fortune, were solicitous about means to in-

Lewis 13. gratiate themselves into the Prime Minister's  
 1630. Affections. Deprived of their cautionary  
 Pope Ur- Towns, they had no Fuel whereupon the Am-  
 ban VIII. bition or Avarice of their Leading-Men could  
 be fed. Therefore it was likely, that hence-  
 forward giving to their Prince so many Proofs  
 of their own Natural Inclination, enforced by  
 the Laws and Precepts of their Religion, they  
 would have enjoyed his Protection, and re-  
 ceived the Fruits of their Submission and of  
 his Promises, But what can be expected from  
 one who thinks himself bound in Conscience  
 not to keep Faith with those he is pleased  
 to style Hereticks? If even, when they were  
 dreaded in the Kingdom, the Reformed had  
 so many Wrongs and Grievances to bear with;  
 what could they expect, when after a Trial  
 of their Strength and Power, they were be-  
 come contemptible to their Enemies?

Nevertheless, it was not till the Majo-  
 rity of *Lewis XIVth*, that they were openly  
 and avowedly tormented and persecuted by  
 the Papish Clergy and their Civil *Rulers*



only those wherein the whole Body of the <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> Reformed were concerned. Such was the De- <sup>1630.</sup> <sup>Pope Ur-</sup> <sup>ban VIII.</sup> cree of the Parliament of *Paris*, given the 3d of *August* 1629, which abridged the Pri-  
vilege granted to the Reformed by the Edict of *Nantz*, to chuse one of their own Religion to be Assistant, for the Instruction and Trial of the Criminal Processes enter'd against any of them, reducing it only to the Causes where-  
of the Provost-Marshal is to take Cognizance; whereas, by the Edict, that Privilege extended to all Criminal Causes, and before all Judges of what Denomination soever.

But what was more mischievous to the Re- <sup>Several</sup> <sup>Injustices</sup> <sup>and Vexa-</sup> <sup>tions.</sup> formed, was the renewing of the Missionaries, which are a Set of Men for the most part of a violent, seditious, and pedantic Spirit, who gloried in exciting Tumults, and drawing bad Usage upon themselves, that they might have an Opportunity to trouble the most considerable Members of a Church. The most dangerous of these brangling Pettifoggers were certain Lay-Men of the Scum of the People, the most eminent whereof were *Pedlars*, *Shoe-makers*, *Cutlers*, and such like Riff-raff, who rambled from Town to Town, from one Church to another, impudently challenging the Ministers, preaching Controversies in publick Places, upon Stages like Mountebanks; to tease the meaner sort of People, with pitiful and ridiculous Cavils; and that for getting the small Reward promised by the Clergy for each of those poor silly *Widgeons*, which they could convert.

About the same time they began to quarrel with the Reformed in several Places about the Right of Exercises, and to do them injustice, by depriving them of what the Edict

*Lewis 13* of *Nantz* had granted them. The Bishop of  
*1630.* *Valence*, a violent Spirit, exerted himself by a  
*Pope Ur-* Persecution, which from this particular Dio-  
*ban VIII.* cese spread itself afterwards all over the King-  
 dom, and occasioned above 35 Years Vexa-  
 tion to the Churches; it was on account of  
*Annexes* served by the same Minister of some  
 principal Church. He pretended, that they  
 were so many Usurpations, as if they had  
 not been authorized by the Edict. As these  
*Annexes* were very convenient for the Re-  
 formed, who by that means provided for their  
 Churches and their Ministers at a little Ex-  
 pence, it was enough to excite the Catholick  
 Zeal to deprive them of that Advantage. The  
 Bishop of *Vaison* in *Provence*, joined with that  
 of *Valence*, in the same Persecution, and they  
 obtained two favourable Decrees of the Council,  
 one of the 3d, the other of the 11th of *October*.

*Confusions* It may be, that the Persecution would have  
*at Court.* been carried further against the Reformed,  
 had not the Court been intangled in the greatest  
 Confusions. Though the Faults of one Party

attain'd by the Success of his Enterprize. The <sup>Lewis 13.</sup>  
 Duke of *Orleans* took his Mother's Part, <sup>1631.</sup>  
 they both retired out of the Kingdom; the <sup>Pope Ur-</sup>  
 Duke on the 13th of *March*, he went into <sup>ban VIII.</sup>  
*Lorraine*; the Queen-Mother on the 18th of  
*July*, and she went to *Flanders*, from *Compeigne*,  
 where she was kept Prisoner at large.

But what troubled much the Reformed, <sup>Projects of</sup>  
 was the Projects of Re-union, that were set a <sup>Re-union.</sup>  
 foot again this Year. Two sorts of People  
 were eager after the pursuit of that Scheme.  
 Some who were sincere and upright, who were  
 really persuaded that a tolerable Composition  
 might be drawn from the Church of *Rome*,  
 at least in reference to the grossest and most  
 palpables Abuses; and that after they should  
 have agreed upon Expedients to secure the  
 Conscience, they might unite in an outward  
 Communion, and thereby put an end to the  
 Schism, look'd upon by both Parties, as a  
 great Mischief; and then they might on both  
 sides labour with better Success in the Cure  
 of the Diseases which afflicted the Church,  
 because they would be no longer suspected.  
 But they did not consider, that the Errors  
 of the *Church of Rome*, consisting not in Points  
 meerly Speculative, but in certain Uses, Prac-  
 tices, and such like things, whereupon she  
 grounds all her Grandeur, and from whence she  
 derives all her Riches; they may be said to be  
 incurable. Errors purely Speculative, which a-  
 rise from the false Notions of a prepossessed  
 Mind, may sometimes yield to Evidence;  
 but Errors of Interest are Proofs against all  
 Demonstrations, because they derive their O-  
 riginal from the Corruption of the Heart.

Other People of a quite different Character,  
 either seduced by Promises, or prompted by  
 their

Lewis 13. their Ambition, or else conceited of their own  
1631. Parts, and aspiring to the glory of having  
Pope Ur- put an end to these fatal Divisions, which for  
ban VIII. above a hundred Years, at that time, had oc-  
casioned such Convulsions all over *Europe*,  
readily embraced these Overtures, and never  
gave themselves the Trouble of taking Secu-  
rities and Measures in behalf of Truth.

The Cardinal would have been very glad to see that Re-union effected in a way, which would have much redounded to the Glory of the *Roman Church*, but which would have covered the whole Protestant Body with Shame and Infamy, and especially the Reformed in *France*, which were to be the principal Actors in that Farce. But though I don't question the Vanity of the Man, and his Inclination for every thing that appeared great and singular in itself; nevertheless I do much question his ever having attempted any thing like such a Re-union during the whole Course of his Ministry; and though the thing has

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allowed the *Romish* Church to be in the right Lewis 13.  
 almost in every thing; and as to those which 1631.  
 he could not justify, he made use of soft and Pope Ur-  
 qualify'd Expressions, by way of Explanation, ban VIII.  
 and made them pass for Questions that were  
 not to hinder the Re-union of the Reformed.  
 But the Rev. Mr. *John Daillé*; who began  
 about that time to make himself known in  
 the World by his Writings, confuted him  
 with such a Perspicuity, and such a Strength of  
 Argument, that he was confounded, but not  
 silenced. He was excommunicated by the  
 Synod of *Alençon* in 1637, he turned Catho-  
 ick, and became a Missionary. And at length  
 the Rev. Mr. *Charles Drelincourt*, the true  
 Scourge of People like *La Milletiere*, totally  
 routed him in a Conference, the Acts where-  
 of were published. So all these Schemes for  
 a Re-union between the Reformed and the  
 Catholicks came to nothing for this time,  
 though under the next Reign, these Writings  
 were very useful to the Converters, especially  
 the Bishop of *Condom*.

The 26th National Synod was held from The 26th  
 the 1st of *September* to the 10th of *October* National  
 inclusively, at *Charenton*. The Rev. Mr. *Peter* Synod.  
*Mestrezat*, one of the Pastors of the Church  
 of *Charenton*, was chosen Moderator. *Au-*  
*gustus Gallant* Esq; took his Seat in it, as  
 Commissioner for the King. His Speech was  
 civil enough, but at the same time, he made  
 them sensible of the Change of their Condi-  
 tion, by the several Propositions he made to  
 them, which were so many Laws which the  
 King imposed upon them. 1<sup>o</sup>. He required,  
 in his Majesty's Name, that for the future  
 they should forbear entering any Protest, or  
 making any Remonstrance against his Will  
and

Lewis 13. and Pleasure, to have a Commissioner who should  
 1631. sit in his Name in all their Synodical As-  
 Pope Ur- semblies, either National or Provincial; such  
 ban VIII. a Practice having been observed even in the  
 Primitive Church. 2°. That none but Na-  
 tive *Frenchmen* should be admitted to the  
 Holy Ministry, to serve in any Church of the  
 Realm. Nevertheless he promised, that, up-  
 on proper Application, the Foreigners who had  
 been admitted, might be allowed to continue.  
 3°. All Ministers were forbidden to depart  
 the Kingdom without his Majesty's special  
 Licence; and whereas the Rev. Mr. *Salbert*,  
 Minister of *Rocbelle*, in contempt of the King's  
 Orders, had absented himself, his Majesty en-  
 joined him to reside in the Place of his Ex-  
 ile, and expressly forbid him all Exercise of  
 his Ministerial Functions, either publick or pri-  
 vate. 4°. Whereas the two former National  
 Synods of *Charenton* and *Castres* had expressly  
 forbidden the Ministers to intermeddle with  
 any State-Affairs, and that the Rev. Dr. *Be-*  
*raud*, Minister and Professor in Divinity in the  
 Church and Academy of *Montauban*, named  
 one of the Deputies to the Synod for the  
 Churches of *Upper-Languedoc*, did not only  
 intermeddle with State, but also with Military-  
 Affairs, and was so daring as to publish in  
 a Book, which he read to his Disciples, that  
 Ministers are bound to bear Arms, and to  
 shed Blood upon Occasion, his Majesty order-  
 ed the Suppression of the said Book, and that  
 both the Book and the Author thereof should  
 be censured by the present Synod, that he  
 should not sit in it, and that he should be  
 removed from *Montauban*, and from *Languedoc*,  
 and be translated into some other Pro-  
 vince. Two other Ministers were sentenced

to the same Penalty, much upon the like account, for having spoken or writ against the Government, during the last Troubles; viz. <sup>1631.</sup> *Pope Urban VIII.* the Rev. Mr. *Bouterouë*, Minister of *Grenoble* in *Dauphiné*, and the Rev. Mr. *Basnage*, Minister of *Carentan* in *Normandy*, both Deputies for their respective Province to this Synod.

The Synod comply'd with the first Article, and promised to yield a dutiful Obedience to the King's Will and Declaration, in regard to the Commissioners that were to sit in his Majesty's Name, in all their Ecclesiastical Assemblies. As to the second, they improved the Liberty which the Commissioner granted them, in the King's Name, to petition his Majesty in behalf of the Foreigners which had been admitted to the Ministry since the Year 1623. As to the third and fourth, they begged Liberty most humbly to intreat his Majesty to grant his most gracious Pardon to the Offenders, and to restore them to their Churches; and whereas the Rev. Mr. *Bastide*, Minister of *St. Affrick* in *Higher Languedoc*, was still detained a Prisoner on account of his Deportments in the last Civil War; they most humbly petitioned his Majesty to suffer, that he might be tryed before his proper Judges; and they declared his Church vacant, and that he should be no longer Minister in the said Province.

Then the Synod sent a Deputation to his Majesty, with their Bill of Grievances, craving for a Redress. They complained of the Injustice of the Bishop of *Valence* and his Adherents; whereby twenty-nine Churches were deprived of Pastors in *Vivarets*; nineteen in the *Cevennes*; twenty-four in the Isles of *Rhé*, and *Olcron*, besides those that fell to decay in *Xaintonge*,

Lewis 13. *tonge, Burgundy, Brittany, Berry, Normandy,*  
 1631. *Poitou, and Lower Guienne.* They intreated  
 Pope Ur- his Majesty to cause all Prosecutions com-  
 ban VIII. menced against several Ministers in the Pro-  
 vinces, especially in *Languedoc*, not for utter-  
 ing any undutiful or unloyal Word, but for  
 preaching the pure Word of God, conform-  
 able to their Confession of Faith and the Dis-  
 cipline of their Churches, to cease, and that  
 the Attorney-General should be silenced.  
 To order that the sitting of their Provincial  
 Synods and Colloquies, (which were some-  
 times put off for three or four Years toge-  
 ther, through the Ill-Will of the Governors  
 of Provinces or their Lieutenants,) should be  
 held according to the ancient Order. That  
 the Foreigners who had been admitted to  
 the Holy Ministry since the Year 1623, might  
 continue in the Kingdom, and enjoy the Be-  
 nefit of the Edicts as the Natives; and that  
 he would be pleased to take off the Restric-  
 tion, whereby he restrained for the future,  
 the favour of serving a Church in *France*, only  
 to the Natives. That he would be pleased  
 to reverse the Sentence given against the Rev.  
 Messieurs *Beñauld, Bouterouë* and *Basnage*.  
 That he would be pleased to order, that the  
 Reformed may be indiscriminately admitted  
 unto Dignities, Charges and Employments in  
 the Universities, as heretofore, and unto the  
 Masterhips of Mechanical Arts and Trades,  
 whereof their Enemies endeavoured to de-  
 prive them. That he would be pleased  
 forthwith to issue out his Warrant for the  
 release of so many Captives detained upon  
 his Gallies on no other account but the late  
 Troubles. That he would be pleased to order  
 that the Moneys granted by his Royal Father  
 and



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and himself for the Maintainance of the Mi- Lewis 13.  
nistery, the Arrears whereof amounted then to 1631.  
no less than six hundred twenty-one thousand Pope Ur-  
eight hundred and twelve Livres, should be ban VIII.  
paid out of hand. That he would be pleased  
to order, that the Stipends of Ministers in the  
Principality of *Bearn*, (which ought to be at  
four hundred and eighty Livres for each, ac-  
cording to his Majesty's Declaration, and the  
Edict of *Montpelier*, and which had been re-  
duced to less than the half of that Sum, without  
any other Declaration revoking the former,)  
should be restored upon the ancient footing.

The Rev. Dr. *Amyrault* Pastor and Pro-  
fessor at *Saumur*, and ——— *De Villars* Esq;  
the two Deputies of the Synod, being admit-  
ted to Audience, were most kindly received  
by his Majesty, who was pleased to express  
his utmost Satisfaction for the Compliance of  
the Synod. He granted them sixteen thou-  
sand Livres for discharging the Expences of  
the Synod; furthermore, he granted his Par-  
don to the three delinquent Ministers, who,  
accordingly, took their Seats in the Synod,  
after having been censured by the Commis-  
sioner: As to the rest, he promised them a  
speedy Redress of their Grievances, as soon  
as the Synod should break up; and ordered  
them to proceed without delay, to the No-  
mination of the General Deputies that were  
to attend the Court. The Synod readily com-  
ply'd, and the Marquess of *Clermont* for the  
Nobility, with Mr. *Galland*, Son to the King's  
Commissioner, were presented to his Majesty,  
and approved of by him\*.

Another

\* This was the first time that the King recommend-  
ed the two Persons that were to be named General  
Deputies, (it was a *Congé d'Elire*.)

Lewis 13. Another Affair occasioned great Debates in  
 1631. that Assembly, viz. the Union of *Bearn* with  
 Pope Ur. the other Provinces, not only as to the Doc-  
 ban VIII. trine, but as to the Discipline; which *Galland*  
 opposed with all his might, pretending  
 that it could not be done without the King's  
 special Licence. It was easy for the Depu-  
 ties of *Bearn* to reply; amongst other Ar-  
 guments, they offered one very cogent, to  
 wit, that their Country having been united  
 to the Crown of *France*, to be Members of  
 the same Nation, they had a right to require  
 that their Ecclesiastical Causes should be tried  
 in the Synod of the Nation. Their Reasons,  
 seconded by the Inclination of the Synod,  
 prevailed so far, that the *Bearnese* carried their  
 Point, and the Union was made under certain  
 Conditions.

Then the Synod proceeded to the reading  
 of the Confession of Faith, and of the Dis-  
 cipline. *Galland* insisted upon the Reforming  
 of several Articles thereof, some concerned  
 the Proclamation of those who had turned

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 995

Also that, for the future, the National Synods should always be held at *Charenton*, and nowhere else. He insisted, that for the future, no other Person but the Elders of a Church should be called and take Seat in the Assemblies of the Vestry of the said Church. These three last Articles were not granted.

Lewis 13.  
1631.  
Pope Ur-  
ban VIII.

Though this Synod was mostly composed of Men still affrighted by the taking of *Robelle*, and the Reduction of all their Cautionary Towns, nevertheless the Court was very uneasy, as long as they continued their Sessions. The Catholics frightened at the great Progress which *Gustavus Adolphus* made in *Germany*, fancied him already in *France*, reinforcing by main Force the Reformed to their primitive Splendour. Upon that account it was, that the King as earnestly prest the Separation of it, as if it had been the Political Assembly of *Loudun*, or that of *Robelle*. Nevertheless, before they broke up, the Synod enacted three things, which gave the Missionaries and Politicians fair Pretences to make loud Outcries. The first was a Regulation against all manner of Projects of Reunion with the Papists, conformably to an Act pass'd in the National Synod of *Montmelier* in 1598, where all such like Projects were condemned with great Severity. 2<sup>o</sup>. They appointed a solemn Fast to be kept by all the Reformed Churches throughout the Kingdom. The Papists took it as an Argument, that the Reformed entertained Hopes of being restored by *Gustavus's* Arms, and that they endeavoured to engage God to side with them, by these extraordinary Devotions. 3<sup>o</sup>. A Declaration that the *Lutherans*, who had a mind to it, might be admitted to the

Lewis 13. Holy Communion with them; that the Reformed might contract Marriages with them, and take them for Godfathers, provided the Children should be instructed only in those things, wherein the *Reformed* and *Lutherans* both agree. The Missionaries believed all Obstacles of Re-union with the *Roman Church* to be removed by this Declaration: For that they could not conceive why the Reformed should have more Reluctancy against the *Transubstantiation* of the one, than against the *Impanation* and *Ubiquity* of the others. But others believed that there was more of Policy than of Divinity in this Declaration of the Synod, and that the Reformed had especially in View to ingratiate themselves with the King of Sweden\*.

1632. This Year the Reformed gave such special Instances of their Fidelity, and strict Adherence to the King, that it is no wonder if they were less vexed and molested. Publick Liberty being oppress'd by the tyranni-

1631.  
Pope Urban VIII.  
Loyalty of the Reformed.

## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 997

Courage; they were Proof against all manner Lewis 13.  
of Temptations. 1632.

This Attempt was fatal to the Duke of *Mont-*  
*morency*. He was taken Prisoner in a Skirmish Pope Ur-  
near *Castlenaudary*, brought to *Tboulouse*, tried, ban VIII.  
condemned to lose his Head upon a Scaffold, The Duke  
executed on the 13th of *October* in the 37th of Mont-  
Year of his Age. *Lewis*, bewitched by morency  
the Devilish Policy of his Prime Minister, beheaded.  
could never be prevailed to show Mercy; but  
his Hard-heartedness procured to this most  
illustrious Nobleman, the glory to appear up-  
on the dreadful Stage, like a true Christian  
Hero; it is not possible to read, without be-  
ing moved, his Discourses and Conferences  
with his Confessor, during the four last Days  
of his Life, and his dying Words upon the  
Scaffold.

The Bishops of *Albi* and *Nimes* were de- Bishops de-  
graded, and such would have been the Fate graded.  
of the Bishop of *Uzez*, had he not died du-  
ring his Trial. The others were no less guilty,  
nevertheless they escaped, through the Fa-  
vour of certain Persons. However, that Trial  
of the Bishops for High-Treason, made so  
much noise in the Kingdom, that the Re-  
formed could not forbear triumphing, and  
reproaching the Clergy, with their prin-  
cipal Members falling into Rebellion, which  
till then had been accounted as the proper  
Character of Heresy. But in order to give  
them a Check, the Rev. Mr. *Des Marets*, Mi-  
nister of *Aletz*, was unjustly condemned to  
be hang'd and executed; his Crime consisted in  
this, that he had not been able to hinder the  
Inhabitants of the Town from following the  
Example of their Bishop, and that he had sat  
still, without so much as meddling on either

Lewis 13. side: Couran, his Colleague, was ban

1632. The Rev. Mr. Scoffier, Minister of *Lane*  
 Pope Ur- set down in the List of those that w  
 ban VIII. be sacrificed, though perfectly innocent  
 he did a special Service to the Govern  
 at that very time, whereby he so fully e  
 his Loyalty, that he was not prosecuted

1633. The Death of *Gustavus Adolphus*, k  
 Death of *Lutzen*, the 16th of *November* past, de  
 the King the See of *Rome* from the Dread of his  
 of Sweden. rious Arms. But the Generals that suc  
 him in the Conduct of his Armies,  
 preserved the Advantages he had g  
 House of *Austria* received no Benefit  
 Accident, and the Court of *France* t  
 convenient for her, to renew her A  
 with *Christina*, Daughter and Successor  
*lavus*. Moreover, the Cardinal had se  
 Business both at home and abroad,  
 much ado to guard himself from Co  
 cies against his Life, that he had no  
 to think of the Reformed. Now the  
 no Figure, nevertheless the Kingdom  
 of Factions and Cabals; so that these C  
 tions, which could not be imputed to  
 sufficiently justified the Reformed R  
 which they would have made answer  
 the last Civil Wars, and plainly fix  
 Charge, either upon the Ambition of  
 Persons, or upon the Malice and Infir  
 the Government; or upon both toget

Restora-  
 tion of Pri-  
 vas.

A thing happened this Year, which  
 ed some Comfort to the Reformed  
 Receiver of the Taxes in *Vivarez*, p  
 a Petition to the Council for being d  
 ed, because he could not raise the  
 to which that Province was assessed  
 chief ground of his Petition was the

## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 999

*Privas*, the Inhabitants whereof durst not venture, either to rebuild their Houses or to till their Lands, on account of the rigorous Edict issued out against them in 1629, which forbid them to do it. The Council referr'd the Receiver to *Miron*, Intendant of *Languedoc*, for his Advice: Which was, to moderate the Severity of the Edict, to permit the Inhabitants to return to their Town, to rebuild their Houses, &c. and withal, that the Offices and Charges of the City should be indiscriminately bestowed upon the Reformed as upon the Catholicks. The Council, moved by the Reasons wherewith *Miron* supported his Opinion, issued out a Decree accordingly. But the Reformed of *Privas* forgot to demand the Repeal of the Decree of 1629 in due form, and so their Children paid very dear for the Neglect or Over-Confidence of their Fathers \*.

Lewis 13.  
1633.  
Pope Ur-  
ban VIII.

The Ministers of *Charenton* were put in trouble on account of the Rev. Mr. *Aubertin's Book*, THE EUCHARIST OF THE ANCIENT CHURCH, with the Approbation of his three Colleagues, the Rev. Messieurs *Mezizat*, *Drelincourt* and *Daillé*. They styled themselves *Pastors of the Reformed Churches*, and *Ministers of the Gospel*. The Author in his Dedication to his Flock, called them, *The Faithful of the Reformed Church of Paris*. *Bellarmino* and *Baronius* were styled in several Places, *Enemies to the Church*. Now the Clergy's Agents betook themselves to a short way to confute this Book, which made a great Noise. For instead of answering it, they indicted the Author and his Approvers; letting alone the Matters of Fact and Arguments,

T t t 3

they

en) it Hist. de l'Edit. de Nantes, Tom. II. Liv. x.

1000 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. they attack'd only the Titles of the Book,  
 1633. of the Preface, and the Words of the Ap-  
 Pope Ur- probation. The 14th of July, the Privy Coun-  
 cil issued out a Warrant to seize *Aubertin*,  
 and if he could not be apprehended, he was  
 summoned to make his personal Appearance  
 in three short Days ; and the Approvers were  
 summoned to make their personal Appearance.  
 But after so much Bufile, the Prosecution  
 came to nothing, or very little ; it produced  
 no other than verbal Prohibitions \*.

Other  
 Vexations. The Right of Exercises continued to be at-  
 tacked in several Places, and in that regard,  
 the Reformed had several Injustices to bear  
 with ; and whereas by a Decree of the Coun-  
 cil, the Consulships had been misparted in  
*Languedoc*, between the Reformed and the  
 Papists ; these last took advantage of this,  
 for obtaining, by another Decree, the mispar-  
 tition of the Colleges belonging to the Re-  
 formed, in the Places wherein formerly they  
 had been Masters.

1634. This Year a Doctor of Sorbonne, Probed



that the Alliance of the King of *France* with the Protestants, was contrary to the Interests of the Catholick Religion. He bitterly inveighed against his Majesty, because he chiefly employed the Heads of the Reformed for the Command of his Armies, (and indeed at that time, the Dukes of *Roban* and *Bouillon*, the Marshals of *La Force* and *Cbatillon*, had the Command of them, and the Duke of *Sully* received the Marshal's Staff, this Year in the Month of *September*.) By such and other like Topicks, *Patricius* endeavoured to render the present Government odious to the Catholicks, retorting against the King the very same Arguments, which the *Sorbonnists* had employed for justifying his Arms, and his Alliances. Now, in order to ward off these Objections, it was thought proper to vex the Reformed by some Acts of Injustice: But, in truth, they served to very little purpose; for still the Cardinal bore the Reproach of doing more mischief to the Catholicks abroad, than to the Reformed at home; and that while he took from these some Churches and Churchyards, he was the Occasion that the other lost whole Cities and Provinces.

The 5th of *February*, a Decree was issued out by the King's Council, which adjudged to the Dean of the Catholick Counsellors in the Chamber of *Guienne*, though he might be younger than the Reformed, the Precedency above them, both in the Court of Audience, in the Council, and in the Town-House, in the Absence of the President; but the same Decree preserved to every one his Right in all other Cases. Nevertheless, it was a great Breach in the Privileges of the Officers of that Chamber. The 16th of *March*,

Lewis 13.  
1634.  
Pope Urban VIII.

Injustices  
done to the  
Reformed.

1002 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. the Parliament of *Paris* issued out another  
<sup>1634</sup>  
*Pope Ur-*  
*ban VIII*  
 Decree against Foreign Ministers, which on  
 pretence that they held Correspondence with  
 the Enemies of the Kingdom, or preach'd Doc-  
 trines contrary to the Laws of the Land, for-  
 bid them for the future to be Ministers in  
*France*; ordered those that were admitted,  
 to resign, and threatned the native Reform-  
 ed with heavy Penalties, if they went to hear  
 them. The 20th of *June*, another was issued  
 out, forbidding all Ministers to preach in the  
 Villages out of the Places allowed them for  
 their Exercises. The 29th of *October*, ano-  
 ther Decree was issued out, forbidding the  
 Reformed Counsellors of the Chamber of *Cas-*  
*tres*, to wear red Robes and Caps lined with  
 Ermine, as they used to do, as well as the  
 Catholicks, in publick and in private.

*The great*  
*Affairs.* But the most heavy Persecution of the Re-  
 formed this Year and the next, was that of  
 the extraordinary Sessions (called in *French*  
*Les Grands Jours*) which met at *Poitiers* on  
 purpose to vex them: and whose Jurisdiction

**BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1003**  
complain before, began to be in a terrible Lewis 13.  
right. But, at this time, no body, or very 1634.  
w besides the Reformed, received any harm Pope Ur-  
r this Court. ban VIII.

They opened their Sessions the 4th of Sep-  
tember, and began to hear Causes on the 11th,  
and on Pretence of punishing Offences that  
were not pardoned by the Edicts, and after  
which no Inquisition had been made because  
of the Troubles, they put all the Churches  
of these Provinces in fear of losing their Ex-  
ercises. The inferior Judges having received  
Orders to bring forth Information of all the  
Violences, Rebellions, Usurpations of Cures  
and Priories, to decree, seize and make all  
other requisite Pursuits, even to the definitive  
sentence exclusively, they began to issue out  
more decisive Decrees. There was one of  
the 16th of September, containing nine prin-  
cipal Articles. The first, forbid the Reformed,  
for the future, to bury their Dead in Catho-  
lick Church-yards, under the Penalty of a  
thousand Livres, and to have the Corps dug  
up again. The second, ordered that the Ro-  
mish Service should be settled again in Churches  
which had been possessed by the Reformed.  
The third, forbid tolling to Church with Bells  
belonging to the Catholicks. The fourth, de-  
prived them of the Schools in Places where  
they had not Licence to erect them by re-  
gister'd Letters Patent. The fifth, obliged  
the Reformed Lords to chuse one of their  
Fiefs to settle their Residence in, and conse-  
quently the Right of Exercises, which was  
to be superseded during their Absence. The  
sixth ordered, that the Exercises should cease  
in the Places, the Lords thereof should have  
turned Catholicks, and that it could never  
be

Lewis 13. be done in the Fiefs of the Catholicks without their exprefs Consent. By the seventh, <sup>1634.</sup> *Pope Urban VIII.* all Churches built in the Catholick Church-yards, or so near to the Catholick Churches, that their Service should be interrupted thereby, even those which had been built without exprefs Licence since the Edict of *Nantes*, were to be demolished. The eighth, forbids to preach in the Houses and other Places belonging to the *Romish* Clergy, even in the Halls or publick Places. The ninth, forbids the Reformed to style themselves *the Church*, whenever they should speak of themselves; and to call their Doctrine by any other Name than that of *Pretended Reformed Religion*, under the Penalty of five hundred Livres. This Article had a particular Reference to Marriage-Contracts, wherein the contracting Parties were used to style themselves, *Members of the Church of such a Place*.

That most unjust Decree served as the Basis of all others that were issued out by the

I must not pass over untouched, one of the <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> most heinous Pieces of Injustice that has ever <sup>1634.</sup> been heard of. The Archbishop of *Tours*, <sup>Pope Urban VIII.</sup> Abbot of *St. Maixant*, made a Speech before these Assizes, tending to have the Church of this last Place demolished. *Omer Talon*, Son to *James Talon*, Attorney-General in the Parliament of *Paris*, pleaded for the Archbishop. He was impudent enough for to say openly, that the Reformed were only tolerated, as one suffers a thing which he could wish that it should not be. From that dangerous Principle he farther inferred, that what had any relation to the Religion of the Reformed could not be of those things, for which the Law ought to be favourably understood; that on the contrary, these were Occasions when the Law must be taken in the most rigorous Sense; he pretended to explain the Edict of *Nantz*, by the Edicts of the *League*, which had been revoked by that last; nevertheless upon such Grounds it was that so many Churches were condemned by these Sessions. *Talon* pretending that no Church could be built but in Places of Bailiwick, and such others whose Possession was grounded upon the Edict of 1577, because the 16th Article of the Edict of *Nantz* allowed the having of them, *according to the 2d Article of the Conference at Nerac*. From whence he inferred, that the Favour being not extended in exprefs Words, to the new Possessions established in virtue of the Edict of *Nantz*, the Reformed had no right to have Places purposely built for Preaching, and that they could do it only in the Minister's House, or in some other hired on purpose.

By several other Decrees of the same Sessions, the Reformed were forbid to keep any small

Lewis 13. small Schools, to work in their open Shops  
 1634. upon Holidays, or to speak irreverently of the  
 Pope Ur- the Myſteries of the *Romiſh* Religion, &c. (s).  
 ban VIII.

These Injuſtices were ſupported by the  
 1635. Privy-Council, which for its part ſets forth a  
 Declaration the 18th of *January*, that adjudged  
 the Precedency to the Counſellors of the Par-  
 liament of *Tboulouſe*, that ſerved in the Cham-  
 ber of *Caſtres* in the Abſence of the Preſi-  
 dents, before the Reformed Counſellors tho'  
 never ſo much their Seniors; ſo that that  
 Chamber was reduced to the ſame Condition  
 with that of *Guienne*. About the latter End  
 of this Month alſo, the Catholicks of *London*  
 would needs make the Reformed of that City  
 pay the Charges they had been at, in exorciſing  
 the *Urſulines*; for as yet they had not done  
 with that Farce, which I muſt relate a little  
 more explicitly.

Urſulines For two Years paſt, or thereabout, the *Ur-*  
 of Loudun. ſulines of *Loudun*, either that actually they fell  
 into hyſterick Fits, or that they feigned to be

**BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1007**

Opinions inclined more to the *Reformed* than *Lewis 13.*  
the *Catholicks*, had accused him of having be- <sup>1635.</sup>  
witched the Nuns; so that the Cardinal order- *Pope Ur-*  
ed some Commissaries to try *Grandier*, a- *ban VIII.*  
mongst which was one *Laubardemont*, Coun-  
sellor of State, and Creature of *Richelieu*, who  
was the Foreman in the Commission, and who  
following the Resentment of the wicked Prime-  
Minister, condemned the poor Curate to be  
burnt alive, as convicted of Magical Art.  
Such a devilish Piece of Injustice was enough  
to convince all *Europe*, that the Cardinal was  
a desperate vindictive Man, and that there  
were Clergymen and Monks to be found, ready  
to abuse Religion, in order to carry on their  
hellish Designs. That had appeared the last Year.  
The Cheat would have been too gross and  
coarse had the Possession ended with the  
Execution of *Grandier*, therefore it was  
thought proper to continue it for some time  
longer.

Now the Reformed, who were in great  
Number in that City, having erected a Col-  
lege for their Youth, the *Papists* addressed  
themselves to the base *Laubardemont* for ob-  
taining that Building; in order to which, they  
set forth that the *Ursulines* Convent was too  
small for containing them all, and for to exor-  
cise them commodiously enough; that all the  
Churches of the City were occupied, except a  
Chapel which the Guardian of the *Grey-Friers*  
offered to lend; that the Reformed having  
built their College without the King's Licence,  
they ought to be deprived thereof, and re-  
quired that the said Place should be given  
to the *Catholicks* for transferring thither the  
Nuns, or part of them, in order to cure them.  
Their

Lewis 13. Their Request was granted by Provision, t  
 1635. the King should order it otherwise (1).  
 Pope Ur-

ban VIII. But another Event of a much greater Im-  
 portance happened this Year, I mean the Du-  
 The Duke of Bouillon's turning Papist. I leave it to *Le-  
 lon's Apo- tade*, his Panegyrist, to extol to the Skies the  
 stacy. extravagant Step of his Hero, and to lye,  
 much as he pleases, when he says that the  
 Duke did nothing on this Occasion, but after  
 a mature Deliberation and two Years Exami-  
 nation of both Religions. It is a Matter-  
 Fact, that he would never have taken such  
 Step, had not his Lust prevailed in him over  
 every thing else. The Charms of the  
 Countess of *Bergben* were the only Ornaments  
 which persuaded him. She was a *Roman Catho-  
 lick*, and somewhat a Bigot. Tho' she had  
 no Dowry, nevertheless she would not hearken  
 to the Propositions of Marriage the Duke  
 made, till he had promised to turn *Papist*. His  
 Love was so passionate, that not only he re-  
 fused a more honourable and advantageous  
 Establishment with his First-Cousin, Daughter  
*Frederick* of *Nassau* Prince of *Orange*; but he did  
 not scruple to promise what the Countess re-  
 quired of him, and which he performed the  
 Year, according to some, or in the last Year ac-  
 cording to others; who, it may be, have thought  
 that he turned *Papist* at the same time that  
 he married the Countess, which is not true.  
 However he paid very dear afterwards for his  
 foolish Passion:

1636.  
 Assembly  
 of the  
 Clergy.

This Year a great Storm was excited against  
 the Reformed by the Clergy. They held an  
 Assembly at *Paris*, which had begun the  
 Sessions in *December* last. The first Deputy  
 only spoke to the King about the *Regal*  
 which

(1) *Le Vassor*, Tom. VIII. Liv. 36. *Benoit*. Ibid



BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1009

which the Parliament of *Paris* were willing to attend to all the Bishopricks of the Kingdom; but *De Ners*, Bishop of *Orleans*, would not confine himself within these Bounds, when he spoke to the King on the 17th of *February*. His Speech was the most violent that ever had been heard before, and had he been a *Cotta*, or an *Arfacius*, or some other *Pagan* Priest, he could not have carried himself with more indecency and Fury, than he did on this Occasion. Speaking of the Reformed, he did not vouchsafe them any better Epithets, than those of *Saucy*, *Mad*, and *Frantick*. He charged them with three Things extremely odious. 1st, With openly violating the Edicts, because the last Synod held at *Charenton* in 1631, had declared that the *Lutherans* might be admitted to the Holy Communion with us; that they might contract Marriage with us; and be God-fathers and God-mothers. He pretended that that Declaration was contrary to the Edicts; that it was introducing a new Religion in the Kingdom; as if by that Act of fraternal Communion, the Synod had ever pretended to make the *Lutherans* Partakers of the same Liberty of teaching their Opinions, and publickly exercising their Religion, as the Reformed had obtained by the Edicts: Which was quite contrary to the very Words of the Declaration; for it was expressly said, that the *Lutherans*, chosen by the Reformed to be God-fathers or God-mothers for their Children, should promise not to teach their God-sons, or God-daughters, but such Doctrines as were common and received both by the *Lutherans* and *Reformed*. The Revd. Mr. *Dailé*, Minister of *Charenton*, had published in 1633, the *Apology of the Reunion*; he grounded it chiefly upon the Difference

Lewis 13.  
1635.  
Pope Urban VIII.

Lewis 13. ference of Errors, rightly asserting that some  
1635. are tolerable and others not; amongst the first  
Pope Ur- he ranked the Opinion of the *Greeks* about the  
ban VIII. Proceſſion of the *Holy Ghoſt*, which he did not  
think to be of that conſequence as to authoriſe  
a Schiſm. He alſo ſettled certain general  
Rules for to diſcern the Errors that break the  
Communion of the Church, from thoſe that  
do not. He publiſhed the next Year another  
Treatiſe, with this Title, *Faith grounded upon  
Scriptures*, wherein deſtroying the Authority  
of Tradition in mere Matters of Faith, he fully  
evinced the Doctrine of the Reformed, and  
illustrated the Rules which he had ſet down in  
his *Apology, for the diſcerning of Errors*. The  
Biſhop attack'd theſe two Books. He could  
not endure that *Daillé* ſhould think the An-  
thema pronounc'd againſt the *Greeks* too ſe-  
vere, tho' it was only for an inconfiderable De-  
viation from the Doctrine of the *Latins*. He  
accuſed him of teaching that all Hereſies can  
admit of a Diſpute, eight only excepted, which !

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1011

Now when that Version was to be made use of in the publick Service, the Reformed thought proper, for very good Reasons, to make several Alterations in it, to the end that it might better answer to the Original *Hebrew*; and this Verse was one which they altered, rendering it after the *Hebrew*,

*Seigneur plaise toy nous defendre ;*

ET FAIRE QUE LE ROY,

*Puisse nos requêtes entendre.*

*Encontre tout Effroy.*

The Bishop found two Crimes in that Correction; 1st, That the Meaning had been corrupted; 2. That the Reformed had put themselves in the King's place, by assuming to themselves a Prayer which the Holy Ghost had dictated in his behalf. This was branded as a Piece of Insolence, and an Attempt to deprive the King, as much as in them lay, of the Honour, Fear, and Tribute that was due to him. So that the Bishop would infer from that, that had it been as much in the power of the Reformed to deprive the King of all the Prerogatives of his Crown, as it was to alter the aforesaid Verse, they would never have scrupled to do it. But the furious Man betrayed on this Occasion both his Ignorance in the *Hebrew*, and his exceeding Malignity, and Malice; for that Alteration was made above 17 Years before, and a Wonder it is, that none amongst the Popish Clergy, under the bloody Reigns of *Francis II.* *Charles the IXth*, and *Henry III.* should have taken no Notice of it before this Time. This Article, of an Affair of State which *de Nets* had a mind to make of it, became a Point of Criticism, debated between the Revd. Mr. *Daillé*, and *de Muïs* Regius Professor of the Oriental Tongues at

Lewis 13. *Paris*, who out of Complaisance took the part  
 1636. of *Orleans*.

Pope Ur-  
 ban VIII.

His 3d Charge was against the Ministers who spoke irreverently, as he said, of the Church of *Rome*, and its Mysteries. He called the Revd. Mr. *Drelincourt* an impious Man, and a Blasphemer; because he was the Scourge of the Controversists and Missionaries, and was the most expert for pointing out the Ridiculousness of their Superstitions, and with a noble Freedom called Things by their proper Name: his Letters to Prince *Ernest* of *Hessia*, who turned Catholick, evince what I say, as well as several others of his Works. That great Man was particularly pointed out by *Orleans*, because he instructed the People in a more familiar Manner, better adapted to their Capacity, and afforded them easier and shorter Answers to the Missionaries than any other. This Charge, however, had bad Consequences. The King issued forth an Edict registered in Parliament the 9th of *March*, which condemned the Blasphemers of God, of the Virgin and Saints, to Fines for the four first Times; the 5th to be put to the Pillory; the 6th to have the upper Lip cut off; the 7th, the under Lip; the 8th to have the Tongue cut off. *De Nets* concluded his Speech by requiring that *Daille's* Books should be burned, and the Author with his Approvers (his three Colleagues) severely punished; in which respect he missed his Aim.

It cannot be imagined what Number of Vexations the Reformed had to suffer by the Concessions which *Lewis* made to the Clergy, against the poor Reformed. Nay, upon many Articles, the King granted our bitterest Enemies whatever they required in their Bill, how  
 contrary

## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1013

contrary soever it was against his Father's <sup>Lewis 13.</sup>  
and his own Edicts, solemn Promises, and <sup>1636.</sup>  
Declarations. So all Churches, condemned <sup>Pope Ur-</sup>  
by the last grand Assizes, were to be demolish- <sup>ban VII.</sup>  
ed; and Ministers were forbid to preach out  
of the Place of their Abode, consequently the  
Annexes were without any publick Exercise  
of Religion; they were forbid to preach upon  
the Lands of the Clergy, or within five  
Leagues Distance from the Parliament Cities;  
or in Episcopal Cities, &c. and several others  
no less unjust; whereby it plainly appeared  
that the Reformed had not only no Favour,  
but even no Justice to expect from their im-  
placable Enemies.

Most part of the Decrees above-mentioned <sup>1637.</sup>  
were revived this Year; but several had very <sup>Vexations.</sup>  
grievous and vexatious Articles added to  
them. The Parliament of *Rouen*, by a De-  
cree of the 18th of *March*, forbid to keep any  
publick School at *St. Lo*, and allowed Masters  
only to teach in the Houses to read and to  
write, without Catechising, or making pub-  
lick Prayers or Lectures contrary to the Te-  
nets of the *Romish* Church. The 18th of  
*April*, the Privy-Council issued forth a De-  
cree, forbidding all manner of Religious pub-  
lick Exercise in the Absence of the Ministers,  
or in any other Place but that which was al-  
lowed by the Edicts. The Consistories were  
forbidden to hinder Parents, Tutors, and Ma-  
sters from sending their Children, Pupils, or  
Servants to Papist School-Masters approved of  
by the Ordinary. The Reformed at *Paris*  
had erected an Alms-House in the Suburb of  
*St. Marceau*, for the Reception of their own  
Sick. But upon Complaints thereof brought

Lewis 13. before the Privy-Council, a Decree was issued  
 1637. forth the 30th of June, ordering the Sick in  
 Pope Ur- that House to be transferred to the *Hôtel Dieu*  
 ban VIII. or to the *Charity*, and the Beds and other  
 Household-Goods to be deposited there 'till the  
 King should dispose of them; and that the  
 Steward of the House, with his Family,  
 should quit it, under Penalty of Imprisonment  
 and other corporal Punishment.

The 27th  
 National  
 Synod.


St. Mars's  
 Speech.

A thousand other little Injustices were per-  
 petrated, too tedious to relate. Amidst these  
 Vexations, the Churches expected to receive  
 some Comfort from their National Synod,  
 which met this Year at *Alençon* in *Normandy*,  
 by the King's Appointment. They opened  
 their Session the 27th of May; the Reverend  
 Mr. *Benjamin Basnage*, Minister of *St. Marc*  
 in *Normandy*, was chosen Moderator; the  
 Reverend Mr. *Daniel Couppé*, Minister of  
*Loudun*, Assessor; and *Peter De Lannoy* Esq;  
 Elder in the Church of *Charenton*, together  
 with . . . . . \* Secretaries. Then —  
*St. Mars* Esq; Counsellor of State (a Man  
 still more at the Court's Devotion than *Augustus Galland* Esq;  
 had been, as it is plain by  
 the intolerable Propositions he made to this  
 Synod) presented his Credentials for sitting in  
 the Synod as the King's Commissioner. After  
 the reading thereof, he made an ingenious  
 Speech, before he presented the Articles, with  
 which he was charged by his Instructions. He  
 extolled to the Skies the King's Power, which  
 the Hand of God, that had assisted him all  
 along, had rendered formidable both abroad  
 and at home. He spake of the Misfortunes  
 that

\* Mr. *Blondel* is named in my Author; but as that  
 Name is not inserted in the List of the Deputies to the  
 present Synod, I chuse to leave it in blank.

that had befallen them, while they were possessed of the Cautionary Towns; and of the **QUIETNESS** they enjoyed since they depended solely upon the King's Favour. He compared their present Condition, grounded upon the King's Word, and upheld against the Passions of People agitated by too various Commotions, to the Earth that hangs poised in the Air by the Word of God. He heightened the Confidence that the King had in them, as appeared by that Mark of his Favour, graciously allowing them to meet together in a time of War: From all which he inferred, that it behoved them to rule their Thoughts, Words and Actions by Obedience.

Lewis 13.  
1637.  
Pope Ur-  
ban VIII.



Then he came to his Instructions, and declared, I. That the King forbid them to hold any Intelligence either at home or abroad. II. That the King did not allow, that one Province should hold Communication with another, as it had happened between the Provincial Synods of the *Lower Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*, on account of the Rev. Mess. *Cregut* and *Arnaud*. III. That it was the King's Pleasure, *N. B.* that the Ministers should preach Obedience, and THAT WHENEVER ANY ORDER SHOULD BE ISSUED OUT, WHICH MIGHT SEEM REPUGNANT TO LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE, for want of knowing the true Motives, he forbid them to tax his Conduct with any Design against their Religion, the Liberty whereof he was resolved to maintain; consequently he ordered them to forbear the Words, *Scourges of God, Persecution, Martyrdoms*, or the like. IV. That he forbid them to use the Words *Antichrist*, or *Idolaters*, or such like, when they spoke of the

*His In-  
structions.*

**Lewis 13.** *Pope*, or the Catholicks; and to forbear all  
 1637. sharp and offensive Words against the Mini-  
*Pope Ur-* sters who had turned Catholicks, under the  
*ban VIII.* Penalty of Interdiction, or a greater Punish-  
 ment, if the Case required it. V. That he  
 forbid the selling any Books of Religion, print-  
 ed without or within the Kingdom, if they  
 were not first examined and approved by two  
 Ministers appointed for that Purpose, under  
 the Penalty of Forfeiture. VI. That the  
 King willeth, that the Synod should order to  
 obey the Civil Judges in the Causes of Mar-  
 riage of a Person, whose first Marriage had  
 been annulled by their Sentence; and to re-  
 voke what the Provincial Synod, held at *Au-*  
*duze*, had done to the contrary. VII. That  
 the Ministers should obey the Declarations  
 concerning the Annexes, under the Penalty of  
 forfeiting the Favours granted by the Edicts.  
 VIII. And whereas also you are allowed, says  
 the Commissioner, by the 44th Article of par-  
 ticular Matters in the Edict of *Nantz*, to con-  
 vene the chief Members of any Church before



**BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1017**

*the poor Ministers to a starving Condition ; the* Lewis 13.  
1637.  
Pope Ur-  
ban VIII  
*Incumbent LEWIS and his Cardinal not paying,  
for above six Years together, the Sums granted  
for that Purpose by his Father or by himself,  
and never paying the Arrears due.* IX. And

further, since it cannot be imagined, that any Person could be guilty of such extreme Baseness and Ingratitude, as to refuse a Contribution to the Support and Maintenance of his own Pastor ; however, lest there should be such an one, and to prevent it for the future, his Majesty explaining the 44th Article before-mentioned, doth permit every *New-Year's-Day*, or any of the twelve Days in the beginning of the Year, to convene the principal Members of every Church in the Nature of a Vestry, to consult about their Minister's Salaries, Charges of Journies unto Colloquies, and for the Maintenance of the Professors and Regents in your Universities, and the repairing of your Churches, and to make a List of all Persons able to contribute towards the said Charges ; which being brought before a Judge Royal, shall be authorised by him ; and then every one so assessed by him shall be compelled to pay in his Quota ; and in case of Refusal, it shall be levied by Distress and Fine, notwithstanding his Opposition or Appeal, as is done in the gathering in of his Majesty's Revenues : And therefore his Majesty forbiddeth all Ministers to go a gathering for their Maintenance from door to door.

*This was but another Device to know the more substantial Members of every Church, to point them out, and to pinch them more severely upon occasion.)* X. And his Majesty being informed that the Synod of Nimes hath granted unto the Rev. Mr. Petit, Minister of that

Lewis 13. Place, and Professor in Divinity, the Sum of  
<sup>1637.</sup>  
*Pope Ur-*  
*ban VIII.*  
700 Livres; he doth now decree that the  
said Sum shall be paid out of the Moneys de-  
signed for the Maintenance of the Universities  
by the last National Synod, and to be taken  
out of the Dividend belonging to those three  
Colloquies which compose the said Synod;  
and his Majesty commandeth and injoineth  
you to observe and keep those aforesaid Ca-  
nons, as well for the Payment of the Minister,  
as for the raising of Moneys. XI. Whereas  
the Synod of *Nimes* decided, that Baptism  
administered by one who had neither Call, nor  
Commission, was null; and enjoined Pastors  
not in the least to scruple the baptizing such  
Children who had had Water poured upon  
them by Women, or any Lay-men, without  
Call or Commission to baptize; 'tis his Ma-  
jesty's Pleasure that this Article be amended,  
for such Reasons as I shall recite unto you in  
the very Words of my Instructions.

Because from hence comes the Opinion of  
Re-baptizing: for from the Doubt they make

**BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1019**

cannot say there hath been a Want or Failure Lewis 13.  
of any Call, hath decided this Point, and in 1637.  
case of Necessity hath judged probably of the Pope Ur-  
Infant's Disposition; therefore all Persons are ban VIII.  
called, and the Word and Water intervening,  
the Church will not have this Act to be any  
more repeated. *Benoit* has prodigiously man-  
gled these four last Articles in the second Vo-  
lume of his History of the Edict of *Nantz*,  
Book XI. upon what Account, or for what  
Purpose, I cannot tell.

The Synod expressed their Resentment of Answer'd  
these Injustices by the Mouth of the Modera- by the Mo-  
tor, but with that Prudence and Management derator.  
that was agreeable to their present Condition;  
they justified the Synod of *Nimes*, and those of  
*Dauphiné* and *Cevennes*, from the false Charges  
put upon them, and excused their Communi-  
cation one with another as absolutely necessary.  
They promised that the Provincial Synods  
should never make any Regulations, nor order  
Fasting Days, for the general Body of the  
Churches; that they would submit to the Go-  
vernment, and forbear all sharp Expressions  
and Reflections; but they besought the King  
to repress the outrageous Language of the Ca-  
tholicks. Moreover, they promised not to  
publish any Book without Approbation, and  
that they should follow the Ordinances of the  
Civil Magistrates, as to the dissolving of Mar-  
riages. He insisted much upon the Article of  
the Annexes, and plainly evinced, that the De-  
crees issued forth either by the great Sessions,  
or by the Privy-Council against them, was  
quite contrary to the very Words and Mean-  
ing of the Edict of *Nantz*. He denied that  
the Ministers were paid out of the Poor's Box,  
or by Gatherings from House to House, and  
approv'd

Lewis 13. approv'd of what had been done for the Rev.

1637. Dr. *Petit*, as done according to the ancient  
 Pope Ur. Use. Lastly, he approved the Determination  
 ban VIII.

of the Synod of *Nimes* concerning the Baptism administered by Women or Laymen, and declared that they could not in any wise depart from that Article of their Confession of Faith and Discipline. Therefore they besought his Majesty that, since he was pleased to allow them the free Exercise of their Religion, he would likewise be pleased not to insist any more upon that Article.

Then they sent the Rev. Mr. *John Gigerd*, Minister of *Montpelier*; *Daniel Ferrand*, Minister of *Pourdeaux*; and *John Richer*, Lord of *Cerizi Esq*; Elder of the Church of *Gaulé* in *Normandy*, Deputies to the King, with very adulatory Letters to his Majesty, and much more so to the Cardinal. But when the Synod offered to read the Memoirs they had received from their Principals, concerning the manifold Infringements of the Edict; the Commissio-

themselves, and for themselves, should, contrary to their Conscience, style and qualify themselves of the Pretended Reformed Religion.

Lewis 15.  
1637.  
Pope Urban VIII.

Having prevailed over the Commissioner, they read the Bill which was to be tendered to his Majesty by their Deputies : It contained nineteen Articles, several of which had been granted to the last National Synod in 1631, but had remain'd unperform'd. Such were,  
1°. The Release of the Slaves from the Gallies on account of the last Troubles, in 1629.  
2°. The Payment of the King's Moneys for the Maintenance of the Churches (there were above seven Years Arrears due.) 3°. and 4°. The Restitution of above eighty Churches, seventy-eight whereof were particularly designed by their Names. The fifth concerned the Church-yards, which had not been restored to them since the Year 1625, tho' that had been promised them, by the Answers at that time given to their Bills. The others were new : The first complain'd, that tho' by a Decree of the Council of the 13th of May, a Stop had been put to the Cavils of the Catholicks of *Alençon*, where the Synod was, concerning the Right of Exercise in the City, and that of burying in the Suburbs of *St. Blaise*, where the Reformed had a Church-yard ; yet, notwithstanding the said Decree, and during the Sessions of the Synod, the Reformed had been a-new summoned before the Council upon the same account. The next was about the Affairs of the Country of *Gex*, where *Machaut* had subverted, by his Ordinances, all the ancient Usages of the Country ; and even the Regulations made in 1612 by the Commissaries, with the Consent of the Bishop and the Catholick Inhabitants,

Lewis 13. bitants, and confirmed by a Decree of the  
 1637- Council of the 13th of *December*, in the same  
 Pope Ur- Year. The third and fourth complain'd of  
 ban VIII. certain Decrees of the Parliaments of *Reunes*,  
*Rouën*, *Bordeaux*, and of the Council itself,  
 for obliging the Reformed to put Hangings  
 before their Houses on the great Procession-  
 Days, and to contribute towards things which  
 the second Article of the Particulars of the  
 Edict of *Nantz* had dispensed with ; such as  
 Fraternities, the repairing or building of Pres-  
 byteries, &c. The fifth complained that Chil-  
 dren were taken away from their Parents  
 without their Consent. The sixth and seventh  
 spoke of the Colleges, on which account the  
 Reformed were prosecuted where-ever they  
 undertook to settle any ; especially they com-  
 plained, for that the Commissaries named for  
 parting the Colleges of Royal Foundations in  
*Languedoc*, having been divided in their Opi-  
 nion, the Catholick had forbid to teach the  
 Reformed Divinity in that Part of the Col-  
 lege, which was to be their own, and the

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1023

The Deputies being arrived at Court, and Lewis 13.  
admitted to Audience, the Rev. Mr. Ferrand <sup>1637.</sup> Pope Ur-  
made a flourishing Speech to the King, where-  
ban VIII.  
he carried the King's Independency as high  
as he could; he styled his Majesty *the Sun of  
his Heaven, the Soul of this vast Body, the  
Heart of this Gallick Monarchy*; and wished  
for him, *an innumerable People going and com-  
ing at the first Beck and Motion of his Majesty.*

That was very fine indeed; but was it becom-  
ing to a true *Frenchman*, nay, to a sincere  
Protestant Minister? But that which he made  
to the Cardinal was still more adulatory; and

I am sure that his Forefathers would have  
blush'd and fretted at his saying to the Cardi-  
nal, that he was that *Intelligence which mov'd  
that admirable Monarchy* WITH THE GREA-  
TEST REGULARITY; *That Assistant Spirit  
of this great Body, which heretofore was like  
one of the floating Islands, but now your most  
admired Conduct hath bound it so fast with the  
chains of Royal Authority, that in the greatest  
and most dreadful Tempest it abideth firm and  
unmoveable.* He had told him a little before,  
*That the Stedfastness of God and the King's Word  
shin'd visibly in the Face of his Eminency,* HE  
BEING THEIR LIVELY POURTRAITURE.

I don't know whether the Reformed Churches  
owned him when he pray'd, that *God Almighty  
would take from our Days and add to his  
(the King's) and unto yours also,* MY LORD.  
But for all this Bombast, they got nothing but  
fair Words, only the King order'd 16,000  
Livres for discharging the Expences of the  
Synod, to which and to the Commissioner he  
wrote, and deferred to answer their Bill, 'till  
they had broke up.

In

1024 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 13. In the mean while, the Commissioner had  
 1637. been very pressing to oblige the Synod to name  
 Pope Ur- two Persons for their Deputies-General, that  
 ban VIII were to attend the Court, and declared unto  
 them, that in case they did not agree with  
 him, the Marquis of *Clermont* should be con-  
 tinued, and another chosen, without their  
 Concurrence, to be join'd with him. There-  
 upon, the Synod held a Conference, by some  
 Deputies of every Province, with the Com-  
 missioner, and they agreed to continue the  
 Marquis of *Clermont*, and to adjoin to him  
 ——— *Marbault* Esq; for the Commons. The  
 Synod wrote to the King about that Nomina-  
 tion; he accepted of it: But the truth is,  
 that Mr. *Marbault*, either on account of his  
 great Age, or for some other Reason, had very  
 little to do, and that the said Marquis en-  
 grossed all the Affairs of the Churches; and  
 from this very Time, the King took upon him  
 to name but one general Deputy to attend the  
 Court, in which Nomination the Churches



## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1625

should be excommunicated. But the best thing which the Synod did, was the suppressing the Disputes, which for some Years past were come to a great heat amongst the Divines, about *Universal Grace*; which indeed would have completed the Ruin of our Churches, had not a Stop been put to them, by obliging the two Parties to a mutual Forbearance. There were at this time 647 Ministers in *France*, and 626 Churches, besides a great Number destitute of Ministers, and the Annexes.

This Year, the Reformed had the sorrow to see their King putting his Kingdom under the Protection of the Blessed Virgin; where by they were threatned with a general Persecution.

The Duke of *Roban* died of the Wounds he receiv'd at the Battle of *Rhinfield*, and was buried in the Church of *St. Peter* at *Geneva*. The Persecutions against the Sick to oblige them to turn Catholicks were continued. The Relapses began also to be prosecuted in *Languedoc*. The Duke of *Bouillon* issued forth an Edict the 30th of *August*, in behalf of the Reformed of his Principality of *Sedan*, which was as favourable as could be wish'd,

On the 5th of *September*, God sent into the World, for the Punishment of our Sins, *XIVth*, the Scourge of his own Kingdom, and the Plague of *Europe*. That Birth occasioned the Erection of several Masterships, and even the granting Letters of Nobility; and to render the Joy more universal, the Reformed were admitted to be Partakers of these Favours as well as the Catholicks, without any Difficulty at all.

But these Favours could in no way make amends for the many Vexations the Reformed had

Lewis 13.  
1637.  
Pope Urban VIII.

1638.  
France under the Virgin's Protection.

Rohan's Death.

Lewis 14.  
born.

1639.  
Several Vexations of the Reformed.

Lewis 14. had to suffer, in many Parts of the Kingdom.  
1639 The Cardinal was at variance with the Court  
Pope Ur- of Rome. That went so far, that they talk'd  
ban VIII in France of creating a *Patriarch*, and by that  
means, to break off all Correspondence with  
the Holy See; but lest these Heats should  
prove a Scandal to the Catholicks, some Acts  
of Injustice or other must be done to the Re-  
formed. Those of *Villiers-le-bel* were forbid to  
sing Psalms, to say their Prayers, or to work  
upon Holidays. The Ministers in *Dau-  
phiné* were forbid by the Parliament of *Grenoble*  
to preach without the Place of their Residence,  
or to obstruct the sending of Children and  
Pupils to Catholick Schools and Regents, un-  
der a Fine of two thousand Livres, and Im-  
prisonment, or other corporal Punishment for  
the Ministers; they were ordered to hang  
Tapestries before their Houses, on *Corpus  
Christi* Day, and the *Assumption* of the *Virgin*;  
which they were obliged to do in several other  
Places, tho' the King had expressly promised

**BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1027**

See the Sacrament, when they met it in the <sup>Lewis 13.</sup> Streets; that they did not allow their Ser- <sup>1640.</sup> <sup>Pope Ur-</sup> <sup>ban VIII.</sup> ~~vants~~ to go to Mass; that they would not have them comforted by a Priest, &c. in their Sickness; that they obliged them to work upon Holy-Days; requiring a Regulation to be made upon these Articles. His Request was granted, as to the three last Articles, and the Reformed were forbidden to give any trouble to their Servants upon these accounts. But as to the first, there was a Provision in the ~~Edict~~; the Catholicks would fain oblige the Reformed to kneel when they could not get out of the way; and the Reformed protested that they were exempted from it. That ~~affair~~ was brought before the Privy-Council, and a Decree issued forth the 23d of *October*, confirming the Opinion of the Catholicks, and upon the Refusal of the Reformed, condemned them to forfeit 500 Livres for the first ~~Contumacy~~; 1500 for the second; and 2000, with Banishment out of the Province, for the third. That Decree was an exorbitant Infringement of the Edict of *Nantz*, which exempted the Reformed from every thing contrary to their Conscience. The Precedency was adjudg'd, by a Decree of the Council of the 30th of *November*, to the Catholick Officers over the Reformed, in the Chambers of Accompts, Aids, and Exchequer at *Montpelier*, in the same manner as it had been in the Chambers of *Guyenne* and *Languedoc*. So that in all the Sovereign Courts the Reformed were divested of their Privileges.

But this Year they had to suffer one of the <sup>1641.</sup> most crying Injustices that could be offered: The Decree of the 23d of *October* last, concerning the Host, having been presented to

**Lewis 13** the Chamber of *Castres* to be register'd, *Yzarn*  
 1641. the Register, supported by the Reformed  
*Pope Urr-* Counsellors, refused to enroll it; and *Boyer*  
*ban VIII.* and *Baulès*, Consuls of the same Religion, re-  
 fus'd the Publication of it. The Reason of  
 their Refusal was obvious enough: The Re-  
 formed could not pay that outward Mark of  
 Veneration to the Sacrament, which they  
 don't think to be adorable, without wound-  
 ing their Conscience. Therefore the Court  
 being inform'd of this Refusal, a new Decree  
 was issued forth the 2d of *January*, to explain  
 the former, whereby it was order'd, that both  
 Men and Women should get out of the way  
 upon the Tinkling of the Bell; and if they  
 could not, that they should put themselves in  
 a Posture of Respect; the Men, by pulling off  
 their Hats only. But lest the Reformed should  
 take this for a Token of Kindness to them,  
 another Decree was issued forth the same Day,  
 that the Register and the two Consuls should  
 be proceeded against, for not having register'd

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1029

*President and Counsellors of that Chamber, who* Lewis 14.  
*were all taken out of the Parliament of Thou-* 1641.  
*louse; they were denied even what is granted* Pope Ur-  
*to Criminals in ordinary Cases; they were* ban VIII.  
*sent to Jail, condemned to pay a Fine and all the*  
*Charges, to beg pardon on their Knees, and be*  
*suspended from their Offices for six Months.*  
*This was a Precedent which the Parliament of*  
*Thoulouse knew very well how to improve*  
*afterwards.*

*I shall but just mention here the dreadful* *Massacre*  
*Massacre of Ireland, perpetrated by the Pa-* *of Ireland.*  
*pists, whereby above a hundred and fifty*  
*thousand Protestants miserably perished in two*  
*Months time, by several kinds of Tortures and*  
*Deaths, which Rome only can invent, and*  
*a Papist execute. The Tragedy began on the*  
*21<sup>st</sup> or 22<sup>d</sup> of November 1641.*

*Mary of Medicis, Queen Dowager of France,* 1642.  
*died at Cologne the 3d of July 1642. She* *Death of*  
*had done what she could to be reconciled with* *Mary of*  
*Richelieu, only she refused to sacrifice Father* *Medicis.*  
*Chanceloube, the Abbot of St. Germain, and*  
*the Viscount Fabroni. She had been wandering*  
*for ten Years together in Flanders, in Eng-*  
*land, in Holland, and then in Germany. She*  
*died incumber'd with Debts, and left nothing*  
*to recompense her own Servants.*

*On the 13th of March had been concluded* *Treaty of*  
*the Treaty of Madrid, signed by Fontrailles,* *Madrid.*  
*in the Name of the Duke of Orleans, of the*  
*Duke of Bouillon, and of Cinq-Mars, first*  
*Gentleman of the Horse; Spain promised*  
*them 12000 Foot, 5000 Horse, and large*  
*Sums of Money. Richelieu receiv'd a Copy*  
*thereof, by a Spy he had in the King of Spain's*  
*Council. The Consequence of this was, that*  
*Cinq-Mars and De Thou, Son to the great*

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**Lewis 13.** Historian, were beheaded at *Lyons*, the first as one of the Actors and Principals in the Treaty; the other for not having revealed what *Cinq-Mars*, (HIS OWN PARTICULAR FRIEND) had told him about that Conspiracy; tho' it was clearly proved, not only that he had no hand at all in it, but even that he had done his best endeavour to divert his Friend from it. *Bouillon* would have had the same Fate, had not the Dutchess his Wife threatned to deliver *Sedan* to the *Spaniards*, was her Husband judged with Rigour. However, he was very glad to redeem his Life by yielding *Sedan* to the Crown of *France*. As to the Duke of *Orleans*, he made a full Confession of all; he asked Pardon, and consented to have no Guards nor Appanage, if he was suffer'd only to live in the Kingdom. *N. B.* This Conspiracy was not against the King, but against the Cardinal, whose Tyranny was become intolerable.

**Richelieu's Death.**

This was the last Act of the cruel and detestable Policy of *Richelieu*. He died the 4th of *December*, aged 58 Years. *Lewis* never loved him, but he rather dreaded him; he maintained him, because he thought that he could not do without him. 'Tis to that Man, that the two late *French* Kings and the present are beholden, for their arbitrary Government and despotick Power.

**1643. Lewis XIIIth's Death.**

*Lewis XIIIth* did not survive him long, his Constitution was very weak, and his Health had been very much impaired through the continual Fatigues his Favourites or Prime Minister had put him to for the twenty last Years of his Reign. His Body was quite worn out, and having languished for some Weeks

Weeks in his Bed, he died the 14th of May <sup>Lewis 13.</sup>  
 at *St. Germain en Laye* in the 42d Year of <sup>1643.</sup>  
 his Age, and just beginning the 33d of his <sup>Pope Ur-</sup>  
 Reign. The many Executions he caused to <sup>ban VIII.</sup>  
 be made even of the greatest Men of his  
 Kingdom, oftentimes upon very slight occa-  
 sions, and only to gratify the Jealousies of  
 his *Richelieu*: The Barbarities perpetrated by  
 his Orders at *Negreplisse* and *Privas*; the ma-  
 nifold Infractions of his Treaties, and Viola-  
 tions of his most solemn Promises to his Reform-  
 ed Subjects, plainly declare what sort of Man  
 he was: To which I may add the cruel Treat-  
 ment he used to his own Mother, to his own  
 Consort, to his own Brother, all which he  
 sacrificed to the ungrateful *Richelieu*. The  
 best that I can find in him, is his exactness  
 in putting in execution the Laws against  
 Duels: The Counts of *Boutteville* and *la*  
*Chapelle* paid, with their Heads upon a Scaf-  
 fold in the *Greve*, the Violation thereof; not-  
 withstanding the most pressing Intreaties  
 and Sollicitations of the greatest of the King-  
 dom for having their Lives spared. He  
 named before his Death *Anne* of *Austria*, his  
 Consort, to be Regent; the Duke of *Or-*  
*leans* his Brother, to be Lieutenant-General;  
 the Prince of *Condé* and Cardinal *Mazarini*,  
 to be Chiefs of the Council. The Autho-  
 rity of the Queen Regent and of the Duke  
 of *Orleans* were extremely limited by that  
 Disposition; every thing in the Council  
 was to be done by the Plurality of Votes.  
 But it was soon reversed after his Death.

*LEWIS XIV.* was but four Years and <sup>Lewis 14.</sup>  
 eight Months old, when he came to the <sup>succeeds his</sup>  
 Crown. Four Days after his Father's Death, <sup>Father.</sup>  
 the Parliament of *Paris* declared his Mother

X x x 3 Regent

**Lewis 14.** Regent of the Kingdom, without any Condition or Reserve; and four Hours after, she named Cardinal *Mazarini* Prime Minister. Tho' it is true, that she could hardly do without *Mazarini*, who was, as one may say, the only Man thoroughly acquainted with the Affairs abroad, having been employed by *Richelieu* in Matters of the greatest Importance for many Years together, and even had been recommended by him to the King, as the ablest and properest Person for succeeding him in the Ministry; and tho' upon that account she was to be excused, and even praised for having sacrificed her private Resentments to the Publick Good; nevertheless it is not an easy thing to make her Apology, for having forsaken her ancient Friends, who had forsaken every thing for her sake; nay, for having sacrificed several who had been loaded with Misfortunes on her account, and because they sided with her during the late Ministry. So that her too little regard for those who had been her best Friends.



BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1033

*port of the King, of his Crown, and of his* Lewis 14.  
*Kingdom, against the Efforts of those* GOOD 1643.  
CATHOLICKS, *who endeavoured the Subver-* Pope Ur-  
*sion of the one and the other.* But more of ban VIII.  
this in its proper place.

This new King, at his Accession to the *A Decree*  
Crown, issued forth a Declaration the 8th *for the E-*  
of July, confirming the Edict of Nantz. *dict of*  
Tho', says he, that Edict and all other De- Nantz.  
clarations and Regulations are PERPETUALS,  
we do confirm them a-new, as far as need  
is, or may be, by these Presents, &c. So  
that it is plain that the Court was still then  
persuaded, that the Edicts which were per-  
petual, preserved all their Force, even after  
the Decease of him who had given them;  
and that there was no occasion for *his* Suc-  
cessor to confirm them, in order to give them  
a new Strength. Much more then were  
they to be deemed INVIOABLE, when the  
Successor had adopted them as his own,  
confirming them by his own Declaration.

Nevertheless, the Reformed received no 1644.  
Benefit by it; they were vexed in several *The Re-*  
Places, and could receive no other Redress of *formed con-*  
their Grievances, but in Words and in Paper. *tinue to be*  
True it is, that the Troubles and Confusions *vexed.*  
wherewith this Minority was attended, left  
the Court neither time nor means for re-  
dressing these Grievances, tho' it had been  
as well disposed in behalf of the Reformed,  
as they could have wished. So that not  
only the Parliaments, but even the inferiour  
Courts in the Provinces paid very little re-  
gard to the Orders that came from Court,  
and did what they pleased. So in *Bearn*,  
the Reformed, who were the greatest Number  
in the Parliament of *Pau*, having lost by de-  
grees that Advantage, petitioned for a mi-

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Lewis 14. parted Chamber; or at least that their Causes  
 1644. should be referred to the Chambers either of  
 Pope Ur- *Languedoc* or *Guienne*; or that they may  
 ban VIII. challenge four Judges, either Presidents or  
 Counsellors without giving cause. But all  
 that they could obtain was a Decree com-  
 manding the said Parliament to do them  
 Justice, so that they should have no farther  
 occasion for Complaint.

*The Duke of Bouillon's Flight.* The Duke of *Bouillon*, whose Cession of  
*Sedan, Raucourt, St. Mauges, &c.* had been  
 forced, had a mind to improve the Oppor-  
 tunity of a boisterous Minority, for breaking  
 his Word and re-entering into Possession of his  
 former Estate. He would have succeeded  
 better, had he taken another Course, and  
 flatter'd Cardinal *Mazarini*; but he chose to  
 follow his Dutches's Advice, and instead  
 of repairing to *Lorges* near *Blois*, to settle  
 with the King's Ministers what Compensa-  
 tion he was to have in Lands of his Majesty's  
 Demesn for his Sovereignty of *Sedan, &c.*  
 he retired clandestinely with her into *Scot-*

## BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1035

for that purpose, bearing Date *June 1644*, <sup>Lewis 14.</sup> and was registered in the Court of *Aids* the <sup>1644.</sup> 30th of *August*. <sup>Pope Innocent X.</sup>

In the same Month of *August* died Pope *Urbanus VIIIth*, after a Pontificate of 28 <sup>Pope Innocent succeeds Urban VIII.</sup> Years, 11 Months, and 22 Days. He was succeeded by Cardinal *Pamfilio*, elected the 10th of *September*, who took the Name of *Innocent X.*

From the Year 37, there had not been <sup>The 28th National Synod.</sup> any National Synod, which indeed was very detrimental to the Churches; the King's Council being well assured of the Fidelity of the Reformed, granted them one for this Year, to be held at *Charenton*. It was the third held at that Place. Accordingly they met there, by their Deputies, on the 26th Day of *December*. The Reverend Mr. *Drelincourt* opened the Sessions with a Prayer to God, and then proceeded to the Election of the Officers of the Synod. The Votes were delivered in Writing for the first time, and the Reverend Mr. *Garrisoles* Minister at *Montauban* was chosen Moderator, the Reverend Mr. *Basnage* Minister of *St. Mere Eglise* Assistant, and the Reverend Mr. *Blondel* formerly Minister of *Houdan*, together with *Theodorus le Coq* Esq; Elder in the Church of *Charenton*, Secretaries. Then *De Cumont* Esq; Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, having delivered his Credentials, whereby he was appointed to assist in the Synod as the King's Commissioner; he made a Speech, which was no better than a Mingle-mangle of base Adulations to the King; of Exhortations to Passive Obedience; of ridiculous Complaints, against what had never been complained of before; of unjust Orders which

<sup>1644.</sup>  
*Pope In-*  
*nocent X.* Lewis 14. which could not be complied with, without renouncing their Religion; of Severities more capable of exasperating than of encouraging his Hearers. According to that Man, Slavery was to be the Lot of the Reformed; nay, they ought to think themselves very happy, if they were suffered to live, even in that Condition. Nevertheless, that Man was a Reformed, but of those Reformed who knew how to make their Religion and the Welfare of their Brethren subservient to their own Fortune and Interest.

These unreasonable Complaints, these unjust Orders, that rough Language, were enough to convince the Synod that they were not to depend upon the Promises of the King's Good-will to them made by the Commissioner, they might foresee that they were to suffer one time or other all manner of Oppression.

Nevertheless the Moderator answer'd in the Synod's Name, with a great deal of Hu-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1037

Confession of Faith having been tendered to Lewis 14 Francis II. almost such as it was now, and the Exercise of the Reformed Religion allowed in consequence of the Edict of January 1561, and afterwards, of the Edict of *Vantz*, the Words thereof could not be altered. That it was not the whole Body of Doctrine of the Church of *Rome*, which was tyled in our Confession of Faith, *the Abuses and Fallacy of Satan*, but only those Articles which had been added to the Gospel Doctrine; and that it was but just to excuse Words dictated by Sincerity itself, and by the Motion of a Conscience quite ignorant of the Art of dissembling and equivocating. That they had nothing to do with the Printer of *Geneva*, who was not under their Jurisdiction; and that his Calendar expressed nothing but what was the true Sense and Meaning of all the Protestants and Reformed, concerning the Council of *Trent*, which he styled *Detestable*: And thereupon he quoted the protests of *Charles V.* against the same Council, by *Mendoza* his Ambassador thither; of *Henry II.* by *Amiot*; of *Charles IX.* by *Du Ferrier*, who had styled that Council, A SCORPION PRICKING THE GALLICAN CHURCH. Then he accounted for what had been done in several Provinces where the Reformed had thought proper to improve the Benefit of the King's Declaration at his Accession to the Crown, notwithstanding the unjust and violent Oppositions of their Governors or their Lieutenants. He charged the Lady of the Manor at *Anduze*, with an extreme Malice and Violence, who being supported by the Catholics of the Place and the Neighbourhood, had endeavoured to suppress

*Lewis* 14. suppress by main force one of the ancientest  
<sup>1644.</sup>  
*Pope In-* Reformed Churches of the Kingdom, had ex-  
*nocent X.* pelled the Minister thereof; and lest he should  
find means to be restored, had procured his Im-  
prisonment, and committed several other like  
Acts, whereby she had provoked the Reformed  
to repel Force by Force. He shewed forth,  
that in the whole Province of *Languedoc*, they  
preached only in the Places which had en-  
joyed that Benefit for above 80 Years before;  
that the Ministers were very moderate in  
their Sermons; but the Missionaries were  
apt to wrest the most innocent Words in the  
worst of Senses, tho' they themselves kept  
no bounds in their Sermons. That they  
were bound by their Discipline (the free Ex-  
ercise whereof was allowed unto them) to cen-  
sure Parents when they sent their Children to  
be educated by Papist Regents or School-  
Masters, and especially by *Jesuits*; that such  
a thing was so much the more tolerable in the  
Ministers, as the *University of Paris* itself con-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1039

when he was told that the Bell had ever <sup>Lewis 14.</sup> been in that Steeple; that, at the time of <sup>1644.</sup> the Capitulation, it had been indeed pulled <sup>Pope In.</sup> down, and put in a Corner of the Church, <sup>nocent X.</sup> in order to repair the Steeple which was falling to Ruin; but these Reparations being made, the Bell had been set up again.

After these Speeches, which on both Sides were more for Form sake than for Utility, the Synod wrote to the King, and amongst other things, *they congratulated him upon his Birth*; which the Reformed had earnestly besought God to grant in all their religious Assemblies. They wrote likewise to the Queen Regent, to the Duke of Orleans, and to the Prince of Condé.

The King answered the 4th of January; <sup>1645.</sup> he assured them of his perfect Good-will, and promised to keep the Edicts; that he *would take a singular Delight in securing unto them the free Enjoyment thereof, as they had done under the late King.* Which last Clause was very equivocal. The Commissioner allowed them Liberty to read several Letters of the Church and Academy of Geneva, of the Reverend Mess. *Diodati* and *Andrew Rivet*, after he had opened and perused them first. But having sent the Originals to the King, he let them know, that his Majesty did not think proper they should answer them; tho' they related only to Matters of Doctrine and Discipline. Then the Commissioner proposed to them for Form-sake the Baron of *Arzilliers*, whom the King had already named to be their Deputy-General, and which they accepted, being not able to do otherwise. Nevertheless, they required that the ancient Order should be restored, and that in the mean while the

*Lewis 14.* the King would be pleased to name a Deputy  
*1645.* for the Commons; but neither of these De-  
*Pope In-* demands was granted. The King continued  
*nocent X.* to name the Deputies of his own accord,  
and would have none for the Commons.  
Then the Commissioner notify'd to the Synod, That his Majesty did not allow them to deliberate upon political Matters, but only to name a select Committee, to draw up their Bill of Grievances; which being accordingly done, the said Bill was drawn, containing some old Grievances which had not been redressed, and some new ones were added, particularly concerning the Suppression of several Places where they had right of Exercise; and the Refusal of admitting the Reformed to Charges, and Offices which they were entitled to, even to the Masterships of the very Mechanicks. But they obtained very little, besides Words and 16000 Livres for discharging the Expences of the Synod.

*Codurc*, Minister and Professor at *Nimes*,



*Milliners of Paris* took it in their heads to Lewis 14. draw certain Statutes for their Trade, and got them confirmed by Letters Patent, registered in Parliament the 29th of April. <sup>1645. Pope Innocent X.</sup>

The first Article of these Statutes excluded the Maids and Women of the Reformed Religion from being admitted into that Mastership. The University of *Poitiers* enjoyed the Revenue of some Messenger-Houses, or Post-Offices. Now *Filleau* LL.D. in that University, and the hottest Persecutor, obtained that none but Catholics could be admitted into any of these Offices.

It was not for want of Zeal in the Clergy *Assembly of the Clergy.* that the Reformed were not more vexed this Year. They held an Assembly at *Paris*, and the Archbishop of *Narbonne* charged them, in his Speech to the Queen Regent the 27th of July, that they were tired with the lawful and natural Subjection under which LEWIS THE JUST had reduced them, and were endeavouring to resume their last Power.

He complained that they had restored by Force their Exercises in several Places, and said, that if the Annexes were, this day, granted unto them, they would, to-morrow, require the Restitution of their Cautionary Towns. I shall but just mention a very odd Story of the House of *Roban*. *Margaret of Tancrede's Roban*, only Daughter and Heiress of the late Duke, after having refused several Matches, and especially the young Prince of *Talmont* Son to the Duke of *La Trimouille*, had a fancy to be her own Carver; and breaking her secret Engagements with the young Marquis of *Ruvigni*, Father to the late Lord *Gallway*, she contracted a new one with the young Marquis of *Cbabot* who was a Roman Catholic.

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 Lewis 14. *lick.* The Dutcheſs Dowager of *Roban* her  
 1645. Mother, being informed of this, was in a  
 Pope In- deep Affliction ; and ſeeing that all her Ar-  
 nocent X. guments, and thoſe of the Miniſters for hin-  
 ~~~~~ dering her Daughter from marrying a Ca-  
 tholick, far from prevailing over her, had no
 other Effect than to haſten the Conclusion of
 the ſaid Marriage ; ſhe thought proper to
 publiſh the Secret, which ſhe had kept con-
 cealed till then for very good Reaſons, even
 from the late Duke her own Huſband, viz.
 that ſhe had had a Son by the Duke during
 his laſt Miſfortunes, which ſhe had taken care
 to be privately educated at a Gentleman's
 Houſe in *Normandy* ; from whence *Margaret*
of Roban, with the help of *Ruvigni*, who
 was in the Secret, found means to convey
 him to *Leyden*, unknown to the Dowager.
 But when the Marquis ſaw, that all his Ex-
 hortations and Threatnings could not reclaim
Margaret from her Inclinations to *Chabot*, he
 revealed to the Dowager the Place where
Tancrede, which was the Name of the Child,
 had been conveyed, and where he was ſtill.
 Thereupon the Dutcheſs ſent in all haſte to
Leyden, to bring over her pretended Son into
France ; which was executed with great care
 and caution. *Chabot* on his part ſent ſome
 Meſſengers upon the ſame Errand, but they
 arrived an Hour too late. The Dowager
 ſet up all her Engines to have *Tancrede* ac-
 knowledged for the Son of the late Duke
 of *Roban*. The Cauſe was brought before
 the Parliament ; nobody could imagine how
 the late Duke could have been ſo far igno-
 rant that he had a Son, as not to mention a
 ſingle Word of him in his laſt-Will, where-
 in he mentioned only his Daughter and

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Heiress *Margaret*. *Tancrede* could not be ^{Lewis 14.} *posthumous*; he was above nine Years old ^{1645.} when he was brought to *Paris*, and the Duke ^{Pope In-} died only in *April* 1638. The Duke had ^{nocent X.} not been with her for more than a Year when he died. If she had had good Reasons to conceal his Birth from the Publick, what reason could she have to conceal the same from her Husband? That afforded her Enemies a pretence for casting a blemish upon her Virtue. The Parliament was much puzzled upon that Affair. *Tancrede* had the Shape and all the Features, nay the very same Inclinations of the late Duke; but *Chabot* answered, that he might be his natural Son; which the Dutches's Widow had a mind to set up for punishing her Daughter. On the other hand, the Dutches's Evidences did fall very short of what was requir'd; but Death came to decide the Quarrel. The Cause was depending till the Beginning of the Civil War between the King and the Parliament. The Dutches engaged her *Tancrede* in the Parliament's Party; he was wounded in a Sally, taken Prisoner, brought to *Vincennes*, where he died of his Wounds. Some Years after, the Mother and Daughter were reconciled together. The young Dutches persisted to her Death in the Profession of the Reformed Religion; she died a little before the repealing of the Edict of *Nantz* in 1685. The Marquis of *Chabot* had taken the Name of *Roban*, by his Marriage-Contract; so his Children took the same Name, tho' their Descent from that most ancient and most noble House was only by this *Margaret*.

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Lewis 14. The like Vexations were continued against the Reformed, several of their Churches and little Schools were suppress'd But on the other hand, the Court was somewhat favourable unto them; for the Ministers were exempted from paying Taxes (as it was their Right to be) and a Decree was issued forth the 20th of *June*, exempting the Reformed from hanging Tapestry before their Houses on Procession-Days. But these Decrees were of none or very little service to the Reformed in the Provinces, especially in those wherein they were in small Numbers. The Parliament of *Bordeaux*, wherein the furious *De Saulx* was Attorney-General, the Parliaments of *Toulouse* and *Dijon*, the Presidialships, nay, every petty Judge in a Borough, took upon them to vex and persecute them in different manners, without any regard to the Edicts, Declarations or Decrees, issued forth by the Council of State.

Condé's Death.

The Prince of *Condé* died this Year in *December*; he was born 6 Months after the Decease of *Henry of Condé*, Husband of his Mother, who was poisoned at *St. John of Angely*, in *March* 1588, as we have related in its proper place.

Espernon and Sully's Death.

The Duke of *Espernon* died in *January* 1642, being 88 Years old; he was the ancientest Peer of *France*, the ancientest Officer of the Crown, the ancientest General and Governor of *Provence*, the ancientest Knight of the Order, the ancientest Counsellor of State; and perhaps the oldest Nobleman of his time. The Duke of *Sully* died a little before, aged 80 or 81, seven Years after he had received the Marshal's Staff.

The

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1045

The same Vexations continued this Year ^{Lewis 14th} as before, either through the Weakness of ^{1647.} the Court, which obliged it to connive at ^{Pope In-} these Injustices, or for some other Reason. ^{nocent X.}

However as Affairs began to be much ^{Treatment} embroiled in the Kingdom, the Court stand- ^{of the Re-} ing in need of all her Friends, thought pro- ^{formed.} per to treat the Reformed more favourably; ^{1648.} but they could feel the Effects of these good Dispositions only in the Places where the Court-Party prevailed, for in others, the Parliaments, the Magistrates, the Governors, and others, paid no regard at all to the King's Orders; nay, the Fidelity of the Reformed was imputed to them as a Crime in the rebellious Provinces.

The Treaty of Peace was concluded at ^{Peace of} Münster in the Month of February, between ^{Münster.} Spain and the Seven United Provinces. Spain yielded for ever all manner of Right and Pretensions over the said Provinces. France acceded to that Treaty with the Empire in October following. The Princes and the Electors of the Empire were maintained in all their Rights and Prerogatives. *Alsatia* and the Sovereign Lordship over the Cities of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun* were yielded to France, which continued the War with Spain.

This last dreading, lest all the Forces of ^{Civil} her Antagonists being united together, and ^{War.} falling upon her, she should be crushed, endeavoured to create Jealousies against her in all the Courts of *Europe*. But the Civil Wars that began this Year, gave some respite to Spain. Cardinal *Mazarini* had already maintained himself in the Government for four Years together; and in order to put a stop to the Factions, he did drive off the most

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Lewis 14. petulant with Trifles, and introduced at
1648. Court a luxurious and effeminate way of
Pope In- Living; he diverted the Courtiers with O-
nocent X. peras, and the People with Buffooneries of
the *Italian* Play. But as he attempted to
create new Charges of *Masters of Request*,
which were to serve alternatively for six
Months, to load the People with new Taxes,
to increase in the Provinces the Authority
of Intendants, to send some of them to Places
where they were become intolerable; and
above all, to enrich his own Family at the
Expences of the State: All the Orders of
the Kingdom rose against him. They were
tired to see a Foreigner in the first Autho-
rity, and he was loaded with the publick
Odium.

The President *Blanc-Mesnil*, and Coun-
sellor *Broussel*, having been arrested by Or-
ders of the Court, the People of *Paris* took
up Arms, and carried the Barricado's almost
to the Gates of the Royal Palace. The Tu-

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a Disturber of the publick Peace, and order- ^{Lewis 14.}
ed Levies of Soldiers, and the King's Troops ^{1648.}
to remove twenty Leagues further from ^{Pope In-}
the City. The 20th of the same Month the ^{nocent X.}
Prince of *Conti*, the Dukes of *Beaufort*,
Longueville, *Bouillon*, *la Rochefoucault*, and
Noirmoutier, got into *Paris*; the Prince was
made Generalissimo, the Dukes of *Elbeauf*,
Bouillon, and Marshal *de la Motte*, his Lieu-
tenants; *Paris* was blocked up. The Prince
of *Condé* seized all the Avenues, except *Brie-*
Comte-Robert, and *Charenton*. The 8th of
February, *Charenton* was forced by the King's
Troops, at the fight of ten thousand *Pari-*
sians in Arms: The Duke of *Chatillon*, a
Royalist, was deadly wounded in the Action.

The 9th of *February*, N.S. England af- ^{Charles I.}
forded to the World the most dreadful In- ^{his Death.}
stance of the Rage and Fury of a People,
when not restrained by any Laws human or
divine, in the Death of King *Charles I.* exe-
cuted at *Whitehall*. *Henrietta* his Consort,
and his own Favourites, together with Car-
dinal *Ricblieu* and *Mazarini* had set an Edge
to the Ax, which sever'd his Head.

The Court of *France*, standing in need ^{The Court}
of the Reformed, did them as much Justice ^{flatters the}
as she could upon several accounts; and the ^{Reformed.}
23d of *December* issued forth a general De-
cree, ordering that the Edicts and Declara-
tions in their behalf should be fully executed,
that they should not be disturb'd neither in
the Exercise of their Religion, or in the Pos-
session of their Churches, or in the other
Concessions of the Edicts: His Majesty wil-
ling, that they should enjoy them in the same
manner as they had done under the late King,
without any Innovation to their Prejudice,

Lewis 14 and forbidding to continue any Prosecution
 1650. against them upon such accounts.

Pope Innocent X. That Decree having not its desired Effect
 in certain Places, where the Catholicks pretended that the King did forbid only to begin new Prosecutions, but that he designed not that those already begun should cease; at the Instances of *Baron d'Arzilliers* Deputy-General, the Court on the 20th of *April* issued forth a second Decree confirmatory to the first, and the King reserved to himself the Cognizance of all Affairs of that kind, and interdicted it to all other Courts of what Denomination soever.

The Princes Prisoners. The Troubles of *Paris* had been appeased by an Agreement made between the Court and the Parliament on the 11th of *March*, the last Year. But the Beginning of this, the Queen-Regent dissatisfied with the Conduct of the Princes and their Adherents, caused the Princes of *Condé* and *Conti*, with the Duke of *Longueville* their Brother-in-Law, to

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Herward Esq; tho' a sincere Reformed, was ^{Lewis 14.} made by him Super-Intendant of the Exche- ^{1650.} quer. The Clergy cried aloud against it. ^{Pope In-} Their Agents-General opposed it with all ^{nocent X.} their Might. Jealousy, Envy, Injustice, In- ^{Herward} humanity, and whatever Men bred up at ^{a Reformed} the Feet not of *Gomahel*, but of the Pope, ^{made Sh-} can imagine, were the chief Arguments ^{per-Inten-} they made use of in this Occurrence; but all in vain, the Cardinal stood his ground, and supported *d'Herward*, who was continued, and being of quite a different Character than the Duke of *Sully*, he was not only the main Support of the Churches, but he gain'd as many Friends, as the other had begot Foes, during the whole time of his Administration.

Nevertheless, for to allay in some measure ^{Unjust Re-} the Mortification of the Clergy, something ^{gulations} must be done for that purpose; therefore ^{at Poitiers.} *Chateau-neuf*, Keeper of the Seals, sent Orders to the King's Council at *Poitiers*, the 20th of *May*, not to suffer any Reformed to be admitted in any Office of Attorney, or Notary, or Serjeant. At *Cbatelberaut* they were deprived of the Right of being admitted Provosts of the Merchants in their turn, and even of that of Voting, tho' they made up the third Part of the Inhabitants. There was a Sedition at *Nimes* against the Bishop of the Place, who kept concealed in his Palace a Child belonging to Reformed Parents, in order to have him brought up in the *Roman* Religion.

Every thing seem'd disposed to some great ^{1651.} Revolution in the Kingdom. The Queen- ^{Renewing} Regent had been obliged to grant the Re- ^{of the Ci-} lease of the Princes Prisoners; and the Car- ^{vil War.}

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Lewis 14. dinal being obliged to leave the Kingdom,
 1651. went before to *Havre de-Grace*, where the
 Pope In- Princes had been transferred from *Vincennes*,
 nocent X. in order to set them at liberty; and from
 The Car- thence he proceeded to *Liege*. But he had
 dinal left at Court some proper Persons, amongst
 quits the which the Marquis of *Ruvigni* and — —
 Kingdom. *Beringhen* Esq; both Reformed, managed his
 Affairs with such Success, that he was re-
 called ten Months after with greater Autho-
 rity. The Princes came to *Paris*, not de-
 signing to live in Peace. *Condé* began a
 Treaty with *England* and *Spain*.

Complai- Every one knows what Condition *England*
 sance of the was in, at the time we are speaking of. After
 Court for the fatal Death of King *Charles*, *Cromwel* took
 Cromwel. upon himself the sovereign Authority, under
 the Title of Protector; and having overcome
 all Opposition, he govern'd with a greater
 Authority than ever any lawful King had
 done. Dreaded at home, he kept all the
 neighbouring Powers in awe, and was not
 sorry to see them embroiled in Civil Dis-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1051

arms, that the Treaty was protracted to a ^{Lewis 14.} great length. On the other hand, the Diver- ^{1651.} ^{Pope In-} ^{nocent X.}
 of Interests caused a great Disunion a-
 mongst the Malecontents, the one Party aim-
 ing at things which the others opposed with
 their Might. The Nobility murmured a-
 gainst their Government, and held frequently
 private Conferences. They cried aloud to
 have an Assembly of the General States, to
 address the publick Grievances; but the Par-
 liament opposed that Remedy for their own
 private Interest, lest the States should abridge
 their Authority; and because they were un-
 willing that People should be beholden for
 their Release to any other Assembly besides
 their own. Nevertheless, on the 18th of
January, they issued forth a Decree for in-
 forming against the Depredations made by
Mazarini in the Exchequer. Some time
 after the King issued forth a Declaration,
 whereby all Foreigners, and even the *French*
 Cardinals, were excluded from the Council,
 being Dependants of the Pope. Another
 decree of the Parliament of *Paris* was issued
 forth against the Cardinal, about the latter
 end of *December*, whereby it was command-
 ed to pursue him, and fall upon him wherever
 he could be apprehended, and 150,000 Li-
 res Recompense were promised to whomso-
 ever, who would produce him dead or a-
 live.

Amidst the Troubles wherein the King-
 dom was involv'd, *Lewis XIV.* came to his ^{Majority} ^{of Lewis}
 Majority, and was declar'd such the 7th of *XIV.*
September. I don't design to enter into any
 of the Particulars of this Civil War, which
 obliged *Mazarini* twice to leave the King-
 dom, and the Court to go out of *Paris*;
 from

1052 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
 Lewis 14. from whence *Lewis* transferred the Parli-
 1652. ment to *Pont-oise*, but was obey'd only by
 Pope In- part thereof. It was not till the 21st of Oc-
 nocent X.tober 1652, that the *Parisians*, tired with
 the War, intreated *Lewis* to return into that
 Capital, wherewith he comply'd.

*Fidelity of the Re-
 formed.* I shall only observe, that had it not been
 for the Reformed's Fidelity, that was proof
 against all Temptations, one may say, that
 the Crown which was tottering over the
 Head of *Henry* the Fourth's Grandson, would
 quite have fallen to the ground. And in-
 deed had they joined with the Prince of
Condé, as they were strongly sollicitated, the
SLINGERS would certainly have hit at
 their aim; but far from list'ning to the most
 advantageous Terms proposed unto them,
Rochelle obliged its Governor the Count of
Dognon, who sided with the Prince, to fly
 from the City, and forsake the Castle. *St.*
John of Angely, tho' without Walls, defended
 itself against the Rebels Troops, and not only
 that, but they sent part of their Militia to

City had such an influence over *Tboulouse*, Lewis 14. 1652. Pope Innocent X. that after having for some time wavered, they took the same Party. Twelve hun-

Men of *Montauban* sent to the Marquis *St. Luc*, Lieutenant for the King in *Gui-*
enne, forced the Town of *Moissac* to surrender,
 and took the Garison Prisoners. Five hun-
 dred Men of the same City took a Passage
 upon the *Geronne*, and thereby afforded
 means to the Royal Army to disengage two
 Regiments besieg'd by the Prince's Troops,
 in *Miradoux*. *Realment* tho' dismantled,
Clairac, the Provinces of *Vivaraïs* and *Co-*
vennes, gave especial Proofs of their Fi-
 delity.

A Synod was held this Year at *Aymet*, for
 the Province of *Lower Guienne*; wherein the
 Ministers and Elders unanimously agreed
 to persevere in Obedience, and to exhort
 their Churches to do the like. Most part
 of the Nobility, and the Reformed of the
 half-parted Chambers followed the same Ex-
 ample; and if some Persons, such as the
 Marquis of *La Force*, and some others of
 that Rank sided at first with the Prince, they
 were the first in the Province that returned to
 their Allegiance, when the Violence of the
 Storm was over. In a word, the Fidelity of the
 Reformed was such, and the Court was so sen-
 sible of the Importance of the Service they
 had done, that it made no difficulty to
 give them a publick Testimony of its Grati-
 tude, by a Declaration given at *St. Germain*
 the 20th of *May* 1652, sealed with the broad
 Seal, wherein amongst the Reasons which ob-
 liged *Lewis* to ratify and confirm the Edict
 of *Nantz*, other Edicts, Declarations, &c.
 in behalf of the Reformed, and to order the

1054 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

^{1652.}
Pope Innocent X. Lewis 14. strict Observation thereof under severe Penalties, you will find this, *Because they had given undeniable Proofs of their Affection and Loyalty, especially in the present Occurrences, whereof We remain fully satisfied.* But this was not the only Token of the Court's Satisfaction and Gratitude towards the Reformed. They were restor'd at *Pamiers*, from whence they had been exil'd since the Year 1625 or 1626. The second Consuls of *Nîmes* and of *Montpellier* was order'd to be filled constantly by a Reformed, whereas it had been alternate since 1629. The Ministers were allowed to preach in the Annexes, notwithstanding all contrary Decrees and Orders, which were all reversed. In one word, the Reformed fared more than tolerably well for two Years or thereabouts.

^{1653.}
Paris submits. The Submission of *Paris* did not put an end to the Civil War, it was a Year or thereabouts before the Prince of *Condé's* Party was quite subdued; and that Prince, who took

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1055

are too full of a certain spiritual Pride, ever expecting either an Union of them with the Reformed, or any good Reformation of their own.

In the Month of *June*, *Lewis XIV.* was crowned at *Rheims*, by the Bishop of *Soissons*.

He promised upon his Oath not to grant Pardon for Duels. *Christiana* Queen of *Sweden* resigned her Crown to her Cousin *Charles*, and she turned Catholick some time after.

The Marquis *d'Arzilliers* Deputy-General of the Reformed being dead, *Lewis* by the latter End of last Year had named of his accord the Marquis of *Ruvigni*, Father of the late Lord *Galloway*, to be his Successor.

The Reformed, as we have said, were more tolerably well treated, generally speaking, for about two Years after the Declaration of *May* 1652 above-mentioned. But this Year the Alliance of *France* with *Cromwell* against the House of *Austria*, hindering that perfidious Court from putting in execution the Designs already laid against their generous Deliverers; they enjoyed still some respite during the *Protector's* Life, which, nevertheless hinder'd not the Papists in shewing forth their inveterate Hatred against the Reformed in the Places where they could do it safely. The most wicked Parliaments of *Toulouse* and *Aix* exerted themselves this Year in the most unjust, tyrannical, and cruel manner, not only against private persons without any regard to Rank and Quality, but even against whole Commonalties, which they were so bold as to interest, and deprived them of those Rights which they had so well deserved.

Pope

Lewis 14.
1654.
Pope In-
nocent X.

Lewis's
Corona-
tion.

Ruvigni
Deputy-
General.

Lewis 14.

1655.

Pope A-
lexan VII.

Innocent

dies, and

is succeed-

ed by A-

lexander

VII.

Persecu-

tion of the

Wal-

denses.

Pope *Innocent X.* died in *February*, after a Pontificate of ten Years, four Months and twenty-two Days. He was succeeded by Cardinal *Chigi*, elected the 7th of *April*, who took the Name of *Alexander VII.*

This Year the *Waldenses* did suffer a most cruel and barbarous Persecution from the Duke of *Savoy*, their Sovereign. who caused his Troops to make such an inhuman Execution upon these poor People, that Words are wanting to express the great Variety of Tortures, altogether beastly and hellish, whereto they were exposed, without any Distinction of Age, Sex, or Quality. The Reverend Mr. *Leger* and *Samuel Morland Esq;* published a Relation thereof in their History of the *Waldenses*. The Court of *France* interposed its good Offices in behalf of these poor People; and whereas the Duke of *Savoy* had made use in that barbarous Execution of the *French* Troops that were sent to the Assistance of the Duke of *Modena* against the *Spaniards*, *Lewis* resented or feigned to resent it very high. But the Dread of *Cromwel's* Name was more efficacious with him, than any other Consideration. And to do justice to whom it belongs. it is

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1057

and Dutch Ambassadors, that were upon ^{Lewis 14.} the Road. At which the Protector being ^{1655.} revoked, he desisted. It appears by Mr. ^{Pope A-} ^{lexan. VII.} Morland's Account, that the Gatherings made this Year in *Great Britain and Wales*, by *Cromwell's* Orders, for the Relief of the poor *Waldenses*, amounted to no less than *£97 l. 17 s. 3 d.* a vast Sum indeed, considering the times. I shall end this Article with a very remarkable Passage of *Lewis XIVth's* Letter to the *Protector*, which I could not omit without injuring the *French Reformed*: "As to what remains, you have ^{Lewis's} well judged in this Affair, not to believe ^{Testimony} that I had given any Order to my Troops ^{in behalf} to do such an Execution; and the truth ^{of his Re-} is, there was not any likelihood such a ^{formed} ^{Subjects.} Suspicion could possess the Spirit of any Person well informed, that I should contribute to the Punishment of any Subjects of the Duke of *Savoy*, Professors of the Pretended Reformed Religion, and yet in the mean time give so many Marks of my good Will to those of mine own Subjects of the same Profession, HAVING ALSO CAUSE TO APPLAUD THEIR FIDELITY AND ZEAL FOR MY SERVICE, THEY ON THEIR PARTS OMIT NO OCCASION TO GIVE ME PROOF THEREOF, EVEN BEYOND ALL THAT CAN BE IMAGINED, AND CONTRIBUTE IN ALL THINGS TO THE WELFARE AND ADVANTAGE OF MY AFFAIRS*." The Author of that Letter magnifies nothing in what he says concerning the Zeal and Affection, which his Reformed Subjects had for his

* *Morland's History of the Evangel. Churches*, &c. v. c67.

1058 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14. his Person and Service. But how could he
 1656. be so base and ungrateful as to repay
 Pope A- their faithful Services with such unjust, cruel,
 lexan. VII. and barbarous Usage, as he did afterwards?

As to the Affairs of our Churches in
France, they not only suffered several pri-
 vate Injustices and Vexations, but even a
 general one, at the Instigation and Pursuit
 of the bloody Clergy.

*Assembly
 of the
 Clergy in
 France.*

There was this Year an Assembly of the
Gallican Church held at *Paris*. Amongst
 several other important Matters that came
 under their Consideration, the Examen of the
 Moral of the new Casuists (so the *Jesuits*
 were called) was one of the most considera-
 ble. Some Doctors, pretty well known by
 the Name of *Jansenists*, had exposed the Re-
 missness of the said Moral in such a full
 light, that every sober Man considered it as
 a downright Impiety. On the contrary,
 these rigid Doctors were much applauded by
 the Quality, especially of the Female Sex ; to

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1059

Purity. But that great and potent Body, ^{Lewis 14.} used for many Ages before to prevaricate, ^{1656.} and several of its Members being too deeply ^{Pope A-} concerned in the Morals of the *Jesuits*, they ^{lexan. VII.} but faintly examined the Matter; and after many Sessions, they left the Matter undecided, and shamefully suffered themselves to be deluded by the *Jesuits*. Those sharp Politicians, in order to give work to this Assembly for diverting them from thinking of any Reformation in their Morals, found means to engage them to endeavour the Destruction of two sorts of Hereticks, the *Reformed* and the *Jansenists*. These last were indeed unjustly suspected of a Correspondence with the first, because they agreed together upon several Points of Doctrine, especially concerning the Pope's Supremacy.

The *Jesuitical* Party prevailed then in this Assembly, and the Archbishop of Sens, then Prolocutor tho' not a Friend to the *Jesuits*, was not ashamed to display his Eloquence before *Lewis XIV*, in a way so unbecoming his Character and his high Station, that no body can look upon him but as an impudent Prostitute, who trod under his feet Truth and Honesty. I shall single out only three or four Passages out of a great Number of others which deserve no less the publick Censure. He represented the *Roman Church* as groaning under such an Oppression, that she would take it as a comfort, *was the Edict of Nantz strictly observed, after the lawful Explanations given by the late King.* He charged the Reformed with having by their new Attempts overturned all the wise Cautions taken by that great Prince against the Petulancy of their Spirit, and ascribed

1060 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14. these pretended Attempts to the Declaration
 1656. of 1652, behind which they did screen them-
 Pope A- selves, and which all at once subverted all
 lexan. VII. the Letters and Decrees either of the Coun-
 cil or of the superior Courts which had been
 the most favourable to the Church. He as-
 serted, with an unparallel'd Impudence, that
 the said Declaration had been surreptitiously
 extorted from the Council, unknown to the
 King, and during the Absence of his Prime
 Minister. *But the very Date thereof was e-
 nough to confute that cursed Calumny.* Then
 he bitterly inveighed against the Reformed,
 who, using the Liberty granted them by the
 Decree of 1652, had restored their Churches
 in Places unjustly condemned by the Violence
 of their Enemies. He styled these Churches
*Synagogues of Satan, built upon the Patri-
 mony of the Son of God.* He positively af-
 firmed, that from the Year 1626 the Charge
 of General Deputy of the Churches at Court
 had been suppressed, *which was a notorious*

Book VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1661

Paris to a Friend in the Country. But, not ^{Lewis 14.} ^{1656.} ^{Pope A-} ^{lexan. VII.} withstanding the great Moderation of the Author, and the Politeness of his Style, his Arguments were too cogent, and hit too well home, to be answer'd any otherwise than by the Faggot: The Letter was publickly burnt at *Paris* by the Executioner's Hands. But the worst Effect of the Speech was, that, tho' the Cardinal durst not comply in every thing with the Clergy's Will, because he was to manage *Cromwell*; nevertheless something must be done, in order to please them. Therefore on the 18th of *July* a Declaration ^{Several} ^{Declara-} ^{tions of the} ^{Council.} was issued forth from the Council, which, as one may say, revok'd that of 1652, saying that it retrenched the most favourable Articles thereof. This is the first occasion, if I don't mistake, wherein *Lewis XIV.* was taught by his Ministers to lye grossly, without any respect for the Publick; a Lesson which he knew perfectly well how to improve, an Art wherein he was such a great Proficient, that even he surpassed his Masters. He was made to say in this Declaration, that he had given that of the 21st of *May* 1652, only on account of the Dread the Reformed were in, lest during the Troubles something should be alter'd to their prejudice. But in the said Declaration of 1652, he says positively that it was upon another account. *And inasmuch,* says he, *that our said Subjects of the Pretended Reformed Religion have given us undeniable Proofs of their Affection and Fidelity, especially in the present Circumstances whereof we remain fully satisfied, &c.*

So it happen'd, that a violent Declamation wherein an Archbishop trod under his feet Equity, Probity, Honour, and Modesty, de-

1062 *History of the Reformation and of the*

Lewis 14. prived the Reformed of the just Recompence
 1656. due for the most faithful, the most seasonable
 Pope A- Services that ever Subjects rendered to
 lexan. VII. their Prince. The Decree of the Council
 of the 28th of *August* against the Reformed
 of *Montpelier*, which deprived them of the
 Right of the Consulate, was likewise an Ef-
 fect of the same Speech; as well as another
 Declaration issued forth the 16th of *December*,
 concerning Patronages and other Rights, and
 the publick Exercise in Episcopal Cities, and
 in the Lordships belonging to Church-Men,
 &c. whereby the Reformed were deprived
 of their Rights in those respects either natu-
 ral or acquir'd.

The Clergy, allured by the good Success
 of their Iniquity, did not stop there; they
 pushed on further their Malice against the
 poor innocent Objects of their Hatred, and
 obtained several Decrees against them from
 the Beginning of this Year. The most sa-
 grant was that of the 11th of *January*, for-
 bidding the Ministers to style themselves

Æ VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1063

found not only Annexes, but even *Lewis* 14.
al Churches unjustly interdicted, as well ^{1657.}
veral Acts of a crying Injustice against ^{Pope A-}
al private Persons who suffered in their ^{lexan. VII.}
ls, Estates, Liberties, Privileges, and e-
n their Bodies, on several frivolous Pre-
s; but really on account of their Reli-

But on the 26th of *July* the Council
forth a Decree, which was of gene-
ncern for the Reformed; for they were
lden henceforward to hold any Colloquy.

was the second Ecclesiastical Court,
eto Matters that could not be finally
ed by the Consistories, were brought;
rom whence there was Appeal to the
incial Synod: See what we have said
that Subject, in our Preface of the 3d
the 2d Part.

is very easy to judge, by what has been 1658.
that the Court designed no good to the
rmed; and the Cardinal himself, who
o much beholden unto them for his own
ment, was resolved to work their ruin.
two Things stay'd him; the first was,
Cromwell was still alive; and he knew,
the best means of cultivating his Friend-
was to keep the Edicts. The second
that he designed to marry *Lewis*, and
ing about a general Peace; for which
ose it was requisite not to offend the
s abroad, nor to molest too much the
rmed at home, lest if any new Broils
d happen, the *Spaniards* might improve
Opportunity, and become more proud
biff. Upon that account it was, that
ardinal carried his Complaisance so far
Cromwell, as to help him to reduce *Dun-*
under his Power, providing however for

1064 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14 the Safety of the Catholick Inhabitants, and
1658. of their Religion; which Caution was quite
Pope A- neglected by the Ministers of *Charles II.* when
lexan. VII. that Prince sold that Place to the *French* some
Years afterwards. But the Death of the
Protector delivered the Prime Minister of
Lewis XIV. from very great Perplexities,
and untied the Hands of our Enemies, who,
being no longer restrained by any political
View, were let loose into all manner of In-
justices and Cruelties. He died this Year in
September, and was succeeded in the Protec-
torship by his Son *Richard*, who resigned it
about eighteen Months after.

1659. Fourteen Years were already gone, without
holding any National Synod, which was very
detrimental to the Churches; but after many
Intreaties, they, at last, obtained a Licence
to hold one at *Loudun*, in the next Month
of *November*. Before I come to the Trans-
actions of that Assembly, I must take no-
tice of a Book reprinted this Year. The

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1065

the strongest Exhortations to Peace and Obedience; and that it seems, that Union and Concord might have been everlasting in the Kingdom, notwithstanding the Differences Lewis 14.
1659.
Pope A-
lexan. VII.


Religion, had all the Catholicks and especially the Officers of Justice been animated in that Spirit of Moderation and Equity which he designs and endeavours to inculcate unto them all along his Work. He shews the Words *PERPETUAL* and *REVOCABLE*, after a manner which fully evinces, that it was not lawful to revoke an Edict published under that double character. And indeed the zealous Catholics made much noise about these Words, taking them in the obvious Sense which they bear. They pretended, that such an Edict should never to have been granted to People branded *Hereticks by the Church*. That a perpetual Law of Toleration, which should have been in force only as long as the King should please, would have been sufficient; but *Belisarius* took a middle way, whereby he construed the two Words, in a meaning whereof every might have been satisfied. *The Exercise of this Religion, says he, shall last and be tolerated in this Kingdom until the Cause should cease, and till those who profess it should be better informed, or convinced in their own conscience.* BY THE LIGHT OF THE HOLY GHOST, of Error and Heresy; so that the King, by these two Words, means to give a publick Assurance that he does not design nor understand ever to alter or diminish the Will and firm Resolution he is in to keep his People in Rest and Quietness, on account of Religion, as long as the Cause shall last. From whence we may justly infer, that

1066 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14. the two *Lewis's* XIII. and XIV. who, at several times in the most solemn manner, have
^{1659.}
Pope A- ratify'd that Edict of their Father and Grand-
lexan. VII.
 father, have adopted the same Intentions, and have bound themselves to wait till those, in whose behalf *Henry IV.* had granted the said Edict, should be *better informed*, or *convicted in their own Conscience of Error and Heresy*: Not by the Authority of one I WILL HAVE IT SO, or by a thousand unjust Vexations, or by military Executions, or by the Gallies, and exquisite Tortures and shameful Death, but BY THE LIGHT OF THE HOLY GHOST; ought they not, I say, to wait till such a time, before they should think of revoking that Edict?

Mr. *Benoit* observes further, that though there are several other things in *Bellar's* Work, which may be taken in a very good sense, and be useful for the Intelligence of the Edict; nevertheless one may find in it the Seeds of the most unjust Cavils, whereby the plainest Concessions may be eluded: and

VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1067

agreeable with this last; otherwise the *Lewis 14*
th should have obtained nothing, ^{1659.} *Pope A-*
 their Condition would have been the *lexan. VII.*
 after the Edict of *Nantz* as it was be- 

However, we stand much obliged
elles for his Kindness in giving such an
 llent Testimony to the Loyalty of our
 fathers. (*N. B.* That he was a *Roman*
click.) Indeed, says he, 'tis impossible
gft us to deny, or deprive those of that
 Opinion of this Praise, that they have
 more faithful to our Kings in these last
 motions, which have shaken the State by
estable Conspiracy, than most part of
 others who were all staggering, and looked
ys from what side the Wind would blow;
fore the others were nick-named *TANT*
*EAUT**, as being very far and free
 Suspicion of any League or Conspiracy a-
st the State†.

About the middle of July was held the *Provincial*
 vincial Synod of *Guienne* at *Montpazier*, *Synod of*
 all Town in the Diocese of *Sarlat*. I do *Montpa-*
 just mention it, because our Enemies *zier.*
 it in their heads to defame the Honour
 Fidelity of the Reformed a few Years
 re the repealing of the Edict of *Nantz*,
 rging them with having plotted in that
 od to league themselves with the *Eng-*
 to invade the Kingdom of *France*. The
 ifold Incongruities and Inconsistencies of
 that

The Word may be rendered in *English*, by *FAR*
OM IT. It must be observ'd, that when the Re-
 ned were requir'd to cry *Long Life to Guise, Pro-*
ity to the League! they used to answer *TANT S'EN*
IT, but rather, *Long Life to the King*. So that
 e by little, that Expression denoted a Man strictly
 ering to the King.

Benoit Hist. de l'Edit de Nantes, Tom 3. Liv. 5.

Lewis 14. that stinking Tale, have been so fully dis-
 1659. play'd by the Reverend Messieurs. *Claude*
Pope A- and *Jurieu*, that I need not to dwell any
lexan. VII. longer upon that Calumny than is necessary.

to observe, that for near twenty Years together after the Synod of *Mompazier*, nobody had any notice thereof, and that the Persons named in that pretended Plot were none of those that were present in this Synod.


*The 29th
and last
National
Synod.*

Now the National Synod met according to Appointment at *Loudun*, and opened their Sessions on the 11th of *November*. The Reverend Mr. *John Daillé*, Minister of *Charenton*, was chosen Moderator; the Reverend Mr. *John Maximilian de l'Angle*, Minister at *Rouën*, Assessor; the Reverend Mr. *James des Loges* Minister at *Loudun*, and *Petr Loride des Galinieres Esq;* Elder of the Church of *Charenton*, Secretaries. Then ——— *de la Madelaine Esq;* Counsellor in the Parliament of *Paris*, having presented his Credentials, took his Seat as the King's Commissioner. His Speech was almost modelled

them for having heretofore too much rely'd ^{Lewis 14.}
upon their own Strength, which now was ^{1659.}
broken; but he gave them hopes that the ^{Pope A-}
King would make them Partakers of the Be- ^{lexan. VII.}
nefits of Peace lately concluded; nay, he
positively promised them, in his Majesty's
own Name, that he would maintain them in
the Fruition of the Edicts. Then he ac-
counted for the Nomination of the Marquis
of *Ruvigni* to be their General-Deputy at-
tending the Court, instead of the late Mar-
quis of *Arzilliers*, and would have them to
look on it as a great favour, that the King
would suffer the Marquis of *Ruvigni* to take
his Seat, and to vote in the present Synod.
That done, he delivered what he was command-
ed to say, *viz.* That they must not ask for a
Political Assembly, in order to name general
Deputies. That they must not attempt to
treat of any Civil Matters, nor to hold any
private Assembly at any time, but in his own
Presence; nor to name any Deputies to com-
pose Provincial Councils; that the Provin-
cial Synods ought not to prescribe any gene-
ral Fasting; that they must oblige the Mi-
nisters to be modest and sober in their Ser-
mons, and to forbear the Words *Antichrist*
and *Idolaters*, whenever they spoke of the
Pope, and of the Catholics. Upon which
account he blamed the Words *Abuse and*
Fallacy of Satan, inserted in the 24th Article
of the Confession of Faith. Then he for-
bid to admit in the Synod, any Foreign
Ministers; nor to speak of the Restoration
of those who had been deprived by the De-
crees of the Council, or of the Parliaments;
nor to call any Foreign Minister to be Mi-
nisters of the Kingdom, or to admit into the
holy

Lewis 14. holy Ministry any of those who had follow'd
 1659. their Studies at *Geneva*, or in *Switzerland*, or
 Pope A- in *England*, or in *Holland*; because they
 leman. VII. are tinctured, says he, in those Academies
 with Republican Notions. And for a greater
 Security that they might obey this Article,
 he required that in the Testimonies given to
 the Students in Divinity, they should insert
 the Place where they were born; that they
 should purposely insert an Article in the Acts
 of the Synod, to exclude all those who should
 have made their Studies in suspected Places.
 He forbid them to read any Letters, before
 he had perused them; and not to receive
 any from Foreigners. He required that the
 Ministers should be obliged to take for their
 Text the Commandments of God, and the
 Obedience due to the King; and to preach
 that it is unlawful for the Subjects to take up
 Arms against him upon any account soever;
 and desired that, for the least, a Sermon
 should be preached upon that Subject during
 the Sessions of the Synod. He forbid like

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1071

great a Length of time, and declared unto Lewis 14. them, that his Majesty would be no more ^{1659.} solicited for obtaining another National Syn- ^{Pope A-} ^{lexan. VII.}  od for the future ; but that he would grant it of his own accord, whenever he should think it meet. That was to say, that they had nothing good to expect from Court, and that their utter Ruin was resolved and decreed, tho' it was to come upon them by degrees.

When the Commissioner had done speaking, the Marquis of *Ruvigni*, for form-sake, delivered the Commission of Deputy-General upon the Table. Then the Moderator made to the Commissioner the usual Compliments, and desired him to use his best Endeavours for dispelling the Jealousies and Suspicions which his Majesty had conceived against the National Synods. He shewed forth, that these Assemblies had nothing more in view than to confirm the Doctrine of Obedience due to the Sovereigns, and insisted upon the Principles of the Reformed in that Subject. Then he required leave to deliberate upon the Propositions he had made in the King's Name.

Which done, they accepted of the Nomination made by the King for their Deputy-General, and the Moderator thanked his Majesty for so good a choice ; and for that he had left them at liberty to accept or refuse. But the Synod had a mind to settle the Deputation upon the ancient footing, and to have a Deputy for the Commons, as well as one for the Nobility ; and accordingly they named three Persons, that the King might choose one ; Messieurs *des Galinieres*, *de Jausaud*, and *des Forges le Coq*, were the Persons ;

Lewis 14. sons ; but no regard was had to that Nomi-
1659. nation : And the Marquis of *Ruvigni* re-
Pope A- mained sole Deputy, which Commission he
lexan. VII. filled up till the Revocation of the Edict.

As to the other Points, the Moderator promised not to treat of any other Matter but Ecclesiastical ; nor to hold any Assembly but in the Commissioner's presence ; not to appoint any Provincial Council ; that the Ministers should keep themselves in the Bounds of Moderation, and should forbear all harsh Words or Expressions. But he desired that his Majesty should cause the same Moderation to be observed by the *Roman* Clergy. He excused the Words and Expressions of the Liturgy and of the Confession of Faith, as necessary to explain the Reasons our Reformers had had for breaking with the Church of *Rome*. And as for the Province, whose right it is to call the National Synod, proclaiming a general Fast ; and for the Ministers severely reproving those *Romans* professing our Religion, who

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1073

and their Students to travel to Foreign Universities, that were either under the Protection of, or in Alliance with the Crown of France. As to the Charge brought against them, that they infring'd the Edicts more than Catholics; Mr. *Dallé*, in a lively and convincing manner, plainly justified their Innocence, and fully retorted the Charge upon the Catholics, which he evinced by so many various Instances, that it was impossible to gainsay. In a word, his whole Speech was well temper'd with Strength of Arguments, with Modesty, with Respect to the King, and at the same time with a nobleness, that I have seen nothing that could be paralleled with it in that kind. After those Preliminaries, the Synod wrote the King, to the Queen-Mother, and to the Cardinal-Minister, and deputed the Reverend Mr. *Eustache* Minister at *Montpellier*, & *James d'Arlande* Lord of *Mirabel* with Letters. They were kindly received and answered. The King faith in his Letter, that he was very well pleased with the Conduct of the Reformed: He exhorted them to persevere in their Fealty; promised them favourable Treatment, and that he would always delight in their Preservation under the Benefit of his Edicts, as he had done, & he, till then. The Superscription was, *our dear and well-beloved the PASTORS and Elders deputed unto the Assembly of the National Synod of our Subjects professing the pretended Reformed Religion at Loudun.* He gave them still the Title of Pastors, notwithstanding the Decree of the Council in 1657. As the Cardinal's Answer is but short, I shall set it here, such as it is.

“ SIRS,

Lewis 14.

1659.

Pope A-

lexan. VII.

*The Car-**dinal's**Letter to**the Synod.*

“ SIRS, Your Deputies delivered unto me
 “ the Letter, which you have taken the
 “ trouble to write me. I owe you Thanks
 “ for your Civilities ; and the more, because
 “ His Majesty being persuaded as he is of
 “ your inviolable Fidelity, and of your Zeal
 “ for his Service ; 'tis but needless and su-
 “ perfluous to mention any good Offices for
 “ you with His Majesty. I desire you to be-
 “ lieve that I have a very great value for you,
 “ as you do deserve it, being such good
 “ Servants and Subjects to the King. I have
 “ nothing more to say, but to refer myself
 “ to what shall be said of me by your own
 “ Deputies, and by the Letters of Monsieur
 “ *de la Vrilliere*. I remain SIRS, your most
 “ affectionate to do you Service, *The Car-*
 “ *dinal MAZARINI.*”

The King granted them, as usual, the Sum of 16000 Livres for bearing the Expences of the Synod. The Commissioner gave them leave to read the Letters directed to them by the Churches and Academies of *Zurich, Berne, Basil, Schaffhausen, and Geneva*, after he had first perused them ; but he did not allow them to return any Answer. He allowed them likewise to read the Informations sent from *Holland*, for and against the Reverend Mr. *Morus*, whose Calling to serve the Church of *Charenton* was then opposed by part of the said Church, because his Reputation seemed to be something ambiguous ; however, having been cleared, he was admitted one of the Pastors of the said Church. He allowed them likewise to endeavour the composing of the Differences arisen at *Castres*, between *d'Escherbiac* and *Brugeres*,

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1075

Brugeres, Counsellors in the Chamber of that ^{Lewis 14.} City, and at *Montauban*, where the Church ^{1660.} was divided in two Parties, on account of ^{Pope A-} the same Affair of these two Counsellors, ^{lexan. VII.} who had agreed to refer their Cause to the Decision of the Church of this last City.

The Synod had a mind to renew the Affair of the Annexes; but the Commissioner did not allow them. However they enacted to make of that Affair one of the chief Articles of their Bill of Grievances, and they in-joined the Ministers, who were in the case, not to desist from preaching in those Places, notwithstanding all manner of Opposition, or else they would be dealt with as Deserters from their Ministry. They resolved likewise to proclaim a Fasting-day, which they appointed for the 25th of *March* 1660. The Catholicks cried very loud against it, as if the general Peace, and the King's Marriage, had been for the Reformed a Subject of Humiliation and Sorrow. They named *Loride des Galinieres* Esq; to take care of the Affairs of the Reformed Churches at *Paris*, which could not be commodiously managed by the Deputy-General, and appointed for him a Stipend of 3000 Livres; but that Nomination did not take place. Then they drew up their Bill of Grievances, wherewith the Reverend *Alexander Dize* Minister of *Grenoble*, and *Francis de Toulange* Lord of *Feissac*, and Elder in the Church of *Uzez*, were charged. They made several other good and wise Regulations; and having shewed forth in the general Matters as much respect for the Sovereign's Will, as could be expected from Men of Honour, and as much Steadiness as Prudence could allow in such

Lewis 14.th nice Conjunctions, they put an end to
 1660. their long Sessions the 10th of *January* 1660.

Pope A-
lexan VII. The Province of *Lower Languedoc* was to
 summon the next National Synod, and the
 City of *Nimes* was the Place appointed to
 meet in, about three Years after ; but our E-
 nemies would not suffer us any longer to en-
 joy our Privileges *.

Bill of
Grievan-
ces.

Tho' the Bill of Grievances tendered to
 the King by this Synod, is not inserted in
Quick's Synodicon, nevertheless, as it is to
 be supposed that it contained the same Ar-
 ticles as that presented by all the Provincial
 Synods in 1658, and the Memoir drawn up
 in *April* 1659, I shall abstract them out of
 these two Pieces, such as I find them in *Be-*
nott's History, Tom. 3. Book 5.

The Provincial Synods, in their general
 Bill of Grievances, had reduced all the prin-
 cipal and most important Concessions of the
 Edict to these five Heads. I. The Liberty
 of residing in whatever Place of the King-
 dom they should chuse without being in any

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1077

civil, tried before the Chambers of the E-^{Lewis 14.}
dict, or half-parted Chambers created in their ^{1660.}
Behalf. Now, after having observed that ^{Pope A-}
these Concessions could not be of any Preju-^{lexan. VII.}
dice either to the Catholicks in general, or
the Clergy in particular ; but that the least
Contravention of them was destructive to the
Reformed, they went on to prove that the
Edict was in manifold respects infringed in
all these five Points, which they did evince
by twenty or thirty Instances upon each
Article ; so that their Veracity could not be
questioned, the Grievance complained of be-
ing plainly made out by such a Number of E-
vidences. They sent their Deputies to Court,
who, after four long Months Delays and
Cavils, obtained at last, with great ado, an
Audience. The Marquis *de la Forêt*, a Gen-
tleman of *Poitou*, was their Foreman ; his
Speech was wise, modest, respectful, tho' he
represented with great Energy the Attempts
daily made against the Edicts, which were
authorized by the Declarations and Decrees
which the Council so easily granted the Clergy.
The Decree of the 18th of *July* 1656 made
the chief Subject of his Complaints. He ob-
served by the way, that the Clergy's Remon-
strances that had occasioned the Grant there-
of, were but meer Calumnies ; and affirmed,
that amongst the King's Subjects, none were
more submissive, obedient and faithful, than
the Reformed. Speaking of the Obedience
due to the King, he said, That they did not
believe that any temporal Power had a right
to dispense the Subjects from their Allegi-
ance ; and that as to themselves, after hav-
ing paid their Duty unto God, they chearfully
came to render to *Cæsar* what belonged to

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Lewis 14. *Cæsar*. He required that whatever had been
^{1660.}
 enacted, contrary to the Edict of *Nantz*,
 Popc A- should be repealed, and that it should be
 lezan. VII. fully restored in all its Parts. When he had
 done speaking, he put the Petition or Bill of
 Grievances into the King's Hands ; and that
 Prince told him, *I will examine your Petition,*
and do you Justice. After the King's Au-
 dience, the Deputies desired that of the Car-
 dinal ; he denied it at first, but at last he
 consented to receive the Deputies without
 any Ceremony ; so that they named only two
 of them to speak to him in their Name.
 The Reverend Mr. *De Langle* Minister of
Rouën, deceased Canon of *West-Minster*, and
De Tbiac Esq; Deputy of *Xaintonge*, were
 conducted to his Eminency at *Vincennes* by
 the General Deputy. They met him alone,
 and Mr. *De Langle* made a very fine Speech,
 tho' engaging and adulatory, it was very
 pressing and moving upon the same Subject,
 whereof the Marquis of *La Forêt* had treated

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crees daily issued forth from the Council and from the Parliaments. The Cardinal's Answer was very kind and obliging, but *after the Italian way*; and all that the Deputies could obtain, were WORDS. *Lewis* had been taught to have no regard for the Reformed, nor for the Promises he made to them, how deeply soever his own Honour should be engaged in it. It is said, that some time after, a certain Person representing unto him the Examples of *Henry IV.* and *Lewis XIII.* he told him, *The King my Grandfather loved, but feared not you; the King my Father feared, but not loved you; and for my part, I neither fear nor love you.* That is very like *Lewis XIV.* Now it must be supposed, that these Deputies having not succeeded in their Commission, the National Synod inserted in their Bill of Grievances the very same Articles which were in this general Petition of the Provincial Synods: But the Deputies of the National Synod were not more successful than those of the Provincials; they were both baffled by the Artifices of that treacherous Court.

Their restless Adversaries, the Popish Clergy, used all Endeavours to envenom the important Services they had done to the Crown; they suggested to *Lewis* and his Ministers, that if upon occasion they had been able to save the State from Ruin, they might likewise upon another utterly overthrow it. Therefore it was but prudent to suppress that Party, and what good they had done must be no longer regarded, but as an Indication of the Mischief which some time or other they were capable of effecting. This devilish Policy, which hinders

Lewis 14.
1660.
Pope Alexander XII.

Abominable Suggestions of the Roman Clergy.

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Lewis 14. Subjects from serving their Prince, to avoid the
 1660. bringing upon themselves or their Posterity
 Pope A- Punishments instead of Recompences, took
 lexan VII. immediately with the ungrateful Court.
 They began to execute the unjust and cruel
 Design, long ago set on foot, of rooting out the
 Reformed; and that they might clearly un-
 derstand, that it was their Zeal and Loyalty
 for their King that now occasioned their
 Ruin, they immediately fell foul on the
 Cities of *Montauban, Rochelle, &c.* where the
 Reformed had the most signalized themselves
 for the Court's Interest: so that for the fu-
 ture we shall see nothing else but a continual
 Scene of the most heinous Injustices, and of
 the most barbarous Cruelties.

1661. Was I to relate the Injustices and cruel
 Of Caillon Treatments done to private Persons, I should
 de la have taken notice of the Prosecution and
 Touche. Martyrdom of *Caillon de la Touche Esq;*
 That unfortunate Gentleman was calumni-

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1081

Moment. The Widow of the Deceased, ^{Lewis 14.} notwithstanding such a glaring Evidence of ^{1661.} her Husband's Innocency, could never obtain ^{Pope A-} of the Parliament a Reversion of the Sentence, ^{lexan. VII.} nor a Restoration of his good Name by any publick Instrument. But I will insist only upon Matters of a general Concern.

The *Sorbonne* having declar'd, in a full As- ^{The Ver-} sembly of its Doctors, that she ABHORRED ^{sions of} the Versions of the Holy Scripture, and no- ^{Scripture} tified the same to the Assembly of the Clergy, ^{branded.} which was soliciting that strange Declaration; Pope *Alexander* published a Bull the 8th of *January*, wherein he styled the Translators of the Scripture SONS OF PERDITION.

By a Decree of the Council, issued forth ^{Several} the 25th of the same Month, the Reformed ^{Decrees.} were forbidden to call their Religion ORTHODOX, but only Pretended Reformed Religion. On the same Day another Decree was issued forth, forbidding the Ministers to speak loud when they exhorted the Criminals in Jail, and pray'd with them at the Place either of their Confinement or of their Execution. And on the 18th of *February*, another was issued forth on the same Subject, forbidding the Jailors and the Minister to suffer any body to be present at their Exhortations. But these Things were but Trifles in comparison of the cruel Treatment the Cities of *Montauban* and *Rocbelle* receiv'd, and which engrossed the publick Attention for this whole Year. The occasion of their Misfortunes was as follows:

There was a College at *Montauban*, which, ^{Cruelties} for a long while having been occupied by ^{against} the Reformed alone, had been at last, like ^{Montau-} that of *Nimes* divided; and the Jesuits had ^{ban.}

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Lewis 14. obtained what had been taken from the
 1661. former, who, however were kept in Posses-
 Pope A- sion of the best part thereof; so that the
 lexan. VII. Jesuits Students were obliged to keep close
 in their Forms, as soon as they came, and
 durst hardly appear in any other Place of the
 College. Such a Constraint was intolerable
 to the good Fathers. For a long time they
 had endeavoured to free themselves from it,
 but till then they could not find any favour-
 able Opportunity, and had been forced to
 rest satisfied with their being tolerated only.
 Now they took it in their heads to shake off
 the Yoke; for which purpose, as they were
 wont to represent from time to time by their
 Scholars some Theatrical Piece in the largest
 of their Forms, they, in 1660, erected their
 Stage in the College-Yard, on pretence that
 the Intendant and other Persons of Quality
 would do them the honour to be present at
 that Representation. They had asked, and
 obtained the Consent of the Rector of the

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1083

imprisoned only by its Authority, and they ^{Lewis 14.} had their own private Jail. Now looking ^{1661.} upon the Magistrate's Proceeding as an In- ^{Pope A-}fringement of their Privileges, they went ^{lexan. VII.} tumultuously and broke open the Jail, and set their Comrades at liberty. The Consuls came in their Regalia, and some of the Professors in their Gowns; but neither the Authority of the one, nor the Remonstrances of the other, could appease them.

Now the Jesuits missed not this opportunity. They sent Information of the Fact to Court, not drawn according to the Rules of Truth and Justice, but according to the Jesuitical Methods; for they made of that private Case, wherein none but young Students were concerned, a publick one, wherein they involv'd not only their Professors and Regents, but the whole Church of *Montauban*, as if they had been the Abettors thereof, or had had any hand in it. They pretended that the Honour and Safety of the Catholick Religion requir'd, that such Indignities and Affronts put upon its Teachers should not go unpunished. Thereupon *Hotman*, Intendant of Justice at *Montauban*, received Orders from Court to dispossess the Reformed of their College, and to give it whole to the Jesuits. *Hotman* notified his Orders to the Consuls. These conven'd the most notable Citizens in a Chamber adjoining to the new Temple, and expos'd the Advice which the Intendant had given them. The People understanding the Matter, instantly took fire, and some hundreds of them came tumultuously to the Church-Door. They suspected their Magistrates, at least they charged them with Neglect of Duty, for not having timely informed

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Lewis 14. informed the Court of the Right they had to
 1661. the Academy. They could not bear the Pro-
 Pope A- position of giving over that Right, they re-
 lexan. VII. quired time to inform the King of the Justice
 of their Cause; at least they desired to see the
 King's Order, and humbly besought the
 Intendant to shew it to them, promising to
 submit as soon as they should be duly ac-
 quainted with his Majesty's Will.

Their Request was but reasonable, and had
Hotman been well intentioned, he might
 have indulged that People so far without
 derogating to his Character. But their En-
 emies wanted to provoke them to some un-
 due thing, that they might have a pretence
 for crushing them. The wisest among the
 Reformed Inhabitants were afraid lest, little
 by little, that Murmur should degenerate into
 an open Sedition, whereby they should fall
 into the Snares of their Enemies. Therefore,
 in order to prevent it, they found no better
 means than to open the Church-Doors, a
 Minister came up in the Pulpit and some

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1085

But the wicked Man did not stop there ; ^{Lewis 14.} he sent Informations to Court of whatever ^{1661.} was past, which he magnified in every re- ^{Pope A-} spect ; and in order not to be contradicted ^{lexan. VII.} by those whom he was pleased to charge, he gave them no notice of what he wrote upon their account. They were informed thereof from *Paris*, and at the same time they were told from the same Place, that something very extraordinary was hatching against them. And indeed the Marquis of *St. Luc*, Lieutenant in *Guienne*, had orders to march to *Montauban*, and to destroy it. Accordingly he came with about 5000 Men, Horse and Foot, took possession of the Gates and of the publick Places, and quartered his Troops upon the Reformed. The Magistrate agreed with the Officers for a certain Sum, so that they kept their Men within certain Bounds ; but the Stock of the City was exhausted in more than four Months time that these quarterings lasted. And to the end that the Inhabitants should not doubt but that their Religion was the chief Cause of these military Executions ; those who turned Catholicks, were delivered of their Guests.

That was not all : *Hotman* received Orders to inform against those who had been in the late Riot, and to judge them conjointly with the Presidial, without Appeal. Consequently he caused several Persons to be arrested, two of whom were condemned to Death and executed ; others were sentenced to be whipt, others to be present at the Execution ; others to Banishment, and their Goods and Estates forfeited. During these Transactions, the City deputed to Court for making their Remonstrances to the King. The Deputies were

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Lewis 14. were kindly received outwardly, and sent
 1661. back full of Hopes ; but, like *Uriah*, in the
Pope A- Old Testament, they were the Carriers of the
lexan VII. Orders to raze their Fortifications, to fill up
 their Ditches, to level their Walls, to de-
 prive the Reformed of the Consulship. And
 to the Fidelity of that poor People received
 the Reward due to Rebellion.

Against About the same time *Rochelle*, without
Rochelle. the least Provocation, had a sad Experience
 of that devilish Maxim held by their En-
 mies, *That Faith is not to be kept with He-*
reticks; for notwithstanding the Declaration
 made after the Reduction of that City in
 1628, a Decree was issued forth by the
 Council of State the 11th of *November*, con-
 firming the Ordinance of *Colbert de Terron*,
 Intendant of Justice and Police in *Brenay*,
Aulnay and *Rochelle*, published the 14th of
October, for expelling out of that City the
 Reformed that were not Inhabitants, married,
 Burgesses, or Merchants trading for their own

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lapsers. *Item*, The Ministers that were not ^{Lewis 14.}
born at *Rochelle*, &c. &c. ^{1661.}

That Decree was register'd at the Seat of ^{Pope A-}
Rochelle; and *Bomier*, one of the King's At- ^{lexan. VII.}
torneys, was the Man that pushed on that
Affair with all his Might and Interest. He
was one of the hottest Persecutors; he had
been brought up amongst the *Jesuits*, and
being naturally base and wicked, he was de-
lighted with their Methods. After the Re-
gistering, the Ordinance and the Decree were
proclaimed by sound of Trumpets, com-
manding all those that were designed, of
what Rank and Quality soever, to quit the
City in a Fortnight, on the Penalty of 500
Livres; to which they would be constrained
by selling of their Moveables. When the
Proclamation was made, those who were
lately come to settle at *Rochelle*, submitted.
They were tempted by very fair Promises,
if they would turn *Catholicks*; but they
were Proof against these Temptations, and
chose to suffer, rather than to do any thing
against their Conscience. (Note, that this hap-
pened in the midst of the Winter, and that
at that time the Rains continued very heavy
for three Weeks together.) But those who
were Natives of *Rochelle*, tho' they were sen-
sible that they could be included in one or
other of the Cases specify'd in the Declara-
tion, had a mind to wait till they should be
prosecuted, in hopes to find some Mitiga-
tion. But, on the contrary, their Persecutors
treated them with the utmost Severity. All
those who were summoned, were condemned;
nay, they could not obtain a Delay, even of
a single Day, not even of a few Hours.
But the Serjeants came instantly after Sen-
tence

Lewis 14. tence had been given ; they seized upon what-
 1661. ever was the best in the House, to the Value of
Pope A- the Fine, and for the Charges of the Law, and
lexan VII. exposed the rest to sale in the open Street.

They insulted, by Words, the poor People ;
 and, joining Cruelty to Injustice, they pulled
 out of their Houses decrepid old Men and
 Women unable to stand, Women in Labour
 or newly brought to Bed, Persons sick in
 Bed, without any Mercy ; some of them
 died in the Arms of the Carriers, and others
 with the Fatigue and Grief. This Persecu-
 tion lasted two Months, and near 300 Fa-
 milies were in that manner and upon these
 accounts expelled the City.

1662.
Against
Milbaud.

I shall here pass over numberless unjust
 Decrees and Declarations upon several Affairs
 relating to our Churches, because I chuse to
 sum up the whole under some few proper
 general Heads in the Conclusion of this Book.
 But I cannot omit the cruel Treatment the
 Reformed of *Milbaud* met this Year. They

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That on the 10th of *February* there was a Bu- Lewis 14.
al, which the Reformed made at their 1663.
four, and with the same Attendance as u- Pope A-
al; for the said Decree having not been lexan. VII.
notified unto them by the proper Persons,
could not be of any force as to them. The
capucines took this opportunity for opposing
them, they assaulted the Funeral, and endea-
voured to stop their March with such a Vio-
lence, that some of the Company, not able to
bear any longer, fell upon them, and abused
them. Those GOOD ANGELICAL FA-
thers failed not to magnify the Harm
they had received. They charged the Re-
formed with having trod them under their
feet, bruised them with Sticks, plucked
off their Beards; and that they designed to
set their Convents in flames, had they not
been hinder'd by a prodigious Fall of Snow.
The Informations were modelled upon these
complaints without any farther Examina-
tion; the Minister of the Place, one of the
worthiest of his time, was falsely charged.
The Intendant *Pellot* received Orders to re-
venge the Capucines. He did it with the
utmost Severity, nay Cruelty, seeing that
there had not been any Bloodshed. Two
were hang'd, two condemn'd to make *A-*
rendre Honorable, and to Banishment; two
others were banish'd for five Years; the Mi-
nister for ever; some Women were sentenced
to be whipped; 29 or 30 others, who had
been sentenced, were hanged or burnt in Effigy.
That was not all; all the Reformed of *Mil-*
lans were declared Accomplices of the Re-
bellion against the King's Orders, and fined
4000 Livres, besides the Charges. They
were deprived for ever of the Consul-
ship,

Lewis 14. ship, &c. That Text has no need of any
1664. Commentary.

Pope A-
lexan. VII.

College of
Castres
given to
the Jesuits

Amongst other flagrant Injustices done to the Reformed this Year, these were some of the most considerable: The College of *Castres*, as well as that of *Nimes*, had formerly belong'd to the Reformed exclusively to all others, but they had been obliged to yield part of each to the Catholics. Now the first Regent of *Castres* being deceased, the Catholick Consuls of that City, spurred to it by the Archdeacon of *Castres*, deprived the second Regent and several other Officers of the College who were Reformed. Their pretence was, that by the Decrees the Reformed could keep only small Schools to teach Children to read, write, and cast Accounts: which Pretence was absolutely false; for if that had been the case, to be sure the Reformed Academy at *Montauban*, far from being transferred to *Puilaurens*, as it had been two Years before by the Court's

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arded, the Justice of their Cause was slighted; Lewis 14-
 the Council who was in possession, to tread un- 1664.
 der their feet Justice, Truth, Honesty, and Pope A-
 whatever is sacred amongst Men, whenever a lexan. VII.
 case before them had any relation to the
 lights of the Reformed, issued forth a De-
 cree the 17th of *September*; whereby they were
 ordered to produce in three Months time the
 instruments whereby they were entitled to any
 share in the said College; and in the mean
 while they settled the *Jesuits* in it, they ascribed
 unto them the head Mastership of the Col-
 lege, the two Regent Places designed for the
 Catholicks, and the Licence of filling by
 provision the two other Places belonging to
 the Reformed, till the King should have or-
 dered otherwise, which he never did.

The *Jesuits* had but indirectly interven'd *And at*
 in this Affair of *Castres*; but it was not the *Nimes.*
 case at *Nimes*. They were Party against the
 Reformed. The College had been divided
 between them and the Catholicks in *January*
1634; by some Commissioners of the half-
 altered Chamber. There had been a new
 transaction between them in *April 1652*, con-
 firmed by the King's Council; the Deed of
 that Confirmation had been registred in the
 rolls of the Chamber of *Castres*, and of the
 Court of Accounts at *Montpellier*; so that all
 the most solemn Forms required in such cases
 had been observed. Thereupon the Reformed
 thought that they could make such an use
 of their Portion as they might think pro-
 per, having over it an undeniable Right
 grounded upon the most glaring Evidences.
 Therefore they made some new Buildings for
 enlarging their College. The *Jesuits* suffered
 them to go on till the Building was almost fi-
 nished.

Lewis 14. nished. Then they tender'd a Petition to the
1664 Commissioners, shewing forth that the *Reform-*
Pope A- *ed* had usurped those Places whereupon they
lexan. VII had built, (*tho' it was plain that part thereof*
belonged to themselves, and the other to the City,
with which they had agreed;) they pretended,
that the King having granted them the Col-
lege, they ought to be superior in it; and
that no Alteration could be made in it with-
out their Consent. The Commissioners were
divided, and the Affair was brought before
the King's Council; where, after their wonted
custom, the Reformed were condemned. But
as they were sensible that their Sentence was
unjust, they endeavoured to cover it with a
Veil; which served only to cover them-
selves with a greater Shame. **LEWIS** or-
dered that the *Syndick* of the College of *Je-*
suits should be put in possession of all the
Places, which before the Transaction of 1653
had made part of the College, together with
all the new Buildings erected since that time

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1693

no Reformed Regent could be admitted without being approved and received by their Rector; and they could not be deprived, but by his own Consent; they and their Disciples were obliged to be submissive to his Orders; he had a full Authority to deprive them without giving Cause, &c. Let the Reader judge, whether there was any Equity in that Decree containing such odious Conditions, whereto the Reformed could not yield without wounding their Honour or their Conscience. Nevertheless they could obtain no Redress.

Lewis 14.
1664.
Pope A-
lexan. VII.

But the Affair of *Privas* is of such a shocking nature, that one can't read it without Astonishment and Horror. The Reformed had been restored to that Town by Lewis XIII. and in consideration of the great Services they had done him in the Wars against his Brother the Duke of *Orleans*; they had obtained leave to rebuild their Houses, and till their Lands, and to trade. Nay, by a Decree of the King's Council, they had been admitted to the Magistracy and all other publick Offices of the Town. But they were so much neglectful; that they did not require the Repeal of the Declaration issued forth against them in 1629, during the last Civil War of the Duke of *Roban*, whereby their Goods and Estates were forfeited, they were forbidden to settle themselves again in that Town, and it was declared that if at any time they did contravene, Possession should not be deemed a Reason whereupon they could ground any Right. Now the wicked Clergy thought proper to improve the Simplicity of these poor People. They were allured to it by the cruel Success they had had against the Reformed of *Rochelle*, whose Case was near the same. There was at *Privas*

Cruelties
at Privas.

Lewis 14. two hundred and sixty Families, two hundred
1664. whereof were Reformed : So then their Enemies (true *Cannibals*) sued them before the
Pope Alexan. VII. Council, in consequence of the said Article of
that Declaration. They were mightily supported by the Prince of *Conti* Governor of *Languedoc*, and after very tedious Pursuits they obtained a Decree the 22d of *February* this Year, whereby **HONEST LEWIS** ordered that the Declaration of 1629 should be executed in its full extent, forbid the Reformed of what Quality soever to inhabit that Town upon a thousand Livres Penalty, enjoined the Inhabitants of that Persuasion to quit it instantly, on the Penalties enacted by the said Declaration ; allowed the Catholicks, the new Converts, or those who should turn hereafter Catholicks, to dwell in it, restoring them to their Goods and Estates, notwithstanding the incurred Forfeiture, &c. &c. That Decree was executed with all the Rigour and Cruelty that could be expected from *Cannibals*.

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1095

against all Sense, not only of Pity, but even Lewis 14.
of Justice and Equity. 1665.

I shall take notice in another Place of a ^{Pope A-}
famous Writing published the Beginning of ^{lexan. VII.}
this Year by the *Jesuit Mefnier*, against the ^{Several}
Rights and Privileges of the Reformed. The ^{unjust De-}
most notable Injustices of this Year were as ^{crees.}

follows: The Reformed Commissioner, who
was joined with a Catholick in all the Pro-
vinces, was forbidden, by a Decree of the Coun-
cil of the 26th of *January*, to contradict his
Colleague in any thing; so that he was ob-
liged to see the most crying Frauds and In-
justices done under his Name, without daring
to oppose them. By another Decree of the
24th of *April*, the Council referred to the
Commissioners the Cognizance of all Affairs
concerning Religion, and the Exercise thereof,
Church-Yards, Temples, the Observation of
the Edict, &c. from whom however the
Parties might appeal to the Council. The
Commissioners Catholicks set up themselves
to report their own Causes in the Council,
which was very unjust, and of immense Pre-
judice to the Reformed; for they drew up the
Cause after their own Passion, without taking
any notice of the Oppositions made by the
Reformed; they used to set in a full light
the Reasons of the Catholicks, but they hard-
ly related those of the Reformed, and they
became in a little time Judges and Party in
their own Causes. It was by these means that
so many Churches were suppressed in *Britany*.
D'Argoues Commissioner in that Province, a
violent and furious Persecutor, having tried
those Churches, and drawn up the verbal
Process, set up himself for Judge in the Coun-
cil; the rest of the Counsellors owning that

Lewis 14. that was not just, nevertheless he was suffered
1665. to go on.

Pope A-
lexan. VII.

Nobody would take the part of these af-
flicted Churches, besides the Dutchess of Ro-
Dutchess ban; but she was out of favour at Court.
of Rohan's The Dutchess of Soubize her Daughter had
Generosity. withstood the Pursuits of the GALLANT
LEWIS, who, being not used to meet with
Resistance, was extremely provok'd at the
young Dutchess's Virtue; so that *D'Argouges*
finding his Master in a Fit of this ill Humour,
obtained without much ado the Confirmation
of his Sentences; and tho' the Chancellor had
engaged the Council to spare the Church of
Blain, at least during the Life of the Dutchess,
who resided in that Place, nevertheless he or-
dered her to level that Church to the ground,
which was executed.

1666.

So many Vexations, Injustices and Cruel-
Lewis 14. ties done to the Reformed without the least
his Answer Provocation, and only in order to gratify an
to the Elec- impudent Clergy, obliged some Princes in
tor of Branden- Alliance with *France* to interfere for them.

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1097

thority, against his Reformed Subjects, thought ^{Lewis 14.} that it was better to deny that any such thing ^{1666.} was done in his Kingdom. Accordingly, in ^{Pope A-} his Answer to the Elector's Letter, he told ^{lexan. VII.} him, *That some ill-designing People had published some seditious Libels in Foreign Countries, as if his Reformed Subjects were deprived of the Benefit of the Edicts, Declarations, &c. granted them by his Predecessors and by himself, which would be, says he, against my Intention; for I do take care that they should be maintained in all their Privileges, and that they should be kept upon the same Footing with the rest of my other Subjects.* And that he might be the better credited, he adds, *To that I am engaged by my Royal Word.* And, N. B. BY THE GRATEFUL SENSE I HAVE of the Testimonies of their Fidelity they have given me in the last Commotions; for they took up Arms for my Service, and vigorously as well as successfully opposed the wicked Designs which a Party of Rebels had formed in my State against my Authority, &c. What more glaring Evidence can we desire of the Innocence of the Reformed, than such a Testimony offer'd in their Behalf by their very Persecutor?

The Persecutions continued very severe in ^{1667.} *Poitou* this Year and part of the next, many of their Churches were condemned and demolished, and a vast Number of Persons of every Rank and Sex were sent into several Prisons, where they were kept, some for several Months, others for several Years, without any regard for their Age, Sex, or Quality; amongst whom were the Ladies *De Forin*, and *De Régnié*; several were condemned to Death, and executed for having been present at some religious Assemblies.

1098 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14. Pope *Alexander* died this Year, and was
 1667. succeeded the 20th of *June* by Cardinal *Rof-*
Pope Cle- pigliosi of *Pistoia*, who took the Name of *Cle-*
 ment. IX. *ment IX.*

1668. This Year the Provinces sent a new Depu-
A Deputa- tation to the King, to endeavour the Redress
tion to of their manifold Grievances. The Reverend
Court. Mr. *Du Bose* Minister at *Caën*, having been
 deputed by his Province, was, on account of,
 his rare Talents, named by the Deputies of the
 other Provinces for setting down in Writing
 some Considerations upon their Grievances,
 which he did perfectly well. But another Af-
 fair of very great Importance for the Reform-
 ed happened, which afforded him an opportu-
 nity of displaying these Talents in a way which
 redounded much to his Honour. The Clergy
 were endeavouring to obtain the Suppression
 of the *Chambers of the Edict*, and of the *half-*
parted Chambers. Every one may judge how
 deeply the Reformed were affected by that
 Piece of Injustice. The Court was upon the
 point of gratifying our Enemies in that re-

was prepossessed against the Ministers, and who ^{Lewis 14.} at first feigned not to take notice of this Ora- ^{1668.} tor, did no sooner hear him speaking, than he ^{Pope Cle- ment IX.} began to listen with great Attention to what he said; and at the end was pleased to own, that that Affair had not been represented unto him under that Shape. He conferred with *Du Bosc* for some time upon that Subject, and told him, that he would consider of it. But, notwithstanding this and several other Conferences held with the Ministers of State, and their Petition and Remonstrances; all their Cares and Troubles hinder'd not the King from suppressing these Chambers in the Parliaments of *Paris* and *Rouën*, by a Decree of *January* 1669. The Reformed were for the future referred to the Great Chamber, for all the verbal Appeals; all the Favour granted them was, that they may challenge two Counsellors Clerks without shewing Cause. As for the Writing-Suits, they were referred to the Chamber of Inquests, where they were not allowed to challenge any body; only the Counsellors Clerks were not to be admitted Rehearers of the Cases.

This was indeed a terrible Stroke to the Li- ^{1669.} berties and Privileges of the Reformed ^{Some Fa-} Churches, whereof the Clergy boasted as of ^{your brow-} a compleat Victory got over these Hereticks, ^{ed to the} whereby they expected to have crushed them. ^{Reformed.} Nevertheless the Court thought proper to give the Reformed a sham Comfort, by revoking the Declaration of 1666. That Declaration was the Clergy's Work, and consequently framed as it could be expected from such Men; it suited very well their proud and cruel Genius. I have called this revocatory Declaration a *sham Comfort*, not but that there was

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Lewis 14. was in it many things which they could not
 1669. satisfied with, but because it was not the
 Pope Cle- Court's Intention that it should be executed.
 ment IX.

Two things above all were to be found in the
 Preamble, which much pleased their Fancies:
 1°. That the Decrees, whereupon the Decla-
 ration of 1666 was grounded, were repealed
 with the Declaration itself; so that the Clergy,
 by a single Stroke, lost all the vast Sums
 of Money and Trouble they had been at and
 paid for getting this Declaration. 2°. The
 King was made to say positively that this new
 Declaration would stand as A LAW FOR THE
 FUTURE, which caused the Reformed to be-
 lieve that, for the future, there would be some-
 thing sure and lasting, which should stand in-
 stead of a new Law, and would be no longer
 obnoxious to Cavils. But as that Declaration
 was grounded only upon some political Views,
 it was observed only so long as these Views
 subsisted, and did fall to the ground even be-
 fore they ceased.

Of Mar- There was a Gentleman, namely *Marcili*,

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which were disguised unto him, either by the ^{Lewis 14.} Agents of *France*, or thro' the Perfidiousness ^{1669.} of his own Ministers. The Marquis of *Ran-* ^{Pope Cle-} ^{ment IX.} *ni* was then near this Prince; the King ~~being~~ having sent him to remove the Jealousies, which *Charles* had but too justly conceived of *Designs*, and of the Conduct of his Coun-
 cil; and he had been named for that Embassy not only on account of his great Capacity, but also on account of his Religion, whereby he was better enabled than another to persuade his Master did intend no harm against Religion, and that he treated his Reformed Subjects with Equity. I don't know how to reconcile this Message with the general Character of the Marquis. How a Reformed, nay Deputy-General of the Reformed, perfectly well acquainted with all the Wrongs, Injuries, &c. done every day to his Brethren, and no less acquainted with the wicked Designs of the Clergy; and the bad Dispositions of the King's Council against us, could with safe Conscience endeavour to persuade His *Britannick* Majesty, that His Most Christian Majesty bore no ill-will to the Reformed; that he treated them with Equity like the rest of his Subjects? How could he endeavour to deter His *Britannick* Majesty from joining with the two other Protestant Powers, in order effectually to oppose the ambitious Designs of the *House of Bourbon*, which aimed already at an Universal Monarchy, and at the total Expulsion of the Protestant Religion? And how deeply must he have been concerned when he saw King *Charles*, (who was not otherwise well-inclined for that Alliance, wherein he had enter'd only for dazzling the Parliament's Eyes, and for obtaining larger Supplies,) not only

Lewis 14 only renouncing unto it, but even entering
1669. upon a War against the United Provinces,
Pope Cle- which cost the Nation above five Millions
ment IX. Sterling? But the best of Men are subject
 to the Failures of human Nature *.

To return, *Ruvigni* being thoroughly satisfied that *Marcilli* was actually the Man, informed his Master of the Discoveries he had made upon that Subject; and let him know, that he was gone into *Switzerland*, where he continued his Practices. The King spoke of it to the Marshal of *Turenne*, who sent into that Country three Officers professing the Reformed Religion. These Gentlemen being become acquainted with *Marcilli*, allured him into a Place where he could receive no Assistance, carried him away by Force, and safely brought him to *Paris*; where he was tried, condemned to be broke alive upon a Wheel, and executed. He suffered the Torture and that cruel Death with Constancy. Now it is pretended, that in order to remove the Suspicions and Excuses which the Protestant Powers enter-

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Besides that Declaration, it was thought proper to issue out another in *August* following, whereby the King forbids his Subjects to go out of his Dominions and to settle themselves

Foreign Countries, and commands all those who were already settled to come back in six months time after Notice given unto them

the said Declaration, under several Penalties against the Delinquents. The Prince of Tarente, Son to the Duke of *La Tremouille*,

and lived for several Years in the *United Provinces* with the King's Licence, and had obtained very fine Employments in those Countries; nevertheless he resigned them all, and

the Dutchess his Mother being dead, he turned Papist, and was followed by all his Children, his Daughter excepted; who persever'd

in the Reformed Religion, and was married with the Duke of *Oldenburg*, a near Relation to the King of *Denmark*. The Marshal of *Turenne* soon after followed the same bad

example, and turned Papist. It is remarkable, that for many Years together he had been Proof against the most ensnaring Temptations: Cardinal *Mazarini* and the King him-

self had oftentimes tried to shake off his Conscience, but all in vain. Which was ascribed to the good Example of his own Sisters,

specially of the Dutchess of *La Tremouille*, and of his youngest Sisters; and above all to the Princess of *Turenne*, his Con-

sort: She was only Daughter to the Duke of *La Force*, a Lady of great Learning, and of an exquisite Piety. As long as she and her

two Sisters-in-Law (for whom the Marshal had a great regard) lived, he was steadfast and unmoveable in his Principles; but the

Treaty of *Aix la Chapelle* being concluded,

and

Lewis 14.
1669.

Pope Clem.
IX.

A Declaration for-
bidding to
go out of

the King-
dom with-
out Leave.

Tarente
and Tu-
renne turn
Catholicks.

Lewis 14. and his Wife dead, he turned of his own accord.

1669.
Pope Clement IX.

But amongst the greatest Losses which the Reformed Churches had to sustain this Year, the Death of that Reverend Divine CHARLES DRELINCOURT, one of the Ministers of the Church of *Paris*, which resorted to *Charenton* for their publick Worship, was one of the most considerable. He was born at *Sedan* the 10th of *July* 1595. His Father *Peter Drelincourt* had been chief Secretary to *Henry Robert de la Mark* Duke of *Bouillon*, and Sovereign Prince of *Sedan*, &c. then he was made Master of the Rolls or Register in the Sovereign Council of that Principality. His Mother was *Anna Buyrette* Daughter to *Nic. Buyrette* Advocate in the Parliament of *Paris*; her two Brothers were Ministers, the oldest *Thomas Buyrette* was barbarously murdered at *Paris* the third Day of the Massacre in 1572. As to our Reverend Divine, having finished his Studies, he was received Minister in *Jan* 1618. and exercised his Function at *Larzus*

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sons. He busied himself with Success upon Lewis 14. 1669. Pope Clement IX. the Affairs not only of his own Church, but of several others, who consulted him upon any important Emergency. It is not possible deservedly enough to recite the Services he has done the Church by his pious Labours, either by his Books of Devotion, or by his Polemical Works. There is such a Gracefulness in the first, they are so full of the Spirit and Expressions of the Holy Scripture, that every pious Soul has found and finds still in them a delightful spiritual Food. As to the others, they were of a wonderful Use to the Reformed; it has been, and is still owned by every one, that most part of them were so well adapted to the meanest Capacities, that the most clownish Peasant, and even little Children who had learnt them, were able to confound any Missionary, and put him to a *non-plus*. He has been considered, on account of his Writings, as the Scourge of all the *Roman* Controvertists; but for all that, he was well beloved by every Party. He had a free access to the Secretaries of State, to the first President, the King's Attorney-General, and the Lieutenants Civil and Criminal; but he made use of his Interest with them only for relieving several afflicted Churches, or for serving private Persons; some of whom he advanced in the World, others he redeemed from Whipping, or from the Gallows or Galleys. He was beloved and respected by the greatest Lords of our Religion, the Duke of *La Force*, the Marshals of *Chatillon*, *Gassion*, *Turenne*, the Dutchess of *La Trimouille* had a singular Veneration for him; and not only they did send for him to their own Hotels, but they went oftentimes to pay him Visits. The Foreign Princes

Lewis 14. Princes and Lords had the same regard for
^{1669.} him. At last, after a most troublesome ca-
Pope Cle- reer, he went the 3d of *November* to receive
men, IX. at the hands of his most gracious Lord the
Recompence of his pious Labours, dying, as
he had lived; in the Sentiments of an humble
Submission to the Will of the Almighty; his
Virtues supported his Faith, and his Faith en-
liven'd his Virtues. His bodily Constitution
was so good and healthy, that he never ex-
cused himself whenever occasion was offer'd
to perform some Function of his pastoral Of-
fice. That was a time when Persons of all
Ranks, in their Afflictions, were very glad to
receive the Instructions and Consolations of
their Ministers, and were not so brutish as to
rebuke them, when they charitably came to
perform near them any of the Functions of
their Ministry. Our godly Divine took a
peculiar delight in the Performance of this,
and very few have ever attained even to his
Abilities in that respect, which cannot be pa-
rallell'd but by his Zeal and Activity. As

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His devotional Books are, *A Preparation to the* Lewis 14.
Holy Supper; that was the first Book he ever ^{1669.}
published. *A Catechism*; *An Abridgment of* Pope Cle-
Controversies; *Consolations against the Dreads of* ment. IX.
Death; *Charitable Visits of the Sick, &c.* 5 vol. *His Works.*
8°. and 3 vol. of Sermons. His Polemical
Works are, *The Jubilee*; *The Roman Fight*;
The Owl of Jesuits; *The Triumph of the Church*
under the Cross; *An Answer to Father Caussin*;
Of the Honour due to the blessed Virgin, a Dis-
putation with the Bishop of Bellay; *Of the Ho-*
nour due to the Sacrament; *An Answer to La*
Milletiere; *Dialogues against the Missionaries,*
in 4 vol. *The sham Pastor convicted*; *The*
sham Face of Antiquity; *The pretended Nulli-*
ties of the Reformation; *An Answer to Prince*
Ernest of Hesia; *An Answer to the Speech of*
the Clergy, uttered by the Archbishop of Sens.
This last was burnt by the common Hang-
man; the Reverend Author went under the
Name of *Pbilaetbes*; *A Defence of Calvin.*
I don't speak of several Letters, nor of several
Prayers of his, that have been published;
nor of his *Manuscripts*, which have not been
printed as yet.

He married a very rich Heiress, Daughter *His Chil-*
to a Merchant of *Paris*; with whom he had *dren.*
sixteen Children, thirteen Sons and three
Daughters; but only five Sons and a Daughter
survived him. The eldest of the Family was
the Reverend Mr. *Laurent Drelincourt*, Mi-
nister first at *Rockelle*, and then at *Niort*;
where he was in great Esteem and Venera-
tion: He lost his Sight about 6 Months before
his Death, which happened in *June 1680*,
aged 56 Years. Several of his excellent Ser-
mons have been published, and a Collection
of *Christian Sonnets* upon several Subjects,

Lewis 14. which are much valued by all Persons who
 1669. have any taste for Piety and Virtue. Besides,
 Pope Cle- he was a solid Divine, a fine Preacher, a great
 ment IX. Scholar in *Hebrew*, this was peculiar to him-
 self at that time, that having made a parti-
 cular Study of the *French* Language, he was
 become such a perfect Master in it, as to be
 consulted even by the celebrated Mr. *Conrad*,
 Secretary of the *French* Academy, upon the
 nicest Difficulties of that Language. He had
 no Son, but he left two Daughters; the eldest
 was married to the Reverend Mr. *Baigneux*,
 Minister of *Poitiers*, both dead in *London*;
 the youngest to Mr. *Barbot* Merchant, and
 Author of the *Voyages to Guinea*, inserted in
Churchill's Collection of *Voyages*: She is
 my Wife's Mother.

The second Son was the Reverend Mr.
Henry Drelincourt, Minister first at *Gien*, and
 then at *Fontainebleau*, where he died unmar-
 ried long before the Revocation of the E-
 dict.

Book VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1109

The fourth was *Anthony Drelincourt*, Doctor Lewis 14.
Physick. He retired into *Switzerland*, and 1669.
was honoured with the Title of Physician Ex- *Pope Cle-*
traordinary to the Lords of *Berne*: He prac- *ment IX.*
sed his Art with very great Applause, and
died in 1730, leaving no Issue.

The fifth, was the Reverend Doctor *Peter Drelincourt*. He came over to *England* be-
fore the Death of his Father, entered into holy
orders, and by his Learning, Capacity, and
great Merit, no less than by the Interest of his
friends, he was promoted to the Dignity of
Dean of *Armagh*. He distinguished himself
at that Station by several good Works, but
more especially by an extraordinary Zeal for
the Propagation of the true Protestant Reli-
gion in *Ireland*, and his extensive Charity to
the Poor, erecting and endowing Schools and
Hospitals. His Inclinations to Beneficence
were mightily supported by the generous Dis-
positions of his Lady *Anne Drelincourt*, who
was not relented in well-doing, but still con-
tinues the same Marks of her Zeal for the
Propagation of the Protestant Religion, and
her Tendernefs and Compassion for the
Sufferings and Miseries of the Poor. The
Reverend Dean died in *London* in 1722; he
left behind him an only Daughter, at present
lict of the Right Honourable *Francis Lord*
Drelincourt Primrose. I hope that the Reader
will easily forgive me this long Digression, in
consideration of that most excellent Divine
Charles Drelincourt, whose Name and Me-
mory is and will be blessed through all the
ages of the Church.

To resume the Thread of this History. 1670.
one of the worst Effects of the Marshal of *Projects of*
France's Change, was, that he renewed the *Re-union.*

1110 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Lewis 14. Projects of a Re-union between the Protestants
1670. and the Catholicks, which had been so many
Pope Cle- times attempted before him, and had only
ment IX. served to create Troubles and Confusions in
the Churches. The Marshal knowing not
how to spend his time during Peace, took it in
his head to resume that Work, and was so
self-conceited as to expect a better Success
than those who had entered the Barrier before
him. He fancied himself to be as great a
Master in Divinity, as he was in the military
Art; and that it would be as easy for him to
manage the Motions of the Divines, as it was
to range his Battalions and Squadrons. True
it is, that he was supported by some Apostate
Ministers, who being tired with playing the
Truant at *Paris*, where they expended the
Pension allowed them by the Clergy, sought
to enter upon Business, that they might de-
serve some Benefice or something like. The
Court entered into that Project. They de-
signed to engage in it as many Ministers as
possible, according to the Scheme ascribed to

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. I I I I

and modestly to deliver their Opinion there-^{Lewis 14.}
upon in the Synod, when occasion should be^{1670.}
offered. The King consented to have his ^{Pope Cle-}
Name set down at the head of these Proposi-^{ment IX.}
tions, and to assure all those who should con-
cur to the good Success of that Project, of
being well rewarded for their Trouble.

Indeed such an Undertaking is a thing very *Reflections*
laudable in itself; nay, 'tis a Duty incumbent *upon that*
on every Christian, and more especially to those *Project.*
who are established in the Church for teaching
others, to procure, to the utmost of their Abi-
lities and Power, the Advancement of that
pious Work; but then certain Dispositions are
absolutely requisite, in order to obtain the de-
sired Success; and above all, a great Humi-
lity of Mind, which disposes us to believe
that others may be in the right, and we in
the wrong, remembering always the Apostle's
Precepts, *Hast thou Faith? Have it to thyself* ^{Rom. xiv.}
before God, &c. In Lowliness of Mind, let each ^{22.}

Man esteem others better than himself: In Ho- ^{Phil. ii. 3.}
nour prefer one another. A perfect Charity ^{Rom. xii.}
which disposes us to bear with the feeble-^{10.}
minded, to bear with their tolerable Errors,
which don't affect the great Principles of Chri-
stianity, and not to break the Union for things
merely indifferent in themselves. *For the* ^{Rom. xiv.}
Kingdom of God is neither Meat nor Drink, but ^{17.}

Justice, Peace and Joy, by the Holy Ghost. A
sincere Love for Truth, which disposes us not
only to seek eagerly after it, but to own it
when discerned; to embrace and follow it
constantly, howsoever contrary it may be and
prove to our prejudicate Opinions and tem-^{Prov.}
poral Welfare. *Buy the Truth, and don't sell* ^{xxiii. 23.}
it, says the wise Man. When these inward
Dispositions are in the two contending Parties,

then they may proceed to the Examinations
 of the controverted Points; that cannot be
 done without agreeing upon a Rule, which
 might serve as the Standard, for trying whe-
 ther such Article of Doctrine or Discipline
 is sound or not. But now the Difficulty lies
 about the Rule, which shall we take to be our
 Standard? There is a great Disagreement be-
 tween the two Parties about that Point. The
 one will have the Scripture only for a Rule, and
 they are grounded upon several plain Passages
 of that holy Book, which expressly forbids them
 not to recede from the sound Words taught
 them by the *Prophets* and the *Apostles*, but
 also upon the Method established in the Church
 during the three first Centuries, for determin-
 ing Controversies about any Point of Doctrine.
 The others are not contented with this, but
 they will have the Church, that is to say, an
 human Authority, either the Councils or the
 Popes, or both together, whereby the Con-
 troversies about Matters of Faith should be
 determined. In order to compose these Dif-
 ferences, it had been proposed sometimes
 under *Henry IV.* by *Du Plessis, Chamier*, and
 some others, to restore every thing in the
 Church, as they stood in the middle of the
 fifth Century; but *Du Perron* and others
 did not think proper to stand by that Rule,
 how reasonable soever it was, for they saw
 plainly that by that means they must give
 over the most essential Points, which have oc-
 casioned our Separation, and which were ut-
 terly unknown to that Antiquity, or had been
 condemned by the Fathers and the Councils.
 We read in *Socrates*, Hist. lib. v. ch. 10. and in
Sozomen's Hist. lib. vii. cap. xii. That *Theodosius*
the Great, by the Advice of *Nestarius*, Patriarch
 of

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of *Constantinople*, who had consulted *Sisennius*,^{Lewis 14.} made a Proposition much like to that to the^{167c.} Bishops of each Sect, which he had conven'd^{Pope Cle-} in that Capital in the Year 383, in order to^{ment IX.} find out means of re-uniting all the Christian Churches together in the same Faith. He asked them, *Whether they would refer themselves to the ancient Ecclesiastical Authors, who had lived before the beginning of these Disputes?* They durst not accept the Challenge, being conscious that their Condemnation was written in Capital Letters in those Books. The same it is with those of the *Roman Church*. They have too much of that carnal Prudence, ever to accept such a Challenge; they are sensible that whenever they shall accept it, they must at the same time irrevocably part with *Transubstantiation*, and other Errors concomitant to that *Monster*, with the *Worship of Images*, with the *Purgatory*, such as it has been taught in that Church these five or six last Centuries, with their *Service in an unknown Tongue*, with the *Infallibility* of the Councils, with the *Celibacy* of Priests, with the *Invocation* of the Virgin and Saints, with the *Indulgences*, and a great Number of others their Tenets. Nay, I dare say, that they would not accept the Challenge, were they offered to restore things in the Church as they were, even in the time of *Charlemaign*. No, there was still too much *Purity* for them, either in the *Doctrine* or in the *Discipline*. Nothing will satisfy them but what the *Darkness* and gross Ignorance of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth Centuries have brought forth. To that they will refer us. So that when they proposed in *France* a Re-union with the Reformed, it was only in order to ensnare them,

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Lewis 14 and then to force them to comply with every
1670. thing. For it has been, and it is still too well
Pope Cle- known by many sad Experiences, that the
ment IX. *West* is no more opposite to the *East*, than that
 Spirit of Humility, of Charity and a sincere
 Love for Truth, is to the Spirit of the Church
 of *Rome*, and to the Dispositions of her Sup-
 porters.

In order to be fully convinced of this, we
 need but to look back upon the Scheme had
 in the Year 1631, when Cardinal *De Rueter*
 attempted the same Work. The first Article
 of the Scheme was, that the *Roman Church*
 should not yield a tittle, either as to her Do-
 ctrine or Worship; no, not so much as to the
 Articles of the smallest Importance, or as to
 such as had been the first occasion of Schisms,
viz. Indulgences. How then could they expect
 to succeed in the Attempt, and to overcome
 the strong Reluctancy the Reformed had for
 their monstrous Tenets? They were to make
 choice of such soft Words in expressing their
 Doctrines, which should remove the Harshness

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were to bring it so about, that the Reformed Lewis 14.
should be the Solicitors, to the end that in 1670.
the Re-union they might appear as penitent Pope Cle-
Children that make the first step towards ment X.
their Mother to regain her Favour ; and that
the *Roman Church* might look like a Mother
that held forth her Arms to embrace her
Children returning to their Duty.

To bring this to pass, they designed to make
use of the Synods themselves, and they were
to propose the Scheme in the Provincial ones,
that they might more easily influence the E-
lections of Deputies to the National, and the
Deputies themselves who should have been at
their devotion. The first Step, was to send
a Deputation to the King, setting forth, that
certain ill-affected Persons went about to per-
suade him, that the *Reformed Religion* infused
into its Professors, Sentiments contrary to the
good of his Service ; but that they were re-
solved to shew the contrary by a faithful and
plain Explanation of theirs : for which pur-
pose they besought his Majesty to grant them
a free Conference with such Doctors as he
should please to name ; and that if they could
be satisfied that they might be saved in the
Catbolick Religion, they would readily re-unite
themselves. They were to be taken at their
words. The King was to grant a Conference
as long and as free as they could desire, and
be himself present at it. Then they were to
force all the Provinces to stand by the Treaty,
which the Ministers, their Deputies, (many of
whom were already bribed) should conclude.
Edicts, Proscriptions, Banishments, military
Executions, &c. were the Arguments to be
made use of with the obstinate. Such was the
Scheme proposed in *Richelieu's* time, and
there

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Lewis 14. there wanted not a good Number of Ministers,
^{1670.} not only those who were corrupted in their
Pope Cle- Morals, or who gave way to their Ambition
ment IX. and Avarice, but even good sober Men, and
 otherwise well-minded, but short-sighted and
 mistaken, who supported the same with all
 their Might, thinking thereby to do Service
 to God and the Church. But the Plague
 raging then in several Provinces, the Provin-
 cial Synods could not be assembled; and o-
 ther Accidents happening, the Project re-
 mained in suspense; and tho' from time to
 time it had been resumed, it had never been
 carried so far as this Year 1670. Several Mi-
 nisters of the Synod of the *Isle of France*, of
Anjou and *Berry*, &c. were bewitched with
 the Scheme. So that the Court thinking now
 to have a sure Game, was for forwarding the
 Work; for which purpose, tho' she had for-
 merly shewed forth such a great Reluctancy
 to grant the Reformed Liberty for holding
 any National Synod, now she of her own ac-
 cord offered a Licence without being request-

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very well how to supply their Places, being afraid lest the Court should impose upon them some Persons more at her devotion than the Church's.

Lewis 14.
1670.
Pope Clement IX.

I have spoken of the first: I must say something of the second. He was born at Chatelleraud the 6th of January 1594. He began his Studies very late, because his Father who was a Proctor (*Sequester*, in *Latin*; *Receveur des Consignations*, in *French*) at *Poitiers*, designed him for his Successor in his Business; but seeing his Son's Inclinations quite bent another way, he yielded: so that, being already eleven Years old, he was sent to *St. Maixant* to learn the first Rudiments. He was past eighteen Years old, when he commenced Student in Divinity at *Saumur*; and the same Year 1612, the great *Du Plessis* took him into his House to be Tutor to two of his Grandsons, with whom he went to travel seven Years after. Being returned into *France* in 1621, he was received Minister in 1623, and was Chaplain to that Lord (whom he assisted to his last Moment) the same Year in *November*. In 1625, he was named to be Minister at *Saumur*; and the next Year he was called to serve the Church of *Paris*, as one of her Pastors, and continued in that Service for the remaining part of his Life. He was one of the learnedest Divines of his time, and one of the Controvertists whom the Catholics valued most. He was of a very strong Constitution as to his Body, which enabled him to attend constantly his Study, wherein he was exceedingly delighted. Besides 20 Vol. in 8°. of Sermons upon several Subjects, being extremely laborious and endowed with the Gift of an easy Conception and Production, he

Of the Reverend Mr. Daillé.

Lewis 14. he enriched the Publick with many other
 1670. Works. The first which he published in 1631,
 Pope Cle- was about the Use of the Ancient Fathers in
 ment IX. *Lat.*, much valued at that time by the *Pres-*
byterians, but little by the Divines of the estab-
 lished Church here in *England*. He left but
 one Son, who had been his Colleague in the
 Church of *Charenton* for about twelve Years,
 and who died at *Zurich* in 1690.

Now, while the Church of *Paris* was afraid
 lest the Court should take exception against
 the Ministers which they might nominate, in
 order to oblige them to take some of her own
 choice, they luckily were delivered from their
 Fears by Mr. *Caillard*, Advocate in the Par-
 liament of *Paris*, who had done some con-
 siderable Service to some of the chief Ministers
 of State, who promised him that the Church
 should not be opposed in her Election; and
 accordingly the Reverend Messieurs *Allix* and
Ménard were elected: they both died in *Eng-*
land, the first Canon of *Sarum*, the second
 Chaplain to the King, and Canon of *Wind-
 sar*.

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be deprived thereof; that in honour they ^{Lewis 14.} could not be so soon suppress'd, but in order ^{1670.} to prepare them to that Suppression, it was re- <sup>Pope Cle-
ment X.</sup> quisite to begin by giving more trouble to the Officers thereof, which was easily done by such Translation.

All this while the Deputies of the Churches ^{1671.} were at Court, soliciting an Answer to their ^{Deputies of} Petitions, and a Redress to their Grievances; ^{the Re-} and being tired with the tedious and affected ^{formed} Delays of the Council, who had not as yet ^{sent to the} reported their general Petitions to the King, ^{Bastile.} they resolved to have it published in Print. Heretofore it had been observed, That, upon occasions like this, such a Method had been unsuccessful, because the Council was more sensible to Complaints that became publick, than to private Solicitations, these remaining secret, they could elude them without Danger; but they found themselves obliged to pronounce something or other upon others, when they saw that all *Europe* was informed of them. Nevertheless the Deputies missed their aim for this time; for tho' their Petition was as modest and submissive as could be desired, the Council was offended at it. The Marquis of *Chateaufneuf* sent for them to his own House, asked their Names, and pick'd out *Verdier* Deputy of *Montauban*, and *Chabot* Deputy of *Peitou*, whom he sent to the *Bastile*. The rest of the Deputies, far from being dismayed by such a Violence, affected to take no notice of it, and went on with their Business. Two Days after they desired to be admitted to the King's Audience; they tendered him another Petition, beseeching that his Majesty would be pleased to order, that the former Petition and Bill of Grievances should be read before him.

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Lewis 14. him. In the mean while the Council released the two Prisoners, who had been Captives for a Month. The King referred to the Duke of *Villeroi*, and *Le Tellier* Secretary of State, the Cognizance of the Matter of the Petition, and of the Bill of Grievances. But tho' they were pretty well intention'd, their Labours were fruitless, because the Petition could not be reported, the King being at this time intirely bent on his Expedition against *Holland*.

1671.
*Pope Cle-
ment X.*

Amongst the great Number of Churches, the Titles whereof were examined by the Commissioners, some few were preserved, tho' they had no better Title than those which were condemned.

1672.
*War a-
gainst the
Dutch.*

The War being kindled between *France* and the *United Provinces*, the Affairs of the Churches were kept in a kind of Suspense. The King took the Field in *May*, while his Fleet, joined with that of *Charles II.* was to attack the *Dutch* by Sea. He was not sorry that this War should be thought to be a War of Religion, either that he really intended it

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the Reverse, an Inscription to this Effect: *That* Lewis 14.
they had secured the Laws, and the Reformed 1672.
Religion; assisted, defended, and reconciled Kings; Pope Cle-
restored Freedom to the Ocean; procured by ment X.
their Arms a glorious Peace, and established the
Tranquillity of all Europe. On the other hand,
Josbuab van Beuninghen, who had been em-
 ployed in negotiating this Peace, struck a Me-
 dal, and compared himself to *Josbua* stopping
 the Course of the Sun. As the King of
France had taken the Sun for his Device, the
 Meaning of this Medal could not be mistaken.
 But the States immediately suppressed it. As
 for the first, and some others which discover-
 ed too great Presumption, they were not broke
 till two Years after *. But *Lewis* very high-
 ly resented that Affront, which likely roused
 his natural Ambition, and prompted him to
 attempt what was seen in the Year 1672.
 But from that Evil arose a great Good. The
Dutch had at last their Eyes opened upon the
 Conduct of their chief Officers. The Prince
 of *Orange*, *William III.* of glorious and im-
 mortal Memory, was restored to all his Birth-
 rights, &c.

In the while, the Provincial Synods in *Ministers,*
France having resolved to continue the pub- &c. prose-
 lick Exercises of Religion in the interdicted cuted in
 Places, several Ministers in *Guienne* were put Guienne.
 to trouble upon that Account. They preached
 either in the Church-Yards, or upon the Ruins
 of Temples, which had been demolished.
 That Attempt was represented to the King
 with such odious Colours, that *Daguesseau*, In-
 tendant of the Generality of *Bourdeaux*, received
 Orders to try, without Appeal, the Prisoners,
 35 in Number, amongst whom were five Mi-
 nisters,

* *Rapin's Hist.* Tom. II. ook 23.

Lewis 14 nisters, who had been arrested. The *Syndics*
 1672. of the Dioceses of *Sarlat*, *Aire*, and *Agez*, were
 Pope Cle- Party against them. Sentence was passed upon
 ment X. the Prisoners the 22d of *June*. The Reverend
 Messieurs *Royere* Minister of *Iffigeac*, *Canale*
 Minister of *Gours*, and *Malide* Minister of
La Bastide, were fined at three thousand Li-
 vres in the whole for the King, and to make
Amende Honorable. This last Part of the Sen-
 tence was executed the same day ; and besides
 that, they were to pay one thousand Livres
 each for a civil Reparation towards the Syn-
 dics of their respective Dioceses, and thirty
 Livres each for the Poor ; the others were fe-
 verally mulcted. That Persecution cooled the
 Zeal of the Ministers in that Province ; they
 ceased to assemble in forbidden Places.

Pelisson's But I must not pass over an Event which
Barbarity. fully evinces what I have several times ob-
 served, viz. That the *Roman Religion* destroys
 even the natural Affection of Parents for their
 Children. *PAUL PELISSON*, born at
Loudun, Attorney in the Parliament of *Paris*,

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Kingdom, under the Penalty of Death if ever ^{Lewis 14.} he returned, and all Goods and Estates which ^{1672.} he might pretend to, forfeited. That Sen- ^{Pope Cle-} tence was given in the Parliament of *Paris*, ^{ment. X.} the 29th of *August*, 1672.

They went on in the Suppression of Churches, and it is almost incredible to what a small Number they were now reduced; I dare say, that there was hardly half the Number of those that subsisted in 1659. The Clergy had found ^{1673.} out a very noble method for getting Profelytes, ^{Ways for making Profelytes.} which was to release them from the Obligation of paying their Debts for three Years together. Tho' they had obtained a Decree upon that Subject on the 21st of *January* 1668, nevertheless it had not been executed before this Time, when one *John de Versse*, Advocate in the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, being incumbered with Debts, thought proper to turn Papist, and obtained the King's Declaration, purporting the same as the Decree of 1668. The Projects of Re-union were still on foot this Year, and went very far, but proved abortive by the Care and Diligence of the Church of *Paris*, and of the Provincial Synod of the *Isle of France*, assembled this Year at *Charenton*.

A Plot was discovered, whereof the Che- ^{1674.} valier of *Rohan* was principal, and *Leautre-* ^{Chevalier} *mont*, the Chevalier *De Preaux*, the Marchio- ^{Rohan's} *ness* of *Villars*, and a School-master their ^{Plot.} Agent, were Accomplices. They had promised the *Dutch* to procure an Insurrection in *Normandy*, and to deliver *Quillebeuf* into their hands. *Leautremon*t was killed resisting to the Archers that came to seize him; the four others were apprehended, they confessed the Fact, the two Chevaliers and the Lady were
Vol. IV. D d d d beheaded,

Lewis 14. beheaded, and the School-master hanged.

1674. The Clergy always ready to render the Re-
 Pope Cle- formed odious, missed not this Opportunity
 ment. X. to raise Suspensions against them, especially a-
 gainst those of *Normandy*. The *Dutch* Fleet, which for a long while threatened that Coast, seemed to authorize these Mistrusts. The Governors of *Lower Normandy* received Orders to watch narrowly the Reformed of their District. The Duke of *Roquelaure* was sent into that Province for securing the Coasts against a Descent. But all these Measures served only to set forth the Fidelity of the Reformed in a brighter Light; for after the strictest Examination, nothing could be found out but what much redounded to their Honour and Glory. The Duke of *Montausier*, Governor of that Province, was not believed at Court when he spoke in their behalf, because he had been formerly a Reformed. But the Marquis of *Beuvron* confirmed his Testimony, and the Marquis of *Matignon* went further still; for of his own accord, and without being solicited, he made their Apology in a Letter he wrote to the Council; wherein he sayeth, that those who endeavoured to raise Suspensions against the Reformed, were bad Subjects to the King. The Duke of *Roquelaure* himself confirmed all these glorious Testimonies.

This Year offers nothing very remarkable as to what concerns Religion. The Affairs of the War took up all the Time of the Court, so that it had none to bestow upon other Things.

Turenne The Marshal of *Turenne* was killed in *Alsatia*,
 killed, and in the Month of *July*, being in the 64th Year
 the Count of his Age or thereabouts, he was buried at
 of Schom- *St. Dennis*, by the King's Orders; but that
 berg made high Mark of Distinction was not sufficient
 Marshal. to

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to blot out the Remembrance of the unheard-^{Lewis 14.}
of Barbarities his Troops had perpetrated in ^{1675.}
the Palatinate the Year before, and which the ^{Pope Cle-}
Elector *Palatine* resented so highly, that he ^{ment. X.}
sent him a Challenge.

There was in the same Month of *July*, a
Creation of seven Marshals of *France*, amongst
whom was the Count of *Schomberg*. His Re-
ligion had till then been an Obstruction to his
being raised to that high Dignity; the King
himself had offered it unto him before, if he
would turn Catholick; but that Lord was so
generous as to answer, that his Religion
was dearer to him than any thing else, and if it
proved an Obstruction to his Advancement, it
was enough for him that his Majesty should
think him worthy of it, tho' he should never
attain it. The Necessity of State was for this
Time stronger than the Catholick Zeal, and
the Count was presented with the Staff when
he little thought of it. He commanded in *Ca-*
talonia when he received it; he had been de-
sired to hear some Divines about the contro-
verted Points, he had complied with that Re-
quest; but after the Conference, he openly
declared that he was not satisfied with their So-
lutions. I have spoken of that Lord, and of
his Ancestors and Descent, in the 7th Book, to
which Place I refer the Reader.

The War continuing this Year, the Affairs ^{1676.}
of Religion were almost superseded at Court, ^{Pope Cle-}
and the Deputies of the Provinces made fruit- ^{ment dies,}
less Instances with the Council, to obtain a ^{and is suc-}
Redress of their Grievances; nothing was al- ^{ceeded by}
tered, except as to the Residence of Mini- ^{Innocent}
sters, who were allowed to reside where they ^{X.}
should think it more convenient. *Clement X.*
died the 21st of *July*, being 86 Years old, and

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Lewis 14. was succeeded on the 21st of September by
 1677. Cardinal Odescalchi, who took the Name of
 Pope In-
 nocent XI.

Several Injustices. The King having very early taken the Field
 (he set out from St. Germain the 24th of Fe-
 bruary) the Deputies succeeded no better this
 Year, than they had done the last, tho' their
 Grievances amounted to thirty-four Articles,
 besides ten or twelve more which regarded
 only the Province of *Aulnix*. It is almost in-
 credible how far the Parliaments, the other
 inferior Courts, the Intendants, nay every
 petty Officer of Justice, carried their Injustice
 and Violence in the Provinces. The Parlia-
 ments of *Pau*, in *Bearn*; of *Bordeaux*, in
Guienne; of *Rennes*, in *Britany*; of *Rouën*, in
Normandy; DE MUIN, Intendant of *Sain-
 tonge*, *Aulnix*, &c. the Bailif of *Rouën*, the
 Judge of *Caudebec*, and several others signa-
 lized themselves by their Wickedness, which
 prompted them to a thousand Acts of Injustice
 and Violence. I shall single out only two In-

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that BAK'D DIVINITY; they condemned Lewis 14.
 one *John Fourgon* to twenty Livres Fine, to all 1677.
 the Expences, &c. tho' he had pulled off his *Pope In-*
 Hat on that Occasion, for avoiding the Insults *nocent XI.*
 of the Mob; and they approved of the Rude-
 ness of the Priest, who, not satisfied with
 that Mark of Respect, assaulted the poor Man,
 and dragged him to the Audience. Many o-
 ther like Vexations, Injustices, Violences, &c.
 may be added to these, which I forbear, for
 Brevity's sake.

The War between *France, Spain,* and the 1678.
United Provinces ended this Year, by the
 Treaty of *Nimeguen*; concluded the 17th of
 September. About the same time, the Mar- *Change of*
 quiss of *Ruvigni*, Deputy-General of the Re- *the Depu-*
 formed, desired to resign his Charge in behalf *ty-Gener-*
 of his Son, so well known in the World by *ral.*
 the Name and Title of Lord Viscount *Galway*.
 He was very agreeable to his Majesty, well be-
 loved at Court, and in great Consideration with
 the Ministers. He discharged that important
 Office in a Way much redounding to his Ho-
 nour; tho' on account of the Wickedness of
 the Times, his Endeavours were not attended
 with the desired Success.

But while the Patience of the Reformed 1679.
 was tried by numberless Cavils and Vexations, *Destruction*
 their implacable Enemies were forwarding *of the Re-*
 their utter Ruin. Two things disposed the *formed re-*
 Court to indulge the Clergy in that respect. *solved.*
 Peace was made, and the Council, free from
 the Distractions of the War, was ready,
 wholly to sit upon that business. Besides that,
 the Execution of five *Jesuits* and some Lay-
 men here at *Tyburn*, on account of their hor-
 rible Plot, made a great Noise every-where,
 but exasperated the Brotherhood, especially in

Lewis 14 *France*, (Father *La Cbaife* being deeply engaged in that Piece of Villany) to such a degree, that they resolved to be revenged at any rate: and whereas it was not in their power to do so upon the Protestants in *England*, they fell with Fury upon the poor defenceless Reformed in *France*. They endeavoured to raise the Mob against them, by exposing in several Places the Pictures of these Traitors, their dearest Brethren, suffering Martyrdom, as they called the just Punishment they had undergone for their Crimes; and would have brought things even to a Massacre, so well were the People prepared by their Insinuations, had not their devilish Designs been prevented by the Court's Directions. But if they had not this Year their Belly-full of Heretick Blood, at least they had the pleasure to see the Reformed losing their Rights and Privileges through the Perfidiousness of the King and his Council.

Several For, not to mention here the Persecutions
Injustices against the Sick, who were not allowed to die
and Perse- in Peace without being vexed by the Priests

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them to issue forth. So in the Month of *Lewis 14.*
July, the half-parted Chambers, the only ^{1679.}
Means which the Reformed had for skreening *Pope Inno-*
themselves from the Violence of the Parlia- *cent. XI.*
ments, were suppressed by an Edict, on pre- *Half par-*
tence of incorporating them with the Parlia- *ted Cham-*
ments. *Lewis* supposed as falsely in this as *bers sup-*
in most part of his other Transactions, that *pressed.*
these Courts were become needless, and was
not ashamed to refer the Affairs of the Re-
formed to the Cognizance and Judgment of
their merciless Enemies, the Clergy, who had
a right to sit in the great Chamber of the Par-
liaments, and who thereby became their Judges
and Parties.

Mass was publickly restored at *Geneva* this *Mass re-*
Year in the Chapel of *Chauvigni*, Resident of *stored at*
France. The Citizens were not a little sur- *Geneva*
prized at this Proceeding of his, and a Riot
ensued, and some Papists were ill used; but by
the Diligence of the Magistrate, it was sup-
pressed, and some of the Ringleaders were
sent to Jail.

It would be not only a tedious, but a dif- *1680.*
ficult Matter to give in an exact and particular
Account of all the Decrees issued forth, of
all the Methods which had been already put in
use for about fifteen Years together, and were
still continued, till they had utterly compassed
our Ruin, by the Revocation of the Edict. I
shall then instance but in a few. I. Law-Suits *Eight*
in Courts of Justice. II. Deprivation of all *Heads of*
Civil Office, nay, of all Means of getting a *Persecu-*
Livelihood. III. Missionaries. IV. Perse- *tion.*
cution against Children, and against their Pa-
rents, or Tutors. V. Persecution against
Churches. VI. Against Ministers. VII. A-
gainst Books. VIII. Military Executions. I

Lewis 14.

1680.

Pope Inno-
cent XI.*First Me-
hod.*

will single out one or two Instances only upon each of these Articles, and then conclude.

I. LAW-SUITS IN COURTS OF JUSTICE, either Parliaments or others. I do question much, whether the Reader will believe what I have to say upon this Article, tho' it is real Fact, but of so shocking a Nature, that the *Hottentots* themselves would be ashamed of it. And indeed the Laws of Nature are so unalterable and inviolable, that God himself hath had such a Regard for them, as to leave them whole and intire, and require nothing from Men, but what is most agreeable to these pure and primitive Rules of our Duties. But the *Papish Religion*, treading under foot whatever is sacred amongst Men, even Nature it self, prompts its Votaries to the wickedest Actions, without any regard to Justice, Equity, Probity. This is very plain in the present Case we have now under our Consideration. In common civil Matters, as about a piece of

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I PLEAD AGAINST AN HERETICK : I HAVE TO DO WITH A MAN PROFESSING A RELIGION ODIOUS TO THE STATE, AND WHICH THE KING WILL HAVE EXTIRPATED.

Lewis 14.
1680.

Pope Inno-
cent XI.

Mr. *Lieutaud*, a Surgeon, living at *Aix* in *Provence*, having got a Warrant for apprehending a Nurse of one of his Children, who had robbed him, and was fled from his House, that Wretch carried her Impudence so far, as to come and assault him in his Shop; she flew at his Face, scratched him, pulled off his Hair, and did him several other Outrages. He complained thereof to the Magistrates, but that wicked Woman covered her Violence and Villany with this false Supposition, that as she was attending the Sacrament that went by at that Instant, she had perceived *Lieutaud* threatening her from his Shop; at which, being not able to refrain her Zeal, because he shewed so much Disregard for that holy Ceremony, she fell upon him on that account. Tho' that impudent Creature was already noted for her Lewdness, and charged with a domestic Robbery, nevertheless her Excuse was admitted, and upon her Evidence, her Master was sent to Jail, and criminally prosecuted at her Instance for Irreverence to the Sacrament, which Charge however was intirely false. In vain did he challenge the Parliament of *Aix*, and required to be tried by the Chamber of *Grenoble*, as the Edict directed: the Parliament obstinately insisted to keep that Affair in their own hands, they tried him, he was condemned, and sentenced both he and his Wife, to be brought by the Constables of the ordinary Seat, from Jail to their own House, and there at the Door of their Shop, upon their Knees, and

Lieutaud

Lewis 14-*Licentiaud* bareheaded, holding each a lighted
1680. Taper in their Hands, while the *Hest* should
Pope Inno- pass, they should ask its pardon in Presence of
cent XI. two Ushers of the Court. That Sentence was
forcibly executed in *May* 1660. That kind of
Amende Honorable was unheard-of before:
Till then, the most that the legally convicted of Irreverence for that idolatrous Ceremony were sentenced to, was to pay some small Fine, and be forbidden to do the like for the future. Nevertheless, the Fury of his Persecutors was not fully satisfied with that Ignominy, but for nine Years together he was continually harrassed by some new Law-Suits upon sundry false Pretences, 'till in *May* 1669 he was arraigned for the supposed like Fault as in 1660, and would have been sentenced to some corporal Punishment, had he not appealed to the King's Council, where he was still soliciting in the Year 1671. *N. B.* That in the Year 1650, when the Plague raged at *Aix*, this very same Man had had courage enough to shut up himself in the Infirmary, to

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sons, for what they are pleased to call Blasphemy, that is to say, to speak of the *blessed Virgin*, or of other Saints, of the Lord's Supper, &c. according to the Notions of the Reformed; or for Irreverence to their *Pastry Idol*, that is to say, for not bowing to it: Nor of the Persons that were admitted as Evidences against us, Lewd Women, Pick-pockets, or other such like People, who got their Livelihood by turning Informers, were admitted; nay Children of seven Years old were bribed and brought as proper Evidences in Matters relating to these two pretended Crimes. And tho' the former were fully convicted of Perjury, nevertheless, very seldom the Persons accused could obtain any Redress or Satisfaction for a long Imprisonment, and the vast Charges they had been at during the trial; **TURN CATHOLICK**, were they told in full Court, **AND YOU SHALL BE RIGHTED, OR ELSE DEPEND UPON IT, THAT YOU COME OFF VERY CHEAP.** We have already observed, that by a Decree of the Council in *November 1680*, a Creditor could not sue for three Years together the Recovery of his Debt, if his Debtor turned Papist.

II. A Second sort of Persecutions whereby they had a mind to tire the Patience of the Reformed, was *The depriving them of all Civil and Military Offices, and of profitable Employments, nay, of the Mastership in Trades even the most Mechanicks and of all Ways and Means of getting their Livelihood.* For several Years before the Reformed had already felt, that the Jurisdiction of the Chambers settled in their Behalf by *Henry the Great*, for the Administration of Justice, was in a declining Condition. The sending of Commissioners in the Provinces,

Lewis 14.
1680.
Pope Innocent XI.

Second Head.

Lewis 14
1680.
Pope Inno-
cent XI.

Provinces, outwardly for executing the Edict, but in reality for infringing, or at least for countenancing the Infringement thereof in its most essential Points. The referring the Cognizance of Cases of *Relapses*, *Apostates* and *Blasphemers*, to the Parliaments, exclusively of the Chambers of the Edict, to which such Affairs did properly belong. The Declaration of the fifty-nine Articles issued forth the same Year 1666. It was not enough for our Enemies to have struck at the Jurisdiction of these Chambers, but they must have them suppress: accordingly in the Year 1669, as already observed, those of *Paris* and *Rouën* were suppressed. There remained three more, in *Languedoc*, *Guienne* and *Dauphiné*; but notwithstanding the King's positive Promises to let them subsist, they shared the same Fate as the two former, by his Decree of 1679. The Officers of the Reformed Religion, who had served in these three last Chambers, were dispersed in the Parliaments of *Bordeaux*, *Toulouse* and *Grenoble*, but were purposely exclu-

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followed by several other Parliaments. And Lewis 14. in 1682, LEWIS went further still: for he or-^{1682.}dered these Lords to deprive the Reformed ^{Pope Inno-}Officers, that actually served, and put Ca-^{cent XI.}tholicks in their stead. The Judges-Royal had been already deprived by a Decree of 1679; and in 1682, the Provosts, Lieutenants, Ex-empts, and Archers of the Marshalseas, Vice-Seneschals, Vice-Bailiffs, Lieutenants-Criminal of the short Gown, were likewise deprived by a Decree of the Council, on account of their Religion. By another, of about the same Date, the Officers of the Courts of Aids, of the Chambers of Accounts, of the Seneschals, and Presidial-Sees were likewise deprived. Nay, LEWIS forbad the Judges to take for Assessors and Voters in the Judgment of the Causes, any Advocate or other Persons of our Religion, not so much as for being Juryman or Umpire. Lastly, in 1685, all these Officers of the Chambers of the Edict, who had been transplanted in the Chambers of Parliaments, received orders to dispose instantly of their Offices, or else they should be deprived. So were we left to the Mercy of our merciless Enemies, by an ungrateful Prince, whose tottering Crown we had settled upon his Head.

He deprived us not only of all Offices of Judicature, but even of all Civil Offices in Cities, Towns, Boroughs, &c. such as Consulships, Registers, Notaries, Tabellions, Watchmakers, Door-keepers; in a word, of all manner of Offices, from the first to the last, belonging to the Town-Houses, Council-Houses, &c. The Officers of the Army and of the Navy were not much more favourably treated than those of Justice and Police. True it is, that there was no publick Decree against them

Lewis 14. them before the Year 1685. But for several
 1682. Years before that Time, they could hardly at-
 Pope Inno- tain the least Charges in the Armies, and when-
 cent XI.

ever they obtained a Company after very long Services, they were sure to be deprived of any further Advancement, unless they were extraordinary well supported at Court, or that they should turn Catholicks.

The Reformed were likewise deprived of all other Charges, Offices, Employments either honourable or profitable, or both together, of whatsoever Denomination, either at Court or at the Bar. They could be no longer admitted after the Year 1680, to be Physicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, Midwife-Men, or Women; and those who had practised for several Years before, were forbid to continue upon very severe Penalties. Traders and Artificers were in the same manner excluded from Masterships; and to make it short, it was plain that our Enemies aimed at starving us, if they could, by depriving us of all Ways and

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most part were decayed or lazy Traders and Lewis 14.
Artificers ; and in order to encourage them to 1683.
enter upon that Business, they allowed them Pope Inno-
cent XI.
so much for every Convert, or rather Per-
vert, according to the Quality or Merit of
the Profelyte. These new Apostles over-ran
the Kingdom, assuming the Name of *Propa-*
gators of Faith, their Houses were called *Houses*
of Propagation, or more commonly, *Houses of*
Missions, and they *Fathers of Mission*. Some
of them were constantly residing in the same
Place ; but others, especially the Laymen,
ran from one Province to another, sowing,
wherever they went, Seeds of Sedition and In-
justice. They all agreed in one and the same
Character of Impudence and Cavillation.
Whenever any one had the misfortune to fall
into their hands, he ought to resolve either
to hear him patiently without Interruption, or
to be sued for Blasphemy, if he was bold enough
to offer to speak plainly his Mind, as to the
Doctrines and Worship of the Church of
Rome. The weakest and simplest among us fell
most commonly into that Snare, dreading the
Consequences of a Prosecution, they chose to
abjure ; but their Dread was no sooner over,
than commonly they resumed their former
Profession. They went to hear the Sermons
of a Minister, and immediately after they went
up upon the Stage of a Mountebank to confute
the Minister ; and oftentimes either thro' Ma-
lice, or for want of Memory, they made him
say what he had never thought of, or clipt
the most essential part of a Proposition to
make it appear false or ridiculous. The People
was extremely well pleased with them, because
they diverted them with their Buffoonries, but
the most sensible and rational Part amongst the
Catholicks

Lewis 14. ^{1683.} *Pope Innocent XI.* Catholics themselves could not bear with them. They were impudent enough to endeavour to intrude themselves into the synodical Assemblies, and whenever that Honour was denied them, they challenged the chief Members thereof either personally, or by Writing, or by Placards. Sometimes they interrupted the Minister that preached before the Synod, and gave him the lye to his Face, in order to oblige him to a Conference; at other times they informed against some Polemick Book, and charged it with being full of Blasphemies and Impieties, and caused it to be notified to a Synod by a Serjeant, to know whether they did or did not approve such a book. In short, nothing was more noxious than these mischievous Creatures, especially in the last Times of our Substinance in *France*. They enticed Children of eight Years of Age, and even under, by giving them some Sugar Plumbs, or little Images, or some *Agnus Dei*, &c. to come to their Church; they asked them, whether

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force and forcible means, when the fair ones, Lewis 14. 1683. Pope Innocent XI. that is to say, Flatteries and Promises or some Money, proved ineffectual. There were Houses of Propagation in most part of the best Towns of the Kingdom, where there was any Reformed, especially since the Year 1666. They did the same with the Female Children, with young Girls, with the Servant-Maids, &c. as the Missionaries did with the Boys, &c. they inticed them out of their Parents or Masters Houses, they carried them away into their own Houses, if there were any in the Place; and having them once in their Possession, they used them very barbarously whenever they proved refractory: See the Appendix. But more of this in the next Article.


A fourth Method of vexing the Reformed, Fourth Method. was by depriving them of their Children, carrying them away into Monasteries, or Nunneries, or some other like Place, according to their Sex, and in several ways persecuting the Parents on account of their Children.

For several Years before this time, the Court and the Parliaments, at the Instigation of the Clergy, had given many cruel Strokes to the natural and civil Rights of Parents over their Children, confirmed unto them by the Edict of Nantz. Long ago the Reformed had observed with the greatest Concern, that their Enemies aimed at depriving them of all means of giving a Protestant Education to their Children, in order to keep them in a gross Ignorance of the Truths of our Religion, and that they might the more easily induce them to turn Catholicks. By a Decree of 1670, the Reformed School-Masters were forbidden to teach any thing else besides Reading, Writing,

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Lewis 14. ting, and Casting of Accompts. By another
1683. of the same Year, we were forbidden to have
Pope Inno- more than one School in every Place allow-
cent XI. ed for the publick Exercise of our Religion,
and to have more than one School-Master
for every School, who could not be paid nei-
ther with the Monies of the Commonalties,
nor by the Contribution of other Churches.
Which unjust Decree was confirmed by ano-
ther of 1671. To which, a greater Severity
was added by that of 1683, whereby it was
ordered, that the Schools should be situated
as near to the Churches as possible; and
the School-Masters were expressly forbid to
keep any Boarders; the Ministers were allow-
ed to keep two together, and no more. The
Malice and Wickedness of our Adversaries is
plainly evinced by all these Decrees. 1°. We
were forbidden to keep Schools in Places where
the publick Exercise of our Religion was not
allowed. And several hundred of our Churches
had been suppress'd by manifold unjust, fraudu-

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that they should prove needless for the Churches, ^{Lewis 14.} whose Temples were situated several Miles ^{1683.} far from the Place of their abode. 5°. Our ^{Pope Innocent XI.} School-Masters were allowed only to teach  Reading, Writing and Arithmetick; lest some of them understanding Latin, they should be able to teach the Children the first Elements of Sciences; for the same reason, they were forbidden to keep Boarders; and the Ministers could have but two; and lastly, upon the same account it was, that our Colleges and Academies were suppress'd one after another.

In the Year 1647, the Reformed of *Messe* were quite deprived of their Rights to the College of that Place, which had been built and endowed by the means of a Legacy left for that purpose, by *Desfontaines* Esq; a Gentleman of our Profession. That of *Nerac* was suppress'd in 1648; and those of *Bergerac*, were denied to have one. Those of *Loudun*, lost their own in 1635. In 1661, the Academy of *Montauban* was transferred to *Puy-laurens*, which last was suppress'd in *March* 1685. In 1663, by a Decree of the Council, none but Popish Professors and Regents could be admitted to teach in the College of *Montpellier*. That of *Anduze* was put upon the same footing with the small Schools, in the same Year. In 1664, *Castres* lost its College, which was fraudulently taken from them, and given to the Jesuits: And a few Months after, *Nimes* shared the very same Fate; no Reformed Professors or Regent could be admitted into it, without the Approbation of the Jesuits, and they were in every thing submitted to their Government. To be short, the Academy of *Sedan* was suppress'd in 1681, notwithstanding

Lewis 14. ing the most solemn Promises to the contrary,
1683. when that Province fell into the hands of
Pope Inno- LEWIS. The Academy of *Die* in *Dauphiné*
cent XI. had the same Fate in *September* 1684, and
that of *Saumur* in *January* 1685. Nay, they
went so far as not to suffer us to have any
Riding-Master of our Profession. That was
not all, but for absolutely depriving the Pa-
rents and Tutors of all means of giving their
Children or Pupils a Protestant Education;
they were expressly forbidden by a Decree of
1681, to send them abroad without the King's
Licence, till they were 16 Years old. On
the other hand, they forgot nothing to force
the Reformed to entrust Papist Tutors and
Masters with the Education of their Children
and Pupils. So a Decree was issued forth in
1666, forbidding the Ministers and Consisto-
ries to censure, rebuke, or any otherwise to
obstruct those who had a mind to send their
Children or Pupils to Papist Schools: which
Decree was confirmed by another in 1669.

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and Assemblies, under the Penalty of a perpetual Banishment out of the Kingdom, Forfeiture of their Goods and Estates, and a perpetual Interdiction of the Church, wherein the Child should have been admitted. Lewis 14.
1683.
Pope In-
nocent XI.

But the more terrible Stroke against Children, was the Declaration of the Year 1681, whereby LEWIS, shaking off all manner of Shame, enacted, that the Children of the Reformed were, *at seven Years of Age, capable of Reason and Discernment, in an Affair of such great Importance, as that of their Salvation.* Upon which ground, he commanded, that whenever they should be of that Age, they might be admitted into the Pale of the Roman Church, abjuring the Reformed Religion; and their Parents were strictly forbidden to obstruct them upon any Pretence forever. By the same, these Children were left at liberty, either to remain in their Parents Houses, or to force their said Parents to pay them a Pension without, rated according to their Rank and their Wealth. It was likewise forbidden to send our Children abroad to be educated, till they be 16 Years old. By a Declaration of 1665, the same thing had been already enacted, as to the Pensions to be paid to Children by their Parents, if they did chuse to leave the paternal House; but then they ought to be more advanced in Years, viz. 14 Years for Males, and 12 for Females: That was the Age prescribed by Charles IX; but this last Act goes beyond all Rules of Equity, against all natural Notions, that a Child should be declared capable to determine for himself, as to the Choice of his Religion, at an Age when the human Laws disculp him of all manner of Crime, whatever his moral Actions might be.

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Lewis 14. be. It must be owned, none, but a Popish
 1683. Stomach, could ever be able to digest such
 Pope Inno- a monstrous Morsel. I need not to show here,
 cent XI. the Injustice of such a Declaration: Every
 sober Reader must be sensible of the Falsity,
 Ridiculousness and Impiety of its Principle;
 that it was destructive of all paternal Authority,
 that it subverted the most inviolable Laws
 of Nature and of Religion. But no Consideration
 at all was able to mollify the CANNIBALIANS;
 and in the dreadful Persecution carried on the
 same Year 1681, against the Reformed in *Poitou*, it was
 observed, that Children were no more spared
 than those who were more advanced in Years,
 they unmercifully beat and bruised them with
 Sticks, or with the Flat of their Swords, or
 even with the But-end of their Muskets; so
 the Child of *Susanna Thomas* at *St. Catherine's*,
 and that of *Peter Marsault* at *Exoudun*, shared
 the like Fate; this last by a Lieutenant of
 Horse. After the same manner were they
 treated in

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geon for a long time, condemned to large ^{Lewis 14.} Fines, till they had re-presented them again, ^{1683.} though they knew not where to find them. ^{Pope Inno-} We have had a great many Instances of such ^{cent. XI.} inhuman Usages. We need not to say, that whenever wicked and disobedient Children had a mind, they might ruin their Parents, for which purpose, they needed but to charge them before a Magistrate, or a Priest, with obstructing their Conversion with Threats, &c. and their Business was done; Parents and Tutors were instantly condemned without any regard to Truth and Justice.

A fifth Method for ruining the Reformed ^{Fifth Me-} Religion in *France*, was the Persecution against ^{thod.} the Ministers. Every one may easily guess, ^{Persecu-} that while the Reformed were so unjustly dealt ^{tions a-} with, their Ministers were not spared, more ^{gainst Mi-} than the Laymen. Contrary-wise, they were more exposed than others to the Persecutions of our Enemies, either on account of the Hatred against their Persons and Character, or because it was a shorter way to involve their Churches in the Persecutions raised against them, and destroy one with the other. This Article treats only of the Persecutions against the Persons of Ministers.

First of all, they were molested in a thousand ways, about the Place of their Residence. By the 6th Article of the Edict of *Nantz*, the Reformed, without distinction, were allowed to live in any Place of the King's Dominion, without being molested on account of their Religion, or obliged to do any thing against their Conscience. And in the private Articles, the first explained plainly the meaning of that 6th in the general. It imports expressly, that that 6th Article, concerning

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Lewis 14. Liberty of Conscience, throughout all his Ma-
^{1683.}
Pope In- jecty's Dominions, shall be strictly observed,
nocent XI. even in regard to the Ministers, Tutors, Pro-
 fessors, School-Masters, &c. which may re-
 side wherever they please, provided, that in
 other respects, they do behave themselves ac-
 cording to the Edict.

But little by little, the Ministers were de-
 prived of that Advantage. The Declaration
 of 1666, gave the first Stroke to that Liber-
 ty. It imported, that the Synods should not
 allow the Minister to preach or reside alter-
 natively in several Places, but that they should
 be ordered to preach and reside in the Place
 appointed for them by the said Synods. The
 Declaration of 1669, altered something in
 the former, and instead of *to preach and to*
reside, they inserted, *to preach, or to reside*.
 But by a Decree of the Council in 1674,
 things were restored, as they were in 1666,
 and the Ministers were expressly forbidden to
 reside without the Place, where they had been
 sent by the Synods to preach. What was

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and of proceeding extraordinarily against them. Lewis 14.

The next Year, 1683, another Decree for-
biddeth them to reside nearer than six Leagues 1683.
Pope Inno-
cent XI.
from the abovesaid Places under the same Pe-
nalties. Thereby they were hindered from

residing in Places, where they had not only their Relations, Friends and Acquaintances, but also their Houses, Estates, and all their Affairs; which consequently absolutely required their Presence. But that was not all. In 1684, LEWIS issued forth a Declaration, whereby they were forbidden, 1^o. To preach more than three Years in the same Place; 2^o. To preach nearer than twenty Leagues distant from the Place where they had been Ministers for the said three Years: 3^o. To live as private Men any nearer than six Leagues distant from the said Places, or from any other where the publick Exercise of our Religion had been suppress; 4^o. To return before full twelve in the Places where once they had been Ministers. I leave to the judicious and impartial Reader, to make what Reflections he thinks proper upon that monstrous Decree.

Secondly, nothing was omitted for molesting the Ministers in the Exercise of their Ministerial Functions, and for depriving them of all means of subsisting.

The Prohibition of serving Annexes aimed chiefly at the reducing their Salary so low, that they were not sufficient for their Maintenance. By the same motive it was, that the Declarations of 1666 and 1669, forbid the Synods and Consistories to afford any Assistance to the Churches, and Ministers, besides those where the said Consistories were settled. And by another of 1683, they were expressly forbidden to raise any Contribution for
their

Lewis 14. their mutual Assistance, upon Penalty of Dis-
 1683. obedience, and the Suppression of the Church,
 Pope Inno- who should offend after that way.
 cent XI.

Besides that, most part of the Edicts, Declara-
 tions and Decrees of the Council and of
 the Parliaments, were as many Snares, where-
 in they unavoidably must fall and be undone:
 for instance, in the Year 1666 and 1669, the
 Synods were forbidden to allow the Ministers
 to preach, or reside alternately in several Places.
 That was a Snare to intrap the Ministers, if
 they did preach in other Places than in their
 own Churches, though that was not expres-
 sly forbidden unto them by the said Decla-
 rations. And accordingly, the Chamber of
 the GREAT DAYS in *Languedoc*, took
 that Pretence for sending several Ministers of
Cevennes Prisoners, and fining them at 500
 Livres each, because they had preached in a
 Church destitute of a Minister. Afterwards
 that of *Tboulouse*, openly forbid the Ministers of
 its Jurisdiction, to preach in any other Place

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a Minister, either in his Sermons, or in his ^{Lewis 14.} Books, or in Companies, impugned the Er- ^{1683.} rors and Superstitions of the Church of Rome, ^{Pope Innocent XI.} that was enough, though he did it with all possible Modesty and Moderation; he was accused for having not spoken of the *Roman* Religion with the utmost Respect. And indeed, to say simply, that there were Errors in the *Roman* Church, was reputed a Crime. If a Minister spoke of the Persecutions whereunder the Reformed laboured, he was accused for having spoken against the State; or, if in order to show, that the Church of God has been always persecuted, he mentioned the Names of *Pharaoh*, or *Nebuchadnezzar*, or *Nero*, or *Julian*, or some other Persecutor, that was a Crime of High-Treason, that was to have spoken against the King's Person. It was upon such like Charges, that every day some Minister or other was summoned, sent to Goal, &c. This was the Reason of *Lewis's* Declaration in 1683, wherein, after having forbidden us to admit any Roman Catholic in our Assemblies, he enjoined us however, to appoint a particular Pew for them in our Churches, that they might hinder the Ministers from preaching any thing against the Reverence due to the Roman Religion, or prejudicial to the State, and to the Service of his Majesty. These Papists were usually Priests or Monks, who turned Informers, and did not scruple to swear falsely; as we shall see presently in some few Instances.

Furthermore, the Ministers were forbidden by the Declaration of 1666 *to suborn*, as they call'd it, the Roman Catholics, and to persuade them to turn Reformed; and by another of 1681, they were forbidden to hinder the

CONVER-

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Lewis 14. **1682.** **Pope Innocent XI.** CONVERSION of the Reformed, who had a mind to turn Catholicks. So that a Minister was almost put to silence, daring not to speak his Mind, or to discharge one of the most essential Parts of his Duty, without seeing himself put to great Trouble, and exposed to publick Shame.

By the Declaration of 1679, against the *Relapses*, the Ministers were forbidden to admit them to a Recantation, under the Penalty of Disobedience, and of Interdiction. By the Edict of 1680, which forbids the *Roman Catholicks* to turn Protestants, the Ministers were likewise forbidden to admit them to profess our Religion, or to suffer them in our Churches, and Assemblies, under Penalty of Deprivation for ever: Till then the Ministers only were Sufferers, whenever they received a *Relapse* or a *Profelyte*. But in the Year 1683, LEWIS not content with that unjust Severity, carried it much further, for he condemned the Ministers for the said pretended Of-

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children of 14 Years old and under, whose Fathers had turned Catholicks, because he ordered, that they should be brought up in the Popish Religion; and the Ministers, who should offend against the said Declaration, was sentenced *ipso facto* to make *Amende Honorable*, to a perpetual Banishment out of the Kingdom, and to the Forfeiture of all their Goods and Estates. I shan't mention here the Declaration of the same Year 1683, whereby they were forbidden upon 1000 Livres Fine and Interdiction of their Ministry, to keep more than two Boarders together, nor of several others of the Years 82 and 83 of the same Stamp. But every one must acknowledge, that nothing can be more unjust, unrighteous and wicked, than these Prohibitions made to the Ministers. If they were honest enough, to be willing to perform their Duty, as they were in Honour and Conscience obliged to do, how could they refuse to admit into the **PALE OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH**, those who desired to become **CHRISTIANS**, whether they were Bastards or Legitimate, whether they were *Relapses*, or Children of perverted Parents; whether they were *Jews*, *Pagans*, *Mabometans*, or worse than all these? **PAPIST-BORN**. Is not a good Pastor obliged to admit them all whenever they come? Nay, is he not obliged to go after them, and to endeavour to persuade them to come in? And how can he, in good Conscience, shut up the Kingdom of Heaven to those unto whom God Almighty was pleased to open it! Has not *Jesus Christ* our Master commanded us to teach all Men in the World? But these Packs of Villains, supported by the Authority of a lewd Tyrant, were not content to exclude themselves from the Kingdom of Heaven,

Lewis 14.
1683.
Pope Innocent XI.

Lewis 14. *Heaven, but even they would not suffer others*
1683. *to enter into it.*

Pope Inno-
cent XI.

The Impossibility of ever being able to observe what was enjoined to them by these Edicts, Decrees and Declarations, whereby they were forbidden to suffer in their Churches and Congregations, any Children of perverted Parents, any Relapse, any Jew, Mahometan or Pagan, &c. that Impossibility, I say, evinces plainly the Injustice and Wickedness of the Authors of these Edicts, &c. And indeed how could a poor Minister in the Pulpit, who was wholly intent upon his Sermon, take notice of all his Auditors, and observe those who were specified by the said Edicts; especially in some numerous Churches composed of five, six, seven or even ten thousand Auditors? and more especially, when their devilish Enemies carried their Wickedness so far, as to send clandestinely into our Churches, some of those excepted by the said Edicts, &c. and sometimes obliged a Woman to receive the

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ing charged by an *Augustine* Fryar, and a Priest, ^{Lewis 14.} with having preached a Seditious Sermon, was ^{1683.} sent Prisoner to *Poitiers*, where he was detained ^{Pope Inno-} for two Months; and though the Calumny was ^{cent XI.} fully evinced to the Satisfaction of the Judges, nevertheless, he was only released upon Bail. The Reverend Mr. *Borie*, Minister of *Turenne*, being accused of having spoken against the Blessed Virgin, was sent Prisoner to *Bordeaux*, put in Irons into a Dungeon, where he remained for a full Year, and at last sentenced to a perpetual Banishment out of the Realm; nevertheless, the most that could be made out was, that he had said, that *Jesus Christ* was the only one born without Sin. Another Reverend Clergyman of the same Name, Minister of *Layrac*, was sentenced in 1672, to a Fine of 500 Livres and all the Expences of the Process, only because he had preached in another Church, because his own was suppressed. The Reverend Mr. *Majendie*, Minister in *Bearn*, a Gentleman of an excellent Character, and much esteemed without as well as within his Province, was sentenced in 1667, to be brought by the Jailor, attended by the Ushers or Serjeants, or Bailiffs, for it is the same, to the Hall of Audience in the Parliament of *Pau*, while the Courts were hearing Causes, his Legs fettered, and there kneeling down, to declare, that he was sorry for what he had uttered in his Sermon before the Synod held at *Nay* in *Bearn*, and in his Books, (*A Defence of the Union*, and *the Child floating*) [I never have seen the Books] that he found himself convicted of diffamatory and sacrilegious Expressions, for which he begged pardon of God, the King and Justice; and he was interdicted for ever of his Ministry,

Lewis 14. fry. Nevertheless, all his Crime consisted in
 1681. this, that in his Sermon, he had spoken the
 Pope Cle- Truth concerning the *Franciscan* Fryars. In
 ment. X. the Year 1672, the Provincial Synods of *Lower*
Guienne, having resolved, that the Ministers
 should continue to preach upon the Ruins of
 the Churches which had been interdicted ; the
 Ministers obeyed that Order. Our Enemies
 failed not to magnify the Object ; they repre-
 sented, that Attempt as an Insurrection ; and
 accordingly, *Dagueffean*, Intendant of the Ge-
 nerality of *Bordeaux*, together with the Pre-
 sident of *Libourne*, were appointed to try with-
 out Appeal, those who were already appre-
 hended, amongst whom were five Ministers,
 the Reverend Messieurs *Royere*, Minister of
Iffigeac ; *Canole*, Minister of *Gours* ; *Malide*,
 Minister of *La Bastide* ; *Baylen*, Minister of
Lanquairs ; *Laureis*, Minister of *St. Foy*. The
 three first were sentenced to make *Amende*
Honorable *, to pay four thousand and thirty
 Livres Fines, and to a perpetual Banishment.
 The first part of the Sentence was executed the

Lewis, 14 according to their Conscience; such was the
 1683. Reverend Mr. *Hamel*, broken alive upon the
Pope Inno- Wheel, being above 72 Years old, and tor-
 cent XI. mented with the Stone. But more of this in
 the Appendix.

*Sixth
 Head.
 Persecu-
 tions a-
 gainst
 Churches.*

In order to extirpate the Reformed, they rightly judged, that they ought to be deprived of the free publick Exercise of their Religion; and consequently, that they ought to be deprived of the Sums granted by *Henry IV.* for the Maintenance of their Ministers; that the Liberty of their Synods, Colloquies and Consistories ought to be restrained; and lastly, that they ought to improve the least Pretence, right or wrong, for suppressing their Churches one after another.

In order to deprive the Churches, if they could, of the Ministry, they thought proper to deprive them of the Assistance granted them by a Brief of *Henry IV.* as a kind of Compensation for the Tythes they were obliged to pay to the Popish Clergy; which accordingly was done a little after the Edict of *Nantes*.

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for rebuilding new Churches, the old ones being fancied too near the Popish Churches or Chapels, or on account of some other like Cavil. That was not all, but in order absolutely to disable a Church to afford a sufficient Maintenance to their Pastors, by several Decrees and Declarations, the Reformed were deprived, as observed above, of all sorts of Offices, Charges, Employments, of Master-ships, even of the most Mechanick Arts and Professions. Nay, to complete the Misery, the Synods and Consistories were forbidden to assist the Churches which could not afford to maintain a Minister ; and lest they should do it privately, by two Decrees of the Council, the one of 1670, and the other of 1680, the Consistories were ordered to bring before the Commissioners in their respective Provinces a full Account of their Receipts and of their Expences, of the several Sums assessed upon the Members of their respective Churches.

Lewis 14.
1683.
Pope Inno-
cent XI.

With the same view it was, that nothing was omitted for depriving the Churches of Ministers ; they suppressed, as abovesaid, Schools, Colleges and Academies, which were as so many Nurseries of Ministers ; and at the same time, the Reformed were forbidden to send their Children out of the Kingdom to be educated, till they were full 16 Years old. From the same Principle proceeded the Oppression and Restraint put upon our Ecclesiastical Assemblies, and at last their Suppression. We have already observed, in the Preface of the Fourth Volume, or the Second Part of the Third, that these Assemblies were of four sorts, the Consistories, the Colloquies, the Provincial and the National Synods. To these Assemblies belonged, not only the Reception

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Lewis 14. of Students into the holy Ministry, and to
 1683. provide the Churches with Ministers, but al-
 Pope Inno- so to exercise the Discipline, and to regu-
 cent XI. late every thing that had any relation to it.

It was enacted by the National Synod held at *Montpellier* in 1598, that these National Assemblies should be held once every three Years. But as they could not meet without the King's special Licence, the difficulty of obtaining that, occasioned oftentimes a much longer delay, and we have seen that there had been above 14 Years interval between the two last, to wit, from the Year 164 $\frac{4}{5}$ to 16 $\frac{3}{8}$. But for all that, by the Declarations of 1666 and 1669, the Provinces were forbidden to keep any Correspondence one with another upon any account soever. The Provincial Synods were to be assembled once a Year. From the Year 1623, the National and Provincial Synods could not meet together without a King's Commissary, who was to be of the Reformed Religion. But in 1679, it was ordered, that for the future, there should be two Commissaries, one Reform-

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with a Minister ; the other for exercising the Discipline against scandalous Sinners which could not be reclaimed otherwise. But it must be observed, that that Licence was but illusory, because they usually refused to name a Commissioner, without which they could not hold their Colloquies ; so that the Reformed were deprived of that Advantage, and were strictly forbidden to hold any other Assembly in the interval of one Synod to another, either for admitting Students in Divinity into the Holy Order, or for any other Business, how urgent soever the Occasion might be. Moreover, they were strictly forbidden to communicate and take advice by circular Letters upon any Emergency. The Consistories were to meet together once a Week, or oftner if there was Occasion ; they had ever been at full liberty to do it without being restrained by any Commissioner. But in 1684, they were strictly forbidden to meet more than once in a Fortnight, and that too before a Commissioner named by the King, upon the Penalty of Interdiction for ever, and the Demolition of the Church, wherein that Assembly should have been held ; Deprivation for ever, as to the Minister who had presided in it, of his Ministerial Functions, and other Arbitrary Penalties for the Elders and others who had assisted in it.

I need not to insist upon the Inconveniences arising from the Restraint, Oppression, and Suppression of all these Ecclesiastical Assemblies, which had been established in order to be the support of the Discipline, the Knot of the Union of our Churches, and the Source of their Edification. It is obvious enough, that the main Drift thereof was to deprive the Churches of Pastors. The Colloquies,

Lewis 14.
1683.
Pope Inno-
cent XI.

^{1653.}
^{Pop. Innoc.}
^{cant. XI.}
 who were charged to examine and admit into the Holy Ministry the Students in Divinity during the interval of one Provincial Synod to another, having been suppress'd: there remained the Provincial Synods where they might be admitted; but it was very difficult to obtain a Licence for holding them, even before they were wholly suppress'd: so that the Churches, the Ministers whereof were either dead, or sick, or absent, or suspended upon any account soever, were left without any manner of Instruction and Comfort for whole Years together, waiting till the meeting of the Synod.

I shall not insist here upon the Prohibition made to the Reformed to meet together in their Churches for Divine Service in Places where the Bishops were upon their Visitation; nor upon that made to the Ministers and Elders to enter in the Day or Night-time into any House of the Reformed, unless it should be for visiting the Sick, or performing some other Function of their Ministry, on pain of Corporal Punishment. But the Ways and Means put in use for having a Pretence of proscribing a Church, and for ever depriving the Members thereof of the publick Exercise of their Religion, are indeed some of the most odious, and deserve to be here mentioned.

It must be observed, that the Churches were oftentimes involved in the same Cases which served as a Pretence for depriving a Minister, and incurring the same Penalty with him. So the Case of *Relapse*, which according to the Declaration of 1679 ought not to be admitted again into the Pale of the Protestant Church, was sufficient for interdicting not
 only

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1161

only a Minister, but it had the same effect upon Lewis 14. his Church, which was likewise interdicted. 1683. Pope Innocent XI. We have already observed what Tricks and Cheats the Clergy put in use for compassing their Ends in that respect. They were sensible enough, that it was impossible for a Minister to distinguish amidst a numerous Assembly a Relapse from another Person: (*For it was not requisite in those doleful Times, as it had been in the former, that a Man should recant his Errors, nor to make any publick or private Acknowledgment and Reparation of his Fault, for his being reputed a Relapse; it was enough for that, that he should be found once in a Church, bearing Prayers or a Sermon.*) Therefore in order to make a sure Game of the Churches, not only they had required such an unjust Decree of the Council, but to dispatch the Business they employed Fraud and Imposture; not only they bribed People who had never been Protestant, and who coming from some remote Place, were perfectly unknown to the Church wherein they entered, by the means of a false Certificate; but they appointed false Witnesses always ready to swear any thing against a Person whom they had a mind to undo.

Such was the Case of the Church of *Mont-* *The* *pellier*: The Constancy of Miss *Paulet*, Daugh- *Church of* *ter* to an Apostate Minister, was the Occa- *Montpel-* *lion* of its Ruin. She was forcibly taken in *lier.* 1674, out of her Father's House, and closely shut up in a Nunnery, wherein nothing was omitted for a whole Year, to oblige her to turn Papist; but though she was not as yet eleven Years old, she persisted stedfast in her own Religion: She was released, and from that time to the Year 1682, she publicly

F f f f 4

professed

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Lewis 14. professed our Religion, going openly to
1683. Church, and receiving the Sacrament, though
Pope Inno- she had several Persecutions to undergo for
cent XI. it; and amongst others, that which she was
exposed to in *Montpellier*, in the Nunnery of
St. Charles.

In the Year 1680, it was pretended that she had abjured her Religion, nay, a Deed of her Abjuration in the first Nunnery was produced, supposed to be signed with her own hand. Thereupon her Mother was obliged to bring her to the Bishop of *Montpellier*, who examined her; she denied the Fact, and convinced the Bishop himself by several Signatures which she made in his Presence, and which were all alike, that the Hand of the Instrument was far different from her's, and consequently could not be her own. But for all that, her Name was inserted in a List of several Persons supposed to have turned Papists, which was delivered to the Consistory of the Church of *Montpellier*; but that hindered

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their Privileges. The two Deputies arrived ^{Lewis 14.} time enough, and had the Protest served on ^{1683.} the Attorney-General, by an Usher the 16th ^{Pope Inno-} of November 1682, at seven of the Clock in ^{cent XI.} the Morning. He took it, and put it in his Pocket, but instead of notifying it to the Court, he pursued the Affair to a definitive Sentence; then he caused the Execution of the Usher to be post-dated, at twelve of the Clock, instead of seven, when he had received it; to be sure, in order to make the People believe, that he knew nothing of the Challenge and Protest, when the Sentence had passed. However the Doom was, that Miss *Paullet* and the Rev. Mr. *Dubourdieu* should undergo the Penalties ordered by the King's Decrees against Relapses, and against the Ministers who suffered them in their Churches*. And though the Church of *Montpellier* was in no-wise concerned in the matter, and had never been heard, nor so much as summoned, nevertheless, by the same Sentence, it was interdicted for ever, and the Temple to be pulled down a Fortnight after Notice given of the present Sentence.

The last part of the Sentence was soon executed, the Duke of *Noailles*, Governor of the Province, received it at *Montpellier* the 20th of November, by an Express from *Toulouse*; the same Day he had it notified to the Rev. Mr. *Gaultier*, one of the Ministers of the Place, who entered a Protest against it, in his own, in the Consistory's, and in the whole Congregation's Name; but that availed nothing. The Governor sent for the Ministers, that

he

* They were sentenced to make *Amende Honorable*, to perpetual Banishment out of the Realm, and the Forfeiture of all their Goods and Estates, by the King's Declaration in 1679.

Lewis 14. he might secure them more easily. They re-
 1683. spectfully persisted in their Opposition to the
 Pope Inno. Sentence of the Parliament, and desired to
 cent XI. have time to send to Court; he told them,
 that they might, but that he was thoroughly
 informed of the King's Sentiments upon the
 matter. The Ministers refusing to submit,
 were sent instantly Prisoners to the Citadel;
 Mr. *Isaac Dubourdieu* had absconded, Mr.
Bertbould, Senior, surrendered himself in the
 Evening; so that the Church was absolutely
 deprived of their Ministers, five of them be-
 ing Prisoners, and the sixth obliged to ab-
 sent himself. The Consistory sent instantly a
 Deputy to Court; but he was prevented by
 the Governor's, and found that the King had
 already sent his Orders for demolishing the
 Church. Nay, he was sent to the *Bastile*, as
 a State-Prisoner.

The 1st of *December*, the Duke of *Noailles*
 received his Orders from Court for the de-
 molishing of the Temple, and without wait-

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red to live in the City. As to Miss *Pau-Lewis* 14.
the innocent Occasion of all these In-^{1683.}
ces and Troubles, having surrendered her-^{Pope In o-}
cent XI.

as abovesaid, after many Vexations and
stices, too tedious to be here related, these
ighteous Judges, deserving rather to sit
a Scaffold, than upon a Tribunal of Jus-
confirmed the former Sentence, passed
her. But taking notice, that far from
g dejected by the Thoughts of the Ig-
ny attending the *Amende Honorable*, and
he Misery of an Exile into a foreign Cour-
for a Person of her Sex and Age, she was
y to submit herself with Joy to the one and
he other; they thought proper to try her
stancy by another way. They let her know,
the King had commuted the Punishment,
a perpetual Captivity. Thereupon her
stancy began to be shaken, she could not
with the dreadful Thoughts of spend-
all her Days confined in such a horrid
ce, conversing only with People of the
st Character, being every day teased with
putes and Sollicitations of Priests and
nks. To this her Enemies opposed the
st agreeable Prospect in this World, if she
uld but turn Papist, and own what she
l for several Years so constantly denied;
Liberty, a large Dowry, great Pension,
honourable Settlement. They had had the
lice to let into the Prison a young Gen-
man, whose fine Parts, either of Body
Mind, were more than sufficient to pre-
t over a young and tender Heart. She
ided, after several Struggles, to the Temp-
ion, (she was not above 19 Years old at
s time) she was released, but not before she
d turned Papist, owned what she had denied,
and

Lewis 14-^{1683.} and wrote to the King to petition his gra-
 cious Pardon for her pretended Crime; she
 Pope Inno-^{cent XI.} had a Pension, a Dowry, and the fair Se-
 ducer for her Husband. Three things are
 worthy to be taken notice of in this Af-
 fair; 1°. That it was demonstrated upon the
 Trial, that the Hand of the Instrument was
 not the Hand of the Damsel, and that she
 knew not how to write at the time when it
 was forged. 2°. That even though the Hand
 of the Instrument should have been her own,
 nevertheless it could not be obligatory; it was
 of no force, seeing that, at that time, she was
 not of the Age required by the King's De-
 claration, then and several Years after sub-
 sisting, for young People to chuse a Religion,
 which was 12 Years for a Girl, and 14 for a
 Boy. 3°. That the Trial, together with the
 Sentence, were grounded only upon the De-
 positions of false Witnesses, of those very in-
 famous Persons who had forged the above-
 said Instrument, without any regard to her
 Defence: no, not so much as for hearing or

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rators; Churches were interdicted, Pastors were deprived upon the Testimony of such People.

Lewis 14.
1683.

A seventh Kind of Persecution, was that against Books, whereby the Reformed were deprived of an easy means of Instruction and Comfort, when either through the great Distance of Places, or through Interdiction, either of Ministers or Churches, &c. they could not enjoy the Benefit of Schools, or of publick Prayers and Sermons.

Pope Innocent XI.

Seventh
Head.
Persecutions
against
Books.

By the 21st Article of the Edict of *Nantz*, it was allowed to print and sell publickly Books concerning our Religion, in Cities, Towns, &c. where the publick Exercise thereof was settled; and as to the Books printed elsewhere, they ought to be first reviewed and examined by the Magistrates and Divines.

Such a Liberty had long ago provoked the Jealousy of our Enemies. Ever since the Year 1663, when the Council condemned a little Book, published in behalf of the singing of Psalms, to be burnt by the common Hangman; the same Decree forbiddeth the Printers and Booksellers to print any Book wrote by a Reformed, without the Approbation of some Ministers, and the Licence of a royal Magistrate. By another Decree of the Council in the Year 1664, we were forbidden to publish any Book without the Attestation and Certificate of some approved Ministers, the Licence of the Magistrates, and the Consent of the King's Attorneys. That Prohibition was inserted in the Declaration of 1666, suppressed by that of 1669, but renewed and confirmed by that of 1679; with this Difference only, that instead of the word, *Approbation* of the Ministers, this last had, *Attestation* and *Certificate*: because they pretended, that Ministers had no
Right

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Lewis 14. *Right to approve, but only to certify.* By such
 1683. Means they made void the Liberty granted
 Pope Innocent XI. us by the Edict, inasmuch as it was almost
 impossible for us to obtain the Licence, either
 of the Magistrates, or of the King's Attor-
 neys. And for hindering us from getting
 Books of Divinity from *Holland, Geneva, &c.*
 it was forbidden under great Penalties to in-
 troduce into *France*, Books printed in Foreign
 Countries; Inquisitors were appointed upon
 the Frontiers, diligently to search and exa-
 mine Books that were imported, and those
 who were convicted of any Offence in that
 respect, were punished with the utmost Seve-
 rity. In the Year 1644, the Attorney Ge-
 neral prosecuted in the Parliament of *Grenoble*,
 a Book intitled, *MARSEILLES without Mi-
 racles*, published with Approbation of seve-
 ral Ministers, by the Rev. Mr. *Robin*, Mi-
 nister of *Veines*, and had it condemned to be
 burnt by the Hangman; the Author and Prin-
 ter were to be imprisoned. In the Year
 1646, D^r *Arzenfon*, Intendant of *Poitou*, issued

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be found in the rest, but the Lord's Prayer, Lewis 14.
the Creed, the Commandments, a short Ca- 1683.
techism, some Texts of the Scripture, some Pope 83.
short Prayers fit for Children, and some Stan- cent XI.
zas, upon the Difference between a good Child
and a naughty one. Nay, there was so little
of Controversy in it, that the Catholicks them-
selves were used to buy it, and pleased with
the reading of it. In 1653, the Magistrate
of *Dieppe* condemned a Book of the Rev.
Mr. *Fauquemberge*, Minister of that Place,
intituled, *The great Evangelical Jubilee, pro-
curing full Indulgence of all Sins*, printed at
Haerlem, to be burnt; the Author and Prin-
ter were summoned to appear, but the Au-
thor chose to abscond. In 1657, a Book of
the Rev. Mr. *Bocbard*, Minister of *Alençon*,
concerning the Invocation of Saints, and the
Worship of Images, was proscribed, and the
Author fined at 50 Livres, because he styled
himself, *Minister of the Holy Gospel*, and that
he had spoken of these Points, contrary to
the Notions of the Church of *Rome*. Some
of the Books of the Rev. Dr. *Drelincourt*
had the same Fate, especially his *Abridgment
of Controversies*, burnt at *Vitri-le-François* in
1665. I might name several others treated
after the same manner; which I do forbear
for brevity sake.

But the Edict which the Clergy obtained in
August 1685, exceeded far beyond whatever
we have seen. It imported amongst other things,
a total Suppression of all Books published a-
gainst the Roman Catholick Religion by those
of the Pretended Reformed Religion, forbid-
ding to print or sell them for the future under
very severe Penalties. That Edict was no sooner
published, but the Parliament of *Paris* issued
forth

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Lewis 14. forth a Decree, appointing the Archbishop of
 1683. *Paris* to draw up an *Index Expurgatorius* of
 Pope In- all Books which he should think proper to
 nocent XI. suppress. The Prelate obeyed without Re-
 luctancy, and made such diligence, that, in
 very few days, he had done an Index of a-
 bove 500 Authors, which he thought proper
 to proscribe. Amongst the Books of the Re-
 formed, he inserted those of the *Lutherans*,
Socinians, *Arminians*, those of the *Greek Com-*
munion, even some of the *Roman Catholics*,
 and amongst others, the *History of the Coun-*
cil of Trent, done in *French* by *Amelot de la*
Houffaye. And what was the more scanda-
 lous, he proscribed all the *Versions of the*
Old and New Testament done by the Mini-
 sters, as *scandalous Books*, composed against the
Roman Religion. He published that Index
 with a *Mandate* at the head, forbidding the
 selling or keeping of these Books in his Dio-
 cese ; and on the 6th of *September* the *Par-*
liament of Paris issued forth a Decree inforc-
 ing the said Prohibition, and commanding

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to write whatever they pleased, though never ^{Lewis 14.} so unjust, impudent, and scandalously false, ^{1683. Pope Innocent XI.} it was admitted without controul. Of that number were *the Catholick Decisions of FILLIAU*. It was a general Collection of the Decrees issued forth in all the Sovereign Courts of France, in Execution or Interpretation of the Edicts concerning the Exercise of the Pretended Reformed Religion. The Author was Ancient Advocate of the King at Poitiers, and Dean of the Doctors in Law of that University: He was one of the hottest Persecutors of the Reformed; he was fully persuaded, that the highest Pitch of Justice and Godliness, was to have no regard to Justice, common Honesty, or Humanity with Heretics. Upon these Principles he had framed his COLLECTION. Far from relating the Decrees only of the Superiour Courts, he mixed together those of the most Inferiour; nay, those of the pettiest Judges, his own, which he pretended must serve as a Rule in all Decrees relating to the Reformed. And although the Decrees of the former Kings before Henry IV. were made void by the Edict of Nantz, he pretended, that the said Edict ought to be explained by the former Edicts and Decrees. A Madman may be slighted as long as his Madness is of no consequence: But our misfortune was, that the Pranks of this were too well relished at Court, and served as a Rule for the Decrees issued forth from the Council. That Book was published in the Year 1661.

The next Year 1662, the Jesuit *Meynier* published a Book with this Title, *Of the Execution of the Edict of Nantz*, printed at *Perpignan*. He pretended to prove, that the Re-

Lewis 14. formed had made so many Usurpations in
^{1683.} *Languedoc*, that in the sole Diocese of *Nîmes*,
Pope Inno- they had a greater number of Churches in
cent XI. the Year 1661, than they had had in the
three Provinces together of *Lower Languedoc*,
Cevennes, and *Vivaraïs*, at the time of the
Publication of the Edict. That was such a
gross Falshood, that every one who was not
prepossessed were convinced of the Author's
Imposture. And indeed, that Jesuit was so
richly endowed with the Gift of Cavilling,
that it is not possible to go beyond. He had
no regard for Truth. Impudence, Knavery,
Equivocation, Calumny, were his favourite
Virtues; he never blushed for any thing. For
several Years together, he attended the Com-
missioners, that were sent into the Provinces
for executing the Edict of *Nantz*; he bent
all his Faculties for to find out, in the clearest
and most authentick Titles and Instruments,
something or other which he might strike at.
He signalized himself first in *Languedoc*; then
he went into *Guienne*; and wherever he passed,

BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1173

Predecessors of *Henry IV.* that they were left Lewis 14.
1683.
Pope Innocent XI. in the same Condition, they had been in before; that their Religion was not permitted by the said Edict, but only tolerated; and such other like Stuff, which he impudently set up as the most glaring Truths.

As to *Bernard*, treading in the same Steps as his Master *Meynier*, he published, in 1666, *An Explanation* of the Edict of *Nantz*, much of the same Stamp as the former Books which I have mentioned; the Edicts of *Charles IX.* and of *Henry III.* were to be the standing Rule for explaining that of *Henry IV.* and the Declarations and Decrees of the Council subsequent to the Reign of that great Prince, especially those of *Lewis XIV.* were to serve as the Basis of the true meaning of the said Edict. I might mention several more, most part of whom were starving Fellows, who, for a bit of Bread, did not scruple to sacrifice Truth, Honesty, and every thing else, and to prostitute their Heads and their Hands to all manner of Iniquity in order to please the Clergy. Such was the Character of these Men, on the Decisions of whom, the Fate of our Churches intirely depended.

All that I have above said, was very proper to create a dislike of our Religion in those who postponed the Concerns of the Soul to their worldly Concerns. Several yielded to the Temptation; one turned Catholick for getting an Employment, another for a Pension, &c. Nevertheless, our Enemies thinking that they went on too slowly in their Work, betook themselves of a speedier Method. The Quartering of Soldiers upon the Reformed, and the cruel Executions of these Beastly Guests, seemed unto them a readier way of
G g g g 2 Conquering.

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Louis 14. Conquering. Accordingly, in the Year 1681,
 they began by the *Peiton. Marillac*, Intendant
 of the Province, notorious for his infamous
 Practices and Means, was the first who put
 such ones in use. I have made in my Ap-
 pendix a separate Article of these Military Ex-
 ecutions, to which I refer the Reader.

The Province sent Deputies to Court, with
 most humble and moving Petition, to beg the
 Redress of their intolerable Grievances: But
 that *Louvois* was the vile Slave of the
Jesuits, or that *Lewis*, trusting the whole Ma-
 nagement of his Affairs, and the Government
 of his Kingdom to his Ministers, did not care
 to be disturbed in his Endearments; however
 the said Deputies received an Order from *Louis*
 to leave *Paris* in 24 Hours, with a Prohibition
 not to come thither again. The like Storm
 blew up in *Xaintonge*. *Carnavalet*, Governor
 of *Broüage*, was so proud to follow the glo-
 rious Feats of *Marillac*, that he put in use
 the like Violences against the Reformed. *Ber-*
gerac in *Guienne* was treated after the same
 manner, in the Year 1682. The next Year
 the like Executions begun and continued till
 the Revocation of the Edict in 1685, in *Dar-*
phiné, *Languedoc*, &c. The Occasion where-
 of was as follows:

The last Provincial Synod of the *Lower*
Languedoc, held at *Uzer* in 1682, being sen-
 sible of the Impossibility they were in of pro-
 viding for their common Concerns, on ac-
 count of the Constraint they were kept in
 by the Presence of the Popish Commissioners,
 had thought proper to alter their Measures,
 and to take some others more agreeable to
 the times, more speedy, and more secret. Till
 then the Churches of that Province had been
 divided

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divided into three Colloques, whereof the ^{Lewis 14.}
Churches of *Nimes*, of *Uzès*, and of *Mont-* ^{1683.}
pellier had been the Heads: each of these ^{Pope Inno-}
Churches was charged with the particular Di- ^{cent XI.}
rection of the Affairs of its Colloque, or *Classis*,
during the Intervals of the Synods; and when
these Affairs were of such Importance, that
the whole Province was concerned therein,
these three Churches, conjointly with some
Ministers of their Colloque, met together
by their Deputies, at an appointed Place
to take Cognizance of the Matter, and
resolve upon it. But whereas these Deputa-
tions, Commissions, and Directions of Af-
fairs were severely forbidden, and that the Be-
haviour of Ministers was so narrowly watch-
ed over, that they could not almost make a
Step without exposing themselves to some cri-
minal Prosecution, they agreed to charge six
Persons of known Capacity, Experience, and
Probity, with the Direction of their Affairs,
without being obliged to consult the princi-
pal Churches about them. They made al-
most the same Regulation in *Dauphiné*, *Vi-*
varais, and the *Cevennes*; and each of these
Provinces had its own Directors, who kept a
secret Correspondence one with another. When
these new Directors saw that their Petitions
to the King's Council were not regarded,
and that the Parliament of *Toulouse*, with-
out any respect to Justice, had passed Sentence
upon the Church of *Montpellier*, they met
together at Mr. *Brousson's* House in the for-
mer City; and though that Assembly was com-
posed of 28 Deputies of *Poitou*, *Guienne*, *Lan-*
guedoc, *Cevennes*, *Vivarais* and *Dauphiné*, ne-
vertheless, it was kept so secret, that our Ene-
mies had not the least Suspicion thereof. They

Exercises
pointed
were to
a Mode
take Off
manner
them.
general
a Petition
and the M
that the
Exercises.
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BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1177

ligni, and other like Christian Heroes of Lewis 14.
 16th Century, was just, that of the Re- 1683.
 med, of the Time which we are speaking Pope In-
 nocent XI.

was much more so. But, who will be-
 lieve it? The Reformed had no worse Ene-
 mies than themselves! Jealousy crept and
 spread among them. Those who had been
 of the former Direction, could not bear to
 see the new Directors taking more vigorous
 measures than they had done themselves for
 obtaining a just Redress of their Grievances;
 they cried out against them as rash and im-
 prudent People, who had a mind, by their
 importunate Zeal, to bring the whole Party
 to certain Ruin. On the other hand, the
 Directors upbraided the others with be-
 traying the Common Cause by an unseason-
 able Prudence; nay, they charged them with
 treason: and indeed there were Traitors enough
 amongst the Reformed, who intruded them-
 selves into their most secret Assemblies, pre-
 tended an extraordinary Zeal for the Cause,
 then disclosed to the Court, whatever
 they knew of the Measures taken for their
 preservation. Amongst others, I shall name
 Ministers of *Nîmes*, *Cheiron* and *Paul-*
lart, who both revolted a little before the
 revocation of the Edict. Upon these Jeal-
 ousies, a Division ensued; so that nothing of
 what had been resolved at *Toulouse* was done
 without that Harmony and Concert, so much
 recommended as absolutely requisite in order to
 succeed in their laudable Undertaking; they
 did not meet upon one and the same day, as
 had been agreed. Those of *St. Hypolite*
 together to the Number of above three
 hundred, on the 11th of *July*; several Churches
Vivarois, did the same on the 18th of

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not disheartned. They drew up a new Pe- ^{Lewis, 14.}
tition, which they sent to the Marquess of ^{1683.}
Louvois; it was framed after such a manner, ^{Pope Inno-}
that that State-Minister's Heart would have ^{cent XI.}
been softened, had it not been harder than a
Diamond. Notwithstanding these Disappoint-
ments, the Assemblies continued; the Catho-
licks, not thinking themselves strong enough
to cope with the Reformed, made use of Ar-
tifice and Fraud, in order to decoy them
more surely; the Intendants, and the Bishop
of *Valence*, promised them the Release of
their Prisoners, and a full Amnesty from the
King for what had been done, if they would
retire quietly into their own Houses, and lay
down their Arms. The poor People obeyed;
but their Enemies waited only for the Dra-
goons and other Troops that were daily ex-
pected. They arrived, and made their Exe-
cutions first in *Dauphiné*, then in *Vivarais*,
then in the *Cevennes*, where they committed
such Barbarities upon the Reformed, that I
cannot forbear to shudder at the only Thought
thereof. True it is, that in these three Pro-
vinces, the Amnesty had been published, but
after a most fraudulent manner; for in order
to decoy these poor People, the Count *du*
Roure, the Intendant, nay, the Duke of *No-*
ailles himself, instead of publishing the Original,
issued out a false Copy thereof, which
did not mention the Exceptions and Restric-
tions of the Original, and which indeed ren-
dered needless and void that pretended Act
of Grace; for Women and Children excepted,
it was impossible for any Man, that he should
not be included in some one or other of the
Cases against which there was an Exception.

These

These Executions continued all the Year 1684 ; and the next, they reached *Languedoc, Guienne and Bearn*. One may judge to what vast Sums the Plunder made by the Dragoons amounted, by the strict Accounts of what they had pillaged in the only Borough of *St. Hypolite*, the Inhabitants whereof were forced to pay 244,400 Livres. And as to their Cruelties, we may assert, that upon the lowest Computation, no less than seven thousand Reformed, Men, Women and Children, perished in all these *Southern Provinces*, in one Year and a half's time, most part were murdered in cool Blood by the Soldiery, a great Number were executed by the Hangman, some broken alive upon the Wheel, some beheaded, and others hanged, besides several thousands sent either to the Gallies, or into the Dungeons, or into Nunneries, and other Places mentioned in the Appendix. And it is observable, that these Cruelties were exercised against poor People guilty of no other Crime but for praying to God after their own way, and for constantly refusing to worship *Baal*. And indeed, a hundred and twenty excepted, who chose to sell dearly their Lives near *Bordeaux* in *Dauphiné* in *August* 1683, all the rest offered no Resistance.

Our Condition was indeed so sad as not to be parallel'd in History. In the former Persecutions every one was at liberty, either to remain in the Place by yielding to the Temptation, or to go out of his Native Country, if his Conscience prompted him to it; and even the Princes themselves granted them such a Liberty. We know that the Kings of *Spain* chose to impoverish their own Country

by

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1181

by the Expulsion of the *Moors*, rather than ^{Lewis 14.} to force them into a Religion, for which ^{1685.} their Conscience had the greatest Reluctan- ^{Pope Inno-}cy. And in the time of the League, *Henry* ^{cent XI.} *III.* allowed the Reformed a certain Term to dispose of their Effects, and to quit the Kingdom, by his Edict of 1585. But such Methods, how unjust soever they were in themselves, were too mild for LEWIS THE PROUD; every one must submit to his Will, and as if he had truly been equal to God upon Earth, he would have his Subjects to pay him the same Homages which they owed only to God, the Sacrifice of their own Understanding. And as if he had thought that it was not enough for the poor Reformed, once to atone by their Death, for the pretended Crime of going out of the Kingdom without his Licence, (*which they were sure never to obtain*) for freeing themselves from his tyrannical Government, he condemned them to die as many times as there were Days in the Year, by condemning Men of what Quality soever to the Gallies, and branding Women with a perpetual Infamy and Prison. That was done in *May* 1685. For compassing his Ends, he ordered the Guards upon the Frontiers to be doubled, and those who were apprehended upon the Attempt, underwent without Remission the Punishment ordered by the Declaration.

So then the Condition of the Reformed in *France* could not be more dismal than it was in the Year 1685. They were persecuted, in their Birth, and in their Lives, and at the Point of their Deaths, and after their Deaths. They were forced to be sprinkled as soon as they were born by Midwives or Men-Midwives,

Lewis 14. Midwives, and thereby to receive the Sign
 1685. of Superstition. They were persecuted and
Pope Innoc. oppressed during their Lives, in their Goods,
cent XI. Honour, Conscience, Bodies, and in their
 Children. In their Agonies, they were left
 to the furious Zeal of Priests and Monks,
 who tormented them in several ways, to force
 them mortally to wound their Conscience.
 After their Death, their Corpses were inhu-
 manly exposed to Shame, without any regard
 either to Age, Sex, or Quality. The Sacred-
 ness of the Graves, respectable even by the
 Pagans, was violated with a Fury suitable to
 a Popish Zeal.

These dismal Circumstances, these open
 Violations, called loudly for the Assistance of
 the Protestant Powers. But *England* was
 then the only Power capable of obtaining a
 Redress for us, and *James II.* sat at that time
 on the *British* Throne. *Lewis* was very sensible
 of that great Advantage, and resolved to im-
 prove it. Therefore without any regard, I
 will not say to Justice, Truth, Fidelity, Gra-
 titude, &c. but to his own Honour and Re-
 putation, after having three times solemnly
 sworn the strict Execution of the Edict of
Nantz, &c. after having more than two hun-
 dred times publicly declared, that he would
 maintain his Reformed Subjects according to
 the Edicts, he, on the 22d of *October* N. S.
 1685. repealed the Edict of *Nantz*, and all
 other Concessions and Privileges granted unto
 the Reformed by his Grandfather, his Fa-
 ther, and confirmed by himself; he repealed
 all, by an Edict, which in Twelve Articles
 contained so many Impostures, false Suppo-
 sitions, &c. that it is impossible for a Man
 well informed to read it without Indignation.

BOOK VIII. *Reformea Churches in FRANCE.* 1183

I shall insert it here with some Annotations, Lewis 14.
and then I have done with my Work. 1685.

Pope In-
nocent XI.

EDICT of *FONTAINBLEAU*, of
the 22d of *October* 1685. N. S. RE-
PEALING that of *NANTZ*, &c.

LEWIS, *by the Grace of God, King of France and Navarre, To all present and to come,* GREETING. Whereas King Henry the Great, our Grandfather, having procured Peace for his Subjects, after those great Losses they had sustained during the Civil and Foreign Wars, desiring to remove whatever might disturb it, especially on account of the Pretended Reformed Religion, as it had fallen out in the Reigns of the Kings his Predecessors, had therefore by his Edict given at *Nantz*, in the Month of *April* 1598, enacted certain Rules to be observed with reference to those of the said Religion, the Places wherein they might exercise it, and had established extraordinary Judges for the administering Justice unto them; and finally, had provided also by special Articles whatsoever he thought needful to maintain Tranquillity in his Kingdom, and to diminish that Aversion which had arisen between his Subjects, of the one and the other Religion, that so he might be the better enabled to carry on his Design of reuniting them unto the Church, who had been too easily estranged from it: And forasmuch as this Intention of the aforesaid King, our Grandfather, could not by reason of his sudden Death be accomplished, and the Execution of the said Edict was also interrupted, during the Minority of the late
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BOOK VIII. *Reformed Churches in FRANCE.* 1185
Chambers, which had been only provisionally ^{Lewis 14.}
erected *.

God having at last granted to our People ^{1685.}
the Enjoyment of a perfect Peace, and we ^{Pope Inno-}
also, being no longer incumbered with the ^{cent XI.}
Cares of protecting them against our Enemies,
have been able to improve the present Truce,
which we effected for this very end, that
we might wholly apply ourselves to seek out
such Means, whereby we might successfully
accomplish the Design of the said Kings our
Father and Grandfather, upon which also we
entered as soon as we came unto the Crown †.
We now see, and, according to our Duty,
thank God for it, that our Cares have at last
obtained that End which we aimed at, in-
asmuch as the far greater and better part of
our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed
Religion have embraced the Catholick ‡. And
inasmuch

* (*By suppressing, &c.*) Indeed they had been pro-
visionally erected, but the Reasons, for which such a
Provision had been made, still subsisting; nay, having
got a much greater Strength than ever they had, no-
thing was more unjust than that Suppression.

† (*Upon which also—as soon,—to the Crown.*) If what
Lewis XIV. is made to say here, is true, then he owns
himself a Perjurer, for he had twice most solemnly sworn
to the strict Observation of the Edict. Besides, it is ut-
terly false, that his Father and his Grandfather had
ever thought of such means of Re-union as those which
he made use of; they understood better their true In-
terest.

‡ (*Far greater, and better part, &c. have embraced
the Catholick.*) If Lewis says Truth, what a vast Num-
ber of Reformed must have been in France at that
time? It is reckoned, that above 600,000 have left
their Native Country, during his Reign, of all Ranks
and Conditions, from the Marshal of France to the Drum-
mer, and from the Duke to the Shepherd. It is rec-
koned, that there were in France, after the Year 1685,
above 400,000 at the least, who never bent their Knees
before Baal. Therefore, if the far greater and better
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BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1187

I. We therefore make known, that for these ^{Lewis 14.} Causes, and others thereunto moving us, and ^{1685,} of our certain Knowledge, full Power, and ^{Pope Innocent XI.} Royal Authority, we have by this present perpetual and irrevocable Edict, suppressed and revoked, and we do suppress and revoke the Edict of the King our Grand-father, given at ~~Nantz~~ in the Month of *April* 1598, in its whole extent, together with those particular Articles granted the 2d of *May* following, and the Letters Patent expedited thereupon, and the Edict given at *Nimes* in *July* 1629; we declare them void, and as if they had never been, together with all Grants made, as well by them as by other Edicts, Declarations and Decrees, to those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, of what kind soever they may be, which shall in like manner be reputed as if they had never been: And in consequence hereof, we will, and it is our Pleasure, that all the Churches of those of the said Religion, situated within our Kingdom, Countries, Lands, and Lordships of our Dominions, should be out of hand demolish'd.

II. We forbid our said Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, any more to meet together in any Place or private House, for performing any part of their said Religion, under any Pretence soever; yea, and all such Exercises, or such as were in Lord's Houses, though the said Exercises had been maintained by the Decrees of our Council.

III. In like manner, we forbid all Lords, of what Rank and Quality soever, the Exercise of their Religion in their own Houses and Manors, whatsoever be the Quality of their said Manors, and that upon Pain of forfeiture of Bodies and Goods for those of

1188 *History of the Reformation, and of the*
Ewib 14. our said Subjects, who shall offend in that
1685. way.

Pope Inno-
cent XI.

IV. We command all Ministers of the Pre-
tended Reformed Religion, who will not turn
from it, and embrace the Catholick Aposto-
lick Roman Religion, to depart the Kingdom
and the Lands of our Dominions, within a
Fortnight after the Publication of this our pre-
sent Edict, and not to tarry beyond that time,
nor during that said Fortnight to preach, ex-
hort, or perform any other Function of their
Ministry, upon Pain of the Gallies.

V. Our Will is, that such of the said Mi-
nisters, who will turn Catholick, shall, during
their whole Life, enjoy, and their Widows
also after them, as long as they continue un-
married, the same Exemption from Taxes,
and Quartering of Soldiers, which they en-
joyed during the Time of their Ministry; and
farther, we will pay unto the said Ministers,
as long as they live, a Pension, which shall
exceed by one third the Stipend they receiv-
ed for their Ministry; and their Wives also

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1189

all other things whatsoever, that may bear the Sign of Privilege or Favour to the said Religion. Lewis 14.
1685.
Pope Inno-
cent XI.

VIII. And as to Children that shall be born of those of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, our Will is, that, for the time to come, they be baptized by the Curates of the Parishes, enjoining their Parents to send them for that purpose to their Parochial Church, on the Penalty of 500 Livres Fine, or a greater Sum; and those Children shall henceforth be brought up in the Catholick Apostolick Roman Religion. And we most strictly enjoin all Judges, in their respective Districts, to see that this be executed.

IX. And that we may show our Clemency towards those of our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, who were gone out of our Dominions before the Publication of our present Edict, we do declare, that in case they return within the space of four Months, from the Day of its Publication, they may, and it shall be lawful for them to enter into the Possession of their Estates, and to enjoy them even as they might have done, if they had been always at home; whereas, such as within that term of four Months shall not return into our Dominions, their Estates forsaken by them, shall be and remain forfeited, according to our Declarations of the 20th of *August* last.

X. And we do more strictly renew our Prohibitions unto all our Subjects of the said Pretended Reformed Religion, that neither they, nor their Wives, nor Children, do depart our said Kingdom and Dominions, nor transport their Goods and Effects, on pain, for Men so offending, of their being sent to

Lewis 14- the Gallies ; and Confiscation of Bodies and
1685. Goods for the Women.

Pope Inno-
cent XI.

XI. We will and declare unto them, that
all Declarations published against *Relapses*, shall
be executed according to their Form and
Tenour.

XII. And furthermore, Those of the said
Pretended Reformed Religion, till such time
as it shall please God to illuminate them, as
others have been, may abide in the Towns,
and Places of our Kingdom, Countries and
Lands of our Dominion, and continue their
Traffick, and enjoy their Goods, without be-
ing molested or hindred, on account of the
said Pretended Reformed Religion, provided
as before, that they do not exercise it, nor
assemble together on pretence of Prayers, or of
any Act of Devotion, according to the Rules
of the said Religion, on the Penalties before-
mentioned, of Confiscation of Bodies and
Goods (z). We command all our Trusty and
Well.

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1191

Well-beloved Counsellors in our Court of Par-
liament, and Chamber of Accounts, and Court
of Aids at Paris, Bailiffs, Seneschals, Provosts,
and other our Justices and Officers to whom it
shall belong, and to their Deputies, that they
cause this present Edict to be read, publish-
ed and registered in their Courts, and Juris-
dictions, yea, in the Vacation time; and to
entertain it, and cause it to be entertained,
kept and observed in every Particular, without
swerving, or in any wise permitting the least
swerving from it. For such is our WILL and
PLEASURE. And that this may be for ever
firm and stable, we have caused these Pre-
sents to be sealed with our Seal. Given at
Fontainebleau, in the Month of October, in
the Year of Grace 1685, and of our Reign
the 43d. Signed

LEWIS.

With all the usual Formalities.

The same Day that this Edict was regis-
tered, which was the 23d, N. S. they began
to pull down the Church of Charenton, and

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Next, that therefore in order to quell his Agita-
tions, he declared unto them, that he allowed a certain
time, after which they must either turn Catholick, or
quit the Kingdom with their Families and Effects, or
else they should be exposed to such and such Treat-
ment. That indeed would have been an arbitrary, but
at the same time, it would have been a plain and ho-
nest Dealing. But that a Prince in order to gratify a
Confessor, and a Society of Men, born for the Subver-
sion of whatever is true, just, and honest, should set
his hand to such a Cheat and Perfidiousness, know-
ing it to be so, for deceiving and insnaring his poor
Subjects, that is such a heinous Act, that had he been
guilty of this single one only, it would have imprinted such
a Spot upon his Reputation, that all the Waters of the
Seine were not sufficient to wash it away.

1192 *History of the Reformation, and of the*

Lewis 14. at the same time, the Heads of Families were
^{1685.}
Pope Inno- summoned to appear before the Marquis of
cent XI. *Segnelai*, the Attorney-General, and *La Rey-*
nie, Lieutenant of Police, to give in their
 Answer, whether in three Days they would
 embrace the *Roman Catholick Religion*, or not,
 and sign an Act of Re-union. Very fine
 Promises were made unto them if they would
 comply, especially to work out a Reforma-
 tion, as to the principal Abuses they com-
 plained of; chiefly, to restore the Cup unto
 them in the Celebration of the Lord's Supper.
 On the other hand, Threats were not spared a-
 gainst those who should persist in their Obstina-
 cy. Notwithstanding that, most part of them
 stood unmoveable to those Arguments. But
 when they saw that they were not at liberty
 to go out as they had a mind, they all signed.
 But afterwards the greatest part of them gave
 the most signal Proofs of their Repentance,
 as soon as they were in a free Country. As
 to the Elders of *Charenten*, the greatest Num-
 ber withdrew the Evid, and chose to follow

Book III. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1693

Sister, or for his eldest Daughter, because she looked much younger than really she was; and made a difficulty to let her come with him, upon that account. Lewis 14.
1685.
Pope In-
nocent XI.

The other Churches subsisting still in the Provinces, very few in number, were soon pulled down, or turned unto the use of the *Papists*, after some superstitious Ceremonies. As to the Ministers, they were allowed fifteen Days for to depart; but it can hardly be believed, what Vexations and ill Treatment many of them were exposed to. Some Years before this, the King's Council was very well pleased whenever any Minister desired to leave the Kingdom, either that his Church had been suppressed, or because he was himself suspended on account of some Offence, real or pretended, against the new Laws; he freely obtained liberty of disposing of his Effects and Goods, of taking along with him his Wife, Children, and all his Relations, who had a mind to follow him; but little by little they were deprived of that liberty. And now they had no time allowed for disposing of their Estates, and were not permitted to carry away any of their Moveables; yea, they questioned their very Books, and private Papers, on pretence that they must prove, that they did not belong to the Consistories of their Churches. Moreover, they would not allow them to take along with them either Father or Mother, Brother or Sister, or any of their Relations or Kindred, though many of them could not in any wise subsist without their Assistance. Yea, they went so far as to deny them their own Children, if they were above seven Years old. They refused them Nurses for their new-born Infants,

1685. *History of the Reformation, and of the*
1685. *14. infants, though their own Mothers could not*
1685. *stop and imprisoned them upon trifling*
1685. *and ridiculous Pretences. They must imme-*
1685. *diately prove, that they were the same Per-*
1685. *sons which their Certificates mentioned. And*
1685. *they would know, whether there were no Ci-*
1685. *iminal Processes or Informations out against*
1685. *them. They must presently justify, that*
1685. *they carried away nothing with them that*
1685. *belonged unto their respective Churches.*
1685. *Sometimes having thus amused and de-*
1685. *tained them, they would tell them, the Space*
1685. *of fifteen Days was expired, and that they*
1685. *were no longer at liberty to leave the King-*
1685. *dom, but must go to the Gallies. There was*
1685. *hardly any kind of Deceit, Injustice, and*
1685. *Troubles, wherein the Ministers were not in-*
1685. *involved. And yet through God's Mercy, very*
1685. *few revolted, the far greatest number took re-*
1685. *fuge in all the Protestant Countries of Europe.*
1685. *As for the Residue of the Reformed, whom*

BOOK VIII. Reformed Churches in FRANCE. 1195

Kingdom. They omitted nothing that might ^{Lewis 14.} hinder the Escape of these poor Persecuted; ^{1685.} inasmuch that there was an Interruption of ^{Pope Innocent XI.} Trade with the neighbouring Nations. By this means, they quickly filled all the Prisons of the Kingdom. For the Terror of the Dragoons, the Horror of seeing their Consciences forced, and their Children taken away from them, for being brought up in Anti-Christian Superstition and cursed Idolatry, and of living for the future, in a Land, where there was neither Justice nor Humanity to be expected for them, obliged every one to think within himself, and to consult with others, in whom they could confide, how to get out of France; and provided they could but escape without polluting their Consciences, they were ready to forsake all. As for the poor Prisoners, they have been since treated with unheard-of Barbarities, shut up in Dungeons, loaded with Fetters, almost starved with Hunger, deprived of all Converse, but that of their inhuman Persecutors. Many of both Sexes were thrust into Monasteries and Nunneries, wherein several were cruelly scourged and disciplined. See the APPENDIX.

The Length of that Persecution, is one of the things which distinguishes it from all others; even that which the Jews endured under *Antiochus* and others, and the Christians under the *Roman Emperors*. For it has continued, not only for the 34 last Years of the last Reign, but during the whole Reign of this present King, as we observe in our Appendix. To this ^{1 Cor. iv.} very hour, they hunger and thirst, and are naked ^{11.} and buffeted, in several Dungeons, and in the Gallies. To this very hour, they are lifting up their Voice with weeping, in the Words

Lewis 14. Words of Job, when he was in the depth of
 1685. his Misery and Anguish: *Have pity on us, have*
Pope Innocent XI. *pity on us, O ye our Friends, for the band of*

God hath touched us. MAY the Shepherd of
Israel awake, as a Man out of sleep, and raise
a Man to stand in the gap, girding him with
Strength unto the Battle, and putting his own
Sword into his hand, to smite his Enemies in
the binder parts; and put them to a perpe-
tual Reproach. Return, O God, how long?
and let it repent thee concerning thy Servants.
 Preserve these Kingdoms from Popery, and if
 any thing is worse, from Irreligion and Im-
 piety, the Mother of Sedition, Rebellion, and
 of all kind of Mischief. Preserve this Church
 under the Protection of our most Gracious
 Lord, King GEORGE. Give the King thy
 Judgments, O God, and thy Righteousness unto
 the King's Son. Let him judge thy People with
 Righteousness, and thy Poor with Judgment. As
 to us, we were glad when we were told, let
 us go into the House of the Lord. Our Feet
 shall stand in the Gates of Jerusalem.

APPENDIX.

CONTAINING

even several Ways put in use under Lewis XIV. to force the Reformed in his Dominions to renounce their Religion.

V I Z.

the Dragonade, the Prisons, the Hospital of Valence, the Gallies, Transportation, divers Kinds of Death, and the Dragging of the Corpses after Death.

ARTICLE I.

Of the Dragonade.

EVERY one may easily believe that such ^{1. Of the} People must of course live licentiously, ^{Dragon-} who know no other God besides their King: ^{ade.} such were the DRAGOONS in *France*, who made no scruple to use with Inhumanity those left at their Discretion, 'till they had forced them to ~~change~~ ^{change} their Principles. . It is impossible for any ~~man~~ to execute such Orders so fully and strictly as they did, every day they invented some new kind of Torture never thought of before by any of the subtlest and cruellest Tyrants (a).

They entered into Places with frightful and threatening Countenances, and with all the Marks of the most violent Fury; they took Posses-

(a) Si quis ante Oculos ponere velit subitum Militum Accursum, convulsa Januæ Clausura, Minacem Vocem, truces Vultus, Fulgentia Arma; rem vera Æstimatione proseguar. Val. Max. Lib. VI. cap. viii. Art. 6. Francof. 1627.

*A

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sion of the Gates, and stopp'd up all the Avenues, lest any of the Victims devoted to their Cruelty should escape; then they entered into the Houses like Mad-men, they began their Executions with tearing to pieces the household Furniture, sparing nothing, throwing out at the Window all the Corn or other Grain, staving in the Cellars what Wine-vessels they found; if they spared any thing, it was to sell it to the highest Bidder for their own Profit. Notwithstanding this Desolation, whereby most of the best Families were reduced to Beggary, they obliged them to find out those Things that were nice, to entertain themselves delicately, and in several Houses they laid a Tax of several Crows a Day on each Family.

What would the illustrious Mr. *Langues* have said, had he lived to see the *French* Troops become the Executioners of a bloody Clergy? who so bitterly inveighed against the Cardinal of *Lorraine* for making use of them to attend the Execution of the blessed Martyr *Anna*. Dr

Patience of the People; by the most exquisite Tortures and Pains: I shall give a few Instances of this.

At *Villeneuve le Berg* in *Vivaraïs*, after many Of Mr. Le
Violences and Excesses they had committed, ^{Jeune's}
being unable to overcome one Mr. Young's Con- ^{Sufferings.}
stancy, they tied him by the Arms to the outside
of the Windows of his House, they shook and
tossed him one to the other; then they took him
down and carried him out of town to a common
Well, wherein they dipp'd him several times.
This second Trial proving as ineffectual as the
former, they brought him back to his House,
where they kindled a great Fire and forc'd him
to turn a Spit, with his Legs bare; and as if he
was not tortured enough by that scorching
Heat, they took the hot Dripping out of the
Pan, and poured it on his Legs: having with-
stood all these Trials, they carried him to Goal,
and he was condemned to be transported to
America, from whence he found means to escape
and came to *London*, where he died.

Mr. *De la Magdelaine*, a Gentleman of *Poi-* Of Mr. De
rou, was dipp'd into a Well, and Mrs. *Charles*, ^{la Magde-}
Relict of a Minister of *Chatelberaud*, underwent ^{laine.}
the like Trial.

Samuel Guery of the same Province, was put Samuel
before a large Fire 'till his Legs were half- ^{Guery.}
roasted; when he was released, his Blood being
over-heated, thinking to ease his Pains, he threw
himself into Water; but when he had his Stock-
ings pull'd off, the Skin of his Legs came off
with them from the Knees to the Feet.

Many others were tortured after the same Of Mrs. Fi-
manner; Mrs. *Fiesfontaine* of *Chantaunay* was ^{fontaine.}
forced to sit naked, in her Shift, by a large
Fire, and to turn a Spit with a live Hen
tied to it, which by the violent and continual

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Motion of her Wings, threw the Coals every minute upon her, so that she was miserably burnt in several Parts of her Body, without being able to avoid it.

At a Place called *Rufec* in *Angoumois*, when *Mr. Char. pentier.* they had wasted and destroyed *Mr. Charpentier's* Goods, they began to torture him, and made him dance round a number of lighted Candles, till he lost his Breath; then they kept him from Sleep, whereby his Blood was so much overheated, that he was seized with a malignant Fever, whereupon they left the town, and he was carried to a Relation's House; but another Party being arrived in the Place, they soon found him out and went to him. At first they kept him awake in his Bed, frightening him with their continual Blasphemies, Curses and Threatnings; this not prevailing, two Jesuits came to their Assistance, who forced him to drink twenty full Glasses of Water, then they took lighted Candles and dropt the Tallow in his Eyes, which deprived him of his Sight and

Face and Stomach swell'd up to such a Degree that he was just expiring.

Sometimes they made use of their Stomachs and Bellies for Mangers to feed their Horses upon; Mr. *Tristan* of *Niort* in *Poitou* was served after that manner, then carried thro' the Town on horseback with his Face turned to the Tail.

But one of the most effectual Means they made use of to tire their Patience, was to keep them from Sleep. Thus they treated Mr. *Daniel Milaud* of *Cbatelberaud*, and his Wife; for finding they were grown heavy and drowsy thro' the Torments they had already endured, they set Kettles over their Heads, which they beat upon, without Intermission, for several Days and Nights together, releasing one another by turns, 'till having lost the right use of their Senses and Reason, they promised to do whatsoever they would.

Mrs. *Tanon*, of the County of *Trièves* in *Dau-Os* Mrs. *pbiné*, a Widow, had twelve Dragoons quarter'd in her House, who tied a Drum round her Neck, whereon they beat without Intermission, 'till she fainted away; but far from pitying her Condition, they kick'd her, threatening to expose her stark-naked in the Streets. She recover'd her Spirits, but the right Use of her Senses she never enjoy'd, to her Death.

The Roman Clergy were sometimes more eager than the Dragoons themselves, for if these relented a little (which very seldom happened) thro' Weariness, or for some other Cause, they were sure to be chid for it by the first.

Mr. *Palmentier* of *Poitou* was much troubled Of Mr. *Palmentier*, with the Gout, which obliged him to keep his Bed; which hinder'd not the Dragoons from

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tormenting him a whole Night, without Intermiſſion ; being themſelves weary, they ceaſed while in the Day-time. The Archbiſhop of *Bourdeaux* chancing to paſs thro' the Place, was informed of the Dragoons being in Mr. *Palmentier's* Houſe, and taking notice of their Inactivity, he ſent for the Officer who commanded in the Houſe, and chid him for Neglect of Duty and Diſobedience to the King's Order. That was enough to incenſe him and his Men with a new Fury, they went to their Patient's Bed, took him by the Feet, threw him on the Floor, dragg'd him about the Chamber, put him in a Sheet tied by the four Corners, toſſed him to and fro, crying, Wilt thou change ? No, ſays he, as long as he was able to ſpeak ; two Days after, the Lord was pleaſed to receive his Soul into his Glory.

Of James Ryan. Four Dragoons were quarter'd on one *James Ryan*, a Farmer near *Talmond*, he was much troubled with the Gout in his Hands, nevertheleſs they tied his Fingers with Pack-thread, thruſt Pins under his Nails, burnt Gun-powder in his Ears, pierced his Thighs in ſeveral Places, and pour'd Vinegar and Salt into his Wounds.

They did not uſe the Fair Sex with more Humanity ; on the contrary, they abus'd their Modesty in the moſt shameful manner ; ſometimes they turned up their Coats over their Heads, and flung ſeveral Pails of Water upon them ; at other times they ſtripp'd them to their Shifts, and oblig'd them to dance with them in that Condition ; at *Calais* they turn'd out in the Street, at Mid-Day, two young Maids ſtark-naked.

Of ſeveral Ladies and Gentlemen abuſed. The Lady of *Veſançay* was tied to a Bed-poſt, and they ſpit in her Face whenever ſhe offered to ſpeak or complain. The

The Lady of *Cerisy* was forced in her Bed, by one of the Dragoons who quarter'd in her Castle.

Mrs. *De la Valade* having patiently suffered several exquisite Pains, had at last her Coats turn'd up, and was laid bare on a Chaffing-dish of burning Coals.

Mrs. *L'Epineaux*, tho' almost at the point of Death by Sicknefs, was put stark-naked in a Wheel-barrow and expos'd to the Mob; they murder'd her afterwards with several Blows of a Stick.

They had a Way of tormenting Mothers who had sucking Children, no less barbarous than singular in itself; they tied them to their Bed-posts, and plac'd the Infants on a Chair or a Table, at some distance from her; they kept her in that Situation for twenty-four Hours together, without allowing her Liberty of easing herself of her Milk, much less of relieving the Infant, who by its Cries, for Want of Food, pierc'd the poor Mother's Heart: and so they saw themselves reduced to this sad Dilemma, either to see their Children starv'd to Death, or to sign an Abjuration.

Mrs *Cbeneu*, Widow of an Attorney in the Parliament of *Bordeaux*, lived in Retirement at *Cbalezac* in *Xaintonge*; the Dragoons came there at the latter End of 1685, who plundered and wasted all her Goods, they put her Constancy to several hard Tryals, they tied her Hands and Feet, the Soles of which they burnt with hot Irons, they did the same to the Palms of her Hands, then they pinched her Arms with such Violence that they were black and blue three Months after. This availing not, they stopp'd up the Chimney, shut up the Doors and Windows of her Chamber, and set fire to some wet

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Straw, which almost suffocated her; besides all this, Drums were beating day and night without ceasing, as if the Smoak was not sufficient to keep her awake; then they put her in a Sheet and tossed her to and fro, 'till she was quite bereft of her Senses. Her Constancy remaining unshaken, they had a mind to starve her, which would have been effected had it not been for her Daughter, a Child of about eight years old, to whom the Dragoons had taken a fancy; for as they offered her Victuals, she said, that she neither could, nor would eat any thing while she knew her dear Mamma was starving; whereupon they gave her leave to share her Allowance with her Mother. Finally, when they were past hopes of ever overcoming her Constancy, a Peasant, who knew Mrs. *Cbencu* could not bear the sight of Vipers without swooning, told them this Secret, and shew'd them a Place where they found some, which they brought into her Room; at that Sight she fainted away and was bereft of her Senses, during which time they

Mr. *Peter Lambert de Beauregard*, a Gentle-^{Of Mr. Beauregard.} man of *St. Anthony* in *Dauphiné*, had a whole Troop of thirty-six Dragoons, besides the Officers, quarter'd in his House, in the latter End of *September*, 1685. The next Day after their Arrival, they separated the Family, they shut up Mr. *Lambert* and his Son in a Room, Mrs. *Lambert* in another, and their four Daughters in another; each Room was guarded by two Dragoons, with strict Orders to keep them from sleeping. They were visited by Monks and other such People, who solicited them to change; Mr. *Lambert* stood unmoveable, but his Wife, having been for a time tormented by four Dragoons, yielded, at last to the Temptation; their Daughters having been transferr'd from one Nunnery to another, were sent finally to *Valence*, and committed to the Care of that merciless Monster *d'Herapine* (of whom I shall give an Account in one of the next Articles:) they could not bear the inhuman Treatment they received in that House, they dissembled for a time, in hopes to find Means to quit the Kingdom and glorify their God.

As to Mr. *Lambert* and his Son, they were brought to *St. Marcellin*, before the Intendant, who with Mr. *De la Trousse* used both their Endeavours, by Promises and Threats, to win them over; but not succeeding, remanded them back to his own House, from whence he and his Son were brought to *Grenoble*, and then back again to *St. Anthony*; where, a Fortnight after, a Lieutenant of Horse, with six Troopers came, and having gather'd the Remains of his scattered Goods, they brought him with his Son to *Vienne* in *Dauphiné*.

The Archbishop of the Place gave them the City for a Prison, ordering them however to be

be lodged separately, and not to converse one with another, and to suffer themselves to be instructed. Mr. *Lambert* was visited by a Priest, with whom he had several Conferences; but at last, he desired him to acquaint the Archbishop with his final Resolution, that he had such a Veneration for the Scriptures, and found so great a Conformity between it and his Religion, that it was impossible for him to put it out of his Heart, and humbly besought his Grace to excuse him, that it would be very hard for a Man of Honour to do any thing against his Conscience, God alone having the Power to change the Heart.

These few Words drew upon him a most terrible Persecution, Mr. *Du Plessis Bellievre* Colonel of a Regiment of Foot quarter'd at *Vienne*, came in a Passion to Mr. *Lambert's* Lodging, chid him for his pretended Obstinacy searched his Papers and took from him a Prayer of his own Composition, adapted to his Circumstances; he committed him to the Care of some

Orders, three of them to be constant Centinels upon him, and were chang'd every three Hours; which was observ'd in the Day-time, but at Night they were not changed, and five remained with him in his Room; so that for a whole Fortnight he was continually tormented, more or less, according to the Degree of their Wick- edness. As they found all they had done here- tofore ineffectual, they took him one Day to a great Fire, pull'd off his Shoes and Stockings, forc'd him to sit down on the Floor, within four Inches of the burning Coals, one sitting upon his Stomach, others holding him fast by the Arms and Knees, lest he should pull back his Feet, and if he did, they took hold of them and laid them in the Fire. Not satisfied with all this, they took a red-hot Shovel and rubbed the Soles of his Feet with it, 'till they saw he could endure no longer without dying, then they forced on his Stockings and Shoes, and kick'd him to his Bed; he was not long in it before two of them took him up again and tossed him to and fro, 'till they were quite spent, but they told him, that if he would not invoke the *Vir- gin Mary* they would flee him next Morning.

The next Day his Guards were relieved by others, who found him on his Bed with his Shoes and Stockings on, in the most exquisite Pain; but as there was positive Orders, that no one should be admitted to see him 'till such a time, he was eight and forty Hours without any Care taken of his Sores, so that his Flesh began to mortify. Mr. *Du Plessis Bellievre* being told of what had been done to him, was very angry with the Officer, and reprimanded him for the same, and sent instantly his Serjeant Major with a Surgeon of the Town to dress his Wounds, which he found very frightful and almost desperate;

desperate ; they carried him to the Hospital-General, where he had a very good Bed, but very poor Diet ; there he was persecuted by the Monks, who endeavoured to extort an Abjuration from him : he was told that he was not to expect any Rest after his Wounds were cured, that the King willed all his Subjects to be of his own Religion, and was powerful enough to force Obedience from them.

As he wanted necessary Food, he fell into a Delirium, which seized him every Night ; reduced to this dismal Condition, one Night that his Fit returned upon him, he took the sinful Resolution to dissemble and to sign an Abjuration, which he did accordingly. A little after, the Provost's Lieutenant came with an Order from the Intendant to carry him to Jail, which was executed while he was in one of his Fits. The next Day, being recovered thereof, he was much surprized to find himself in such a Place, not knowing how he came thither. The Archbishop came to visit him, treated him with

of his Sisters out of *France*, and brought Prisoner to *Grenoble*, where he died in Jail of the Bloody-Flux, without having done any thing against his Conscience, for which Cause his Corpse was thrown into the River *Isere*.

The Sufferings, Fall and Repentance of the ^{Of the} noble and reverend Divine, *James Pineton of Chambrun*, one of the Ministers of the Church ^{Dr. James} of *Orange*, Chaplain to his Royal Highness the ^{Pineton,} Prince of that Name, and Professor of Divinity ^{of Cham-} in the College of that Place, made him so conspicuous in *Europe* in the last Century, that they deserve to be taken notice of here.

He was born of a noble Family in that Country, in the Year 1637; his Father, of the very same Name, was likewise Minister of the same Church, and his Grand-father had been ordained Minister by *Calvin* himself, and had been the Founder of the Church of *Nimes* and *Marvejols*. As to himself, he was ordained Minister of *Orange* in 1658, being but twenty-one Years of Age; he was a Man of great Learning, especially in *Church-History*, and in Languages, *Latin, Greek, Hebrew, &c.* a great Orator, and his great Capacity made him very useful to his Prince in the most critical Junctures; but he was very unhealthy, he was not thirty-six Years old before the Gout had rendered him quite crippled, so that he was unable to stand upon his Legs, and was carried by Porters in a Chair from Place to Place, even in the Pulpit, which occasioned a Misfortune that befel him a few Days before the sad Catastrophe of *Orange*, wherein he had himself so great a share; for as they were carrying him in the Streets, they let him fall and broke his Thigh; in that sad Condition he was when the Dragoons came to *Orange*, in the Month of *October*, 1685.

Tho'

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Tho' LEWIS XIV. had no Manner of Right to that Principality, especially since it had been restored to its natural Prince by the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, concluded in the Month of *February* 1679; nevertheless LEWIS, who built his Greatness upon Treacheries, Infidelities, and the shamefullest Breach of his most solemn Promises ratified by Oath, as well as upon the Blood and Misery of his own Subjects, had no sooner repeal'd the Edict of *Nantz*, but he began to force the Subjects of the Principality of *Orange*, by the same Means he made use of to force his own Subjects, to abjure their Religion.

For a few Months before, *Orange* had been an Asylum for the Reformed of the neighbouring Provinces, groaning under the dreadful Yoke of the Dragoons, they flocked thither in great Numbers. The Reception of these unfortunate People kindled the Fury of the King of *France's* Commandants that were at *Montelimar*, namely, the Marquis of *La Trousse*, *St. Ruth* and the Count of *Tessé*; they wrote to Court abundance of Falshoods, whereby they exasperated the King's Council, at least they made use of that Pretence to cover the unjust Design they had long ago formed against that Principality. The Threatnings of these Officers cast the Inhabitants of *Orange* into the greatest Consternation; from that time the Consistory was assembled almost every day in Mr. *De Chambrun's* Bed-chamber, to consult together about Means to avoid the threatening Danger, they sent a Memoir to the Prince of *Orange* concerning the sad Condition they were in; they wrote likewise to Mr. *De Staremburg*, Ambassador of their High Mightinesses to the Court of *France*, and to the Baron of *Spanheim*, Envoy Extraordinary of the Elector
of

of *Brandenburg* to the same Court, intreating their good Offices towards the Ministry in their Behalf; but that perfidious Court dissembled so cunningly, that even when the Dragoons were arrived at *Orange*, the Marquis of *Croissy*, Minister for the foreign Affairs, positively told Mr. *Spanheim* that not a Word concerning the Principality had been spoken in the King's Council.

However, the Parliament of *Orange*, in order to avert that Storm, if it was possible, issued out a Proclamation, whereby all Foreigners were enjoin'd to quit the Principality in three Days time; and sent, at the same time, two Deputies to the Duke of *Nouailles*, and two others to the Commandants above-mentioned, with a Copy of the said Proclamation. The Duke received them very civilly, and told them that he would write to Court, and in the meanwhile they ought to fear nothing, the Parliament having done all that the Court of *France* could have desired from them; but the Commandants were not so kind: The Marquis of *La Trousse* continued his Violences, and told the Deputies, that the Ministers of *Orange* ought to be hang'd, &c. Very likely he was privy to the Court's Design, or else he would not have spoken so at random. The Deputies were no sooner come back but the News arrived, that the Count of *Grignan* was coming Post from Court, with Orders concerning *Orange*. He alighted at *Tarascon* to take along with him the Intendant of *Provence*, with two Companies of Dragoons to escort him; he arrived at *Orange* with that Company on the 23^d of *October* 1685, but before he entered the City he stopp'd at *Bedarides*, a Place not far distant, from whence he sent the Captain of his Guards to Mr. *De Beaufain*,

Beaufain, to desire him to certify to the Magistrates and Inhabitants of *Orange* that he did not come to hurt them in any respect. The Count arrived at three in the Afternoon ; he, with the Intendant, went to lodge at the Bishop's Palace, and the Dragoons were lodged in the Inns and Taverns. After having conferred together with the Bishop, the Count summoned the Council of the *Demesn*, and notified unto them the King's Intention, promising in his Name not to vex them in any thing, provided that they should expel out of the Principality, his rebellious Subjects. He was answered, that the Parliament had already provided to the Satisfaction of his Majesty, in the Manner above-said ; and that they were going to issue out a new Proclamation, ordering the few Refugees that remained in their Jurisdiction to quit the same in three Days. The Count and the Intendant were so well pleased with the Proceeding of that Council, that they thought proper to allow the Refugees eight Days instead of three ; every thing was transacted in that Conference with such mutual Civility and Kindness, that a perfect Correspondence was thought to be restored between the Prince and the King's Minister ; but alas ! all this was but a Trap to insnare the Inhabitants of *Orange* and the other Subjects of the Principality. True it is, that the reverend Dr. *De Chambrun* clears the Count of *Grignan* from having had any hand at all in this base Treachery, and tells us that the Count was very sorry, and highly resented the affront put upon him, to have been made use of as a Tool to deceive that miserable People and to work their Destruction.

For at the very Hour when the Count gave his Word, in the King's Name, to the People
of

of *Orange* not to molest them in any thing, the Count of *Tessé*, having received his Orders from Court, commanded the Queen's Regiment of Dragoons and a Regiment of Foot to march secretly to *Orange*, where they arrived about two in the Morning, and surrounded the City; some Companies were sent to invest the Towns of *Courtbefon* and *Jonquieres*; what Desolation and Lamentation amongst the poor affrighted and disconsolate Inhabitants! At break of day *Tessé* entered *Orange*, attended by several Officers swearing, cursing, blaspheming, threatening Fire and Sword; and having run through all the Streets like a Fury, he alighted at the Bishop's Palace; the Dragoons which had been sent into the two other Towns caused there unspeakable Damage. At *Courtbefon* they took Prisoner the Reverend Mr. *Aunet*, Minister of the Place, and caused him to walk at the Head of a Party of Dragoons to *Orange*; being brought before the Count of *Tessé*, he sent him instantly to Prison. The reverend Messieurs *Gondrand*, *Cbion*, *Petit*, three of the Ministers of *Orange*, after having endeavoured, but in vain, to escape, understanding that *Tessé* threatned to pull down the Temples and destroy the whole City, if they did not instantly make their Appearance before him, came unto him of their own accord; that Tiger, with horrid Cursing, threatned them with the Gallows, particularly the reverend Mr. *Petit*, to whom he said, that the next Day he should be hung; then, without vouchsafing so much as to hear what they had to say, he sent them to Jail.

As to the reverend Dr. *De Chambrun*, as soon as his Colleagues were imprisoned, *Tessé* sent an Officer with two Dragoons to his House, who set one of them a Centinel at his Bed-side, and

other at the Door of his House, to hinder People from coming to visit him. It is almost impossible to imagine what Plunder and Devastation the Dragoons made, what cruel and barbarous Usage they put upon the poor, defenceless Inhabitants, especially the Reformed, without Distinction of Age, or Sex, or Quality. Having levelled to the Ground the two Churches, on the 10th of *November* it was published, that *Tessé* had received an Order from Court to persecute and torment the Reformed Inhabitants, without mercy, 'till they had renounced their Religion. He began to execute his Commission by quartering upon the Reformed, only these two Regiments of Dragoons and Foot that were before quartered a third Part upon the Roman-Catholicks, and the two other thirds upon the Reformed, who not being able to endure any longer the cruel and barbarous Usage they received of them, yielded at last to the Temptation, and in a publick Assembly consented to adhere to the Catholick Religion, on certain

not to torment those who had turned Catholicks, but only those who remained obstinate, as they term'd it. The Count, in less than two Hours, sent forty-two Dragoons to Dr. *De Chambrun's* House, with four Drums that beat night and day about his Room to hinder him from Sleep. they lived at Discretion, and soon devoured whatever Provisions were in the House; which not being sufficient to satisfy their Gluttony, Mrs. *De Chambrun* was obliged to send to the Taverns to get whatever they asked, at any rate; they abus'd that Lady with ill Language, her Husband fearing they would carry their Brutishness to a further Degree, prevail'd with her at last to retire to her own Father's House.

The next Day *Tessé* sent an Officer to the Doctor to know whether he would obey the King or no? he answered, that he would obey his God. Whereupon the whole Regiment was quarter'd upon him, they tormented him more cruelly than before, the Drums were incessantly beating at his Bed-side, the Room was continually full of Tobacco-smoak, which was very offensive to him; nay, they smoak'd under his very Nose, so that he grew almost distracted through the bitter Pains of his broken Thigh, and of the Gout, and for want of Food, and of Rest. He was summoned again to obey the King, but he said that God was his King. Whereat his Persecutors grew fiercer, and tormented him with such Violence, that on the thirteenth of *November* he fell into a Swoon, which lasted four Hours; it was thought that he could not recover from it, and the rumour of his Death was soon spread through the City. Whereupon *Tessé* sent Orders to the Dragoons to retire, and only four remained to keep him; he was no sooner recovered, but he received Orders to

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be ready the next day to be transported to *Pierresise*, a Castle near *Lyons*, where Prisoners of State were kept ; he said, that he was ready that very Instant to go where-ever they would carry him. At that News his Lady was disconsolate, she went to the Count of *Tessé*, she kneeled before him, beseeching him in the most moving manner to permit him to be transported to his Country-house, and she would pay the Guards that should be set to keep him, or at least, to send him to the same Jail with his Colleagues ; but all her Intreaties were in vain, that hard-hearted Man stood unmoveable, and was very rude to that poor, distressed Lady ; he told her that her Husband had been the Pope of the *Huguenots* but that his Reign was at an end, &c.

The next Morning he sent Mr. *De Chambrun* word that he must set out ; his Servants took him out of his Bed and dressed him with great Difficulty, for he endured the most exquisite Pain all over his Body whenever they touched him ; then he was brought down stairs by six Men, who carried him and put him in a kind of

Citizens who had been at variance for several Years together, and said to them, *Dear Children why do you cry for me? cry rather for your selves, for your Enmities which have drawn the Wrath of Heaven upon you. If you do truly love and regret me, do give me the Comfort of seeing you embrace one another, and let your sincere Reconciliation be the last Fruit of my Ministry amongst you.* Whereupon they both fell upon the Ground, embracing and colling one another, and begging pardon of one another. In a word, every one strove to shew his great Concern in different Ways, and the Sight must of course have been exceedingly dismal, since Pity found Admittance even into the merciless Breasts of the Dragoons that escorted him, and who were seen shedding Tears. The Croud followed him for half a League out of the City, and at last desisted, at his earnest Intreaties. Very likely some well-disposed Person gave notice to the Count of *Tessé* that our illustrious Prisoner was in danger of his Life, and would certainly die upon the Road, was he carried to *Pierre-cise* without stopping at some Place, because of his weak Condition and great Sufferings. Howbeit, as he was unwilling that he should die almost in his own Hands, he altered his Orders, and sent word to the Officer that commanded the Prisoner's Guard, to bring him to the Bridge of *St. Esprit*, and to put him into the Hands of the Chevalier of *Montanegues* who commanded in the Place, which was executed; and whereas that Commander was related to the Prisoner's Wife, he was very kind to him, and treated him with great Humanity; he lodged him in a private House and not in the Citadel, as he should have done had he executed his Orders, he was visited every day by several Persons of Quality.

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While he was in that Town he received News from Orange, that his Wife having been found in her own Father's House, where she lay concealed, and refusing to do any thing against her Conscience, the Count of Teflé ordered the Dragoons to bring her back to her own House, and that she should serve the whole Regiment which he quartered there, without being assisted by any body. The poor Lady fell into the greatest Agonies when she heard of that Doom, no less cruel than unjust in itself; but a good Fryar, whose Family had received many good Offices from Dr. De Chambrun, released her from her Fears; he went instantly to see her at her Father's House, and without requiring any thing at all of her, he sent word to the Count that she had done her duty, as they used to term an Abjuration; whereupon the Count ordered the Dragoons to retreat, and she went to meet her Husband at *St. Esprit*.

After twenty Days stay in that Town, the Provost of *Valentinois* with an Exempt and his

the City; when he arrived he found the Suburbs crouded with People of all ranks, and in the Yard of the Inn, a vast Number of Gentlemen and Ladies that were come for Curiosity's sake. Some said, Lo! the Devil of a Minister of *Orange*; others added, he is the Prince of *Orange's* Spy; so he was reviled by these bigotted People. The Difficulty was to take him out of the Litter, having quite lost the Use of his Limbs, they tried in vain for half an Hour together; he desired the Provost to grant him a little time to breathe; at last he was carried from his Litter upon a Bed, and undress'd, that he might refresh himself after so many Days Fatigue and lying awake. But being tormented with the Gout and the exquisite Pains of his Thigh, the Bandage whereof had loosen'd itself in the Carriage and the Motion of the Litter, he could not find any rest at all; the Anxieties of his Mind increased his Pains, for he could not speak freely his Mind, being watched by the Exempt who lay in his Room and the Archers that were at the Door, The next Day he was visited by the Provost, who told him that he would prepare every thing for setting out the next Day; nevertheless, it is likely that he was unwilling to let him go out of *Valence*, for the same Day he was visited by two Doctors of Physick in the University and two Surgeons, who no sooner saw his Body, but they turn'd their Eyes away, pitying his dismal Condition; he told them that he was also troubled with the Stone; they answered, that as to that they could not judge without probing, but that they had seen enough to judge that he was in a very bad way. Nevertheless he was very impatient to be upon the Road for *Pierre-cise*, he insisted on it again to the Provost, who promis'd him

to set out the next Morning ; instead of which, the Bishop of *Valence* came to visit him, and after some Compliments exchange'd, he endeavour'd, by Promises and Threats, to engage him to turn *Roman-Catholick* ; he answered, that had he thought that he could be saved in that Religion, he would not have suffered himself to be tormented as he had been for about two Months, that he was ready to suffer every thing rather than to comply ; and as to the Pensions, he had no need of them, being rich enough, &c. He intreated the Bishop to procure for him a Pass, that he might safely retire whither Providence should call him. To which, the Bishop reply'd, that he ought not to flatter himself with such Hopes, that he was a State-Prisoner, that the Court had great Hopes of converting him to the Catholick Religion, that he would never be suffered to go near the Prince of *Orange*. Several other Discourses pass'd between them, amongst the rest, the Bishop told him, that the King of *France* was resolv'd not only

should be removed from him ; (these last were absolutely necessary to him, as the only persons who knew how to handle him, and turn him in his Bed, for they were obliged to manage him just like an Infant) and that he should be served by Dragoons or Archers. That Doom was a Thunder-bolt to that poor Gentleman, he put up his earnest Prayers to God humbly beseeching his Assistance. But when he came to be dress'd by these new Attendants, he was put to such exquisite Pains, that, not being able to bear with them any longer, he cried out, THEN I WILL RE-UNITE MYSELF. No sooner had he uttered these Words, but the Exempt that was by him ran to the Bishop's Palace to acquaint him with it. That Prelate, who sat himself up for a great Converter, and spared, for that purpose, no kind of Torments to overcome the Constancy of the poor Wretches that fell into his Hands, was overjoyed when he heard the Exempt: He came instantly to Mr. *De Chambran*, with the Provost and some other Persons, and tender'd him a Paper to sign it, but he refused constantly. Whereupon the Bishop asked him, Whether he had not said that he would re-unite himself? True it is, says he, I have utter'd the Words; but the violent Pains I underwent, have forced them out of my Mouth: But, if I did, what Advantage for you in the Condition I am in, uncapable of Reasoning? For all that, the Bishop did not desist from his Pretensions; he sent an Express to Court to notify his sham Victory, and thereupon received the Congratulations of the Arch-bishop of *Paris*, of Father *La Chaise*, and of the Marquis of *Louvois*. Nay, he was so ungenerous, as to publish, as a matter of Fact, Mr. *De Chambrun's* Recantation, and to propose

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pose him as an Example, to seduce others in his own Diocese, even at *Valence* itself, where the Falshood thereof was perfectly well known. As to the poor Patient, he fell into the greatest Agonies, when he came to himself, after he had uttered the few Words above-mentioned; the Pains of his Body were nothing in comparison of the Troubles of his Soul, and if ever there has been any true and godly Penitent, certainly he must be ranked among the first; all the Characters of a deep and sincere Repentance are to be found in his.

CONTRITION. He was affected with such a deep Sense of the Heinousness of his Crime, that he would not admit of any Excuse, much less of any Comfort. He looked upon himself as an Apostate, who had betrayed the Interest of his dearest Master; which would be the occasion of the Fall of many others that would take him for a Pattern. He ran almost distracted when he considered the Glory of his Ancestors, the Dignity of his own Character, the Duties incumbent on him in consequence

Our Penitent was no sooner recovered from the violent Fit of Pains, during which he had rashly said, that he would re-unite himself, but he detested what he had done, acknowledged the Greatness of his Sin, not only before Friends, but before Foes; before the Bishop himself, not only at *Valence*, but every where, in *Dauphiné*, *Provence*, and wherever his Voice could be heard, or his Letters could reach; not only in private, but in the most publick manner in the Pulpit, and in Print, as soon as he came out of the Kingdom, aggravating the least Circumstance, firmly persuaded that the more he humbled himself before God and Men, the more he should be exalted.

RESOLUTION. Our Penitent was so far sensible of the Obligation he was in, not only to do nothing that might hurt his Conscience any further, but to do every thing for the future to make amends for his Fault, to glorify God, and edify his Brethren; that he resolved from that time to expose himself to the worst, and to suffer every thing, even the most cruel Martyrdom, rather than, not only to do or say any Thing against his Conscience, but not to dissemble any longer, and conceal his real Sentiments.

EXECUTION. Accordingly, at the very first Visit that the Bishop of *Valence* paid him after his Fall, he let him know, that he had acted against his Conscience; that what he had said in his Fit was only the Effect of the Violence of his Pains, and not of any real Intention to perform what he had promised at that time; and at the six or seven Visits which that Prelate paid him afterwards while he was at *Valence*, and at another in the place of his Exile, he not only refused to ratify that pretended Promise,

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Promise, but at several times he disputed with him about the controverted Points, and evinced the Falshood of the *Roman* Religion, and the Truth of his own, without being moved at all by his Threats, or by his Promises. That was not enough; but he endeavoured by his Exhortations, and warm Remonstrances, to reclaim those who were fallen; such as one Mr. *Vigne*, an Apostate Minister, who visited him at *Valence*, whom he rebuked with Indignation. Lastly, He neglected nothing, and improved every Opportunity to deliver himself out of that sad Situation, even to the danger of his Life, that he might give Glory to God, as we shall say presently. So that having so exactly fulfilled the Duties of that godly Repentance, which *St. Paul* describes in his 2d Epistle to the *Corinthians*, Chap. vii. it may be said, that he was greater after his Fall than before, and that through the Mercy of God, his Faith and Love for him received a new Strength from his own Weakness.

He stayed at *Valence* till the latter end of *February* 1686, when he was transferred to *Romeyer*, near *Die*, a frightful Desert, surrounded every where with high steep Hills. The Bishop of *Valence*, who was the vainest of all Men, having boasted of this pretended Victory, durst not recant, though he might be fully convinc'd that he had too much reason for it, but he would not expose himself to be laugh'd at at Court: Therefore, as Dr. *De Chambrun* had many times insisted with him, either to procure a Pass for him, or to send him back to *Orange*, he asked him in his last Visit, whether he had a mind to live without any Exercise of Religion? that thereby he would put himself in greater Trouble than

than ever ; that he would be sorry for it, but that he was answerable for him ; and that he had obtained Leave for him to go to *Romeyer*, where the Air was wholesome, and might contribute, as he said, to the Recovery of his Health. He arrived in that Place, on the 2d of *March*, and lived there for five Months together in a very dismal Condition, not only as to his Body, but especially as to his Mind. Having been seized with a violent Fit of Gravel, and voided a Stone as big as a large *French Bean*, every one thought, as well as himself, that he had the Stone. Thereupon he wrote to the Bishop of *Valence*, desiring him to intercede for him with the Court, that he might obtain leave to go to *Lyons*, there to be cut. His Answer was very civil ; nevertheless, as his Lordship delayed to perform his Promise, Dr. *De Chambrun* wrote to him again upon the same account. The Bishop was not in haste ; but, on the contrary, mov'd very slowly, being in hopes that he should tire him, and oblige him to sign an Abjuration. At last, about the Beginning of *July*, he came into his Diocese of *Die*, in order to force the Reformed to confess, and receive the Sacrament ; he had been preceded by some Regiments of Dragoons and Foot to torment those who should refuse to comply. The Intendant of *Dauphiné* arrived at *Die* about the same time, to assist the Bishop in that glorious Exploit. This last preached through the Mouth of the Dragoons ; and they first tried and condemned those who refused to obey. The Bishop visited his whole Diocese, wherein he exercised a thousand Cruelties. The poor People flocked to the Deserts and Woods like Sheep, and were pursued and kill'd, or bound with Ropes and cast
into

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into Dungeons when overtaken. However, as soon as the Bishop was arrived at *Dix*, he let Mr. *De Chambrun* know, by one of his Friends, that he had obtain'd Leave for him to go to *Lyons*; but that he expected to find him more complaisant to what he desired of him, than he had been heretofore. When the Dr. had received this News, he prepared himself to withstand all the Attacks of his Adversary; and understanding that he made Use of his Name to seduce the People, saying unto them, *How so! are you more learned than Mr. De Chambrun, who has done whatever we have required of him, why don't you follow his Example?* he was deeply concern'd at it; and without the least hesitation, he answered those that wrote to him to know the Truth of the Matter, that they ought not to give credit to any such idle Story; that tho' he had the Misfortune to say, when in a Fit of his violent Pains, *That he would re-unite himself*, nevertheless, he had constantly refused to ratify in any-wise that rash Promise, and was fully resolved to die, rather than to give them such a Scandal. By such an Answer he defeated mostly his Enemies Designs; for several Commonalties chose rather to be expos'd to the Fury of the Dragons, than to confess and receive the Sacrament.

When the Bishop had made his Circuit, he came to *Romeyer*, and visited Dr. *De Chambrun*; he enter'd alone in his Room, and told him, that he had obtained for him the Licence which he so eagerly pursued, but that before he would deliver it into his hands, he ought first to sign, to confess, and to receive the Sacrament. The Doctor thanked him for his Trouble, but desired him withal not to insist any further
upon

upon that; that very likely he would die in the Operation of cutting, and then he should give him no more trouble. To which the Bishop replied, *What, Sir! the King shall not be baffled in this manner. I have wrote to Court that you was converted in earnest; and what will they say of me, if I don't oblige you to perform your Duty? I have obliged the Ministers that are at Die to confess and receive. What! will you be the only Hugonot in France? My Lord, saith the Doctor, I don't live after Example. I don't intend to baffle any body, you are too reasonable to force me to any thing against my Conscience. I beseech you to let me go to Lyons.* Then they entred upon a Conference about the controverted Points, at the end of which, seeing that he could not prevail, he advised him friendly, as he pretended, to obey the King, and avoid by that means any further Mischief. That very Evening he sent Dragoons and Foot to force the Inhabitants of *Romeyer* to a Compliance; they committed unspeakable Disorders in the Place, to no other purpose than to gratify their bloody Cruelty. Dr. *De Chambrun* expected to be treated after the same way; instead of which, a Jesuit came the next Morning from the Bishop, who spared neither Flattery, Promises, nor Threats, in order to seduce him, if he could, but all to no purpose. The next Day he came again upon the same Errand, but had no better Success; whereat the Bishop was in a terrible Passion when the Jesuit told him his bad Success. Very likely he would have dealt with Dr. *De Chambrun* as he did with others who resisted his Will, had it not been that he was afraid to lose his Reputation, and to be taken for a Lyar, after having so positively and confidently affirmed at Court, and in the Publick, that that Gentleman had done

done whatever had been required of him. However, he let him know, that he might set out for *Lyons* whenever he pleased ; but that he might expect not to fare better than before, being strongly recommended to the Archbishop, who would take care of him, 'till he had done his Duty.

* *Brancard.*

Accordingly he set out on the 1st of *August*, being carried in a * Litter by twelve Peasants, and arrived at *Lyons* on the 5th, and went into the best Inn, in order to impose the better upon People, and make them believe, that he really designed to go through the Operation. The next Morning he sent for the most expert Lithotomist, feigning a Desire to know when he could be cut. He examined his Body, and told him that in the Condition he was in, it would be very difficult and dangerous to make the Operation ; nevertheless, that he would consider how he could do it safely. But whereas he had insisted so much upon his Journey to *Lyons*, only in expectation to meet there with some more favourable Opportunity for making his Escape, he found, that the Inn where he lodged was not so proper for executing his Design, therefore his Friends procured for him a more commodious House. When he was settled in it, he sent for the Archbishop's Physician, to whom he gave an account of his imaginary Disease ; whereupon the Physician concluded that he had the Stone, and that he must be probed in order to a greater Certainty. The Doctor failed not to tell the Archbishop, that he had under his Care a Gentleman whom he knew not, but who was in a very bad Way ! Sure, says that Prelate, *it must be that Minister of Orange, which has been recommended to me.* And he shewed him the Orders he had received

received from Court upon his account, and which were notified to Mr. *De Chambrun* in the Archbishop's Name. Whereby he was made sensible that all his Steps were narrowly observed, and that if he did not provide for himself in good time, he would be very soon shut up in the Castle of *Pierre-Cise*.

Therefore he resolved to make his Escape without Delay, for which end he feigned to be worse than ever, and sent for the Physician and the Lithotomist ; they probed him, but could find no Stone. The Lithotomist said, that as he lay upon his Back he could not be probed so well as if he was upon a Chair ; but he desired the Physician to put off to another time this second Probing, because he had suffered so much in the first, that he could not bear so soon with this. That was approv'd of, and having dismissed them, he disposed himself the best he could for his Journey, the Difficulty was to find out a Disguise, and a Carriage proper for a Man in his Circumstances, crippled and unable to move himself. He insisted, notwithstanding the contrary Opinion of his Friends, to disguise himself in an Officer's Dress, and to be carried in a Calash, wherein he was tied fast with a Leather String, he set out from *Lyons* on the 8th of *September*, which was a *Sunday* in the Evening, went through the whole City, amidst a Croud of People of all sorts that were coming from walking ; and having met his Servants and Horses that waited for him without the City, he travelled Night and Day, and arrived safe at *Geneva* on the 11th of *September*. It is observable, that he passed through several Garrisons, without being stopp'd, except in one place upon the Frontiers of *Savoy*, where there was a *Corps de*
* C *Garde*

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Garde of seven Men, who stopp'd him ; but he counterfeited so well the Officer of Importance, by his Speech and Threats, that being frighten'd out of their Wits, they most humbly crav'd his Pardon. Another Thing very observable, methinks, is, that at the last Step that the Horses made in the Yard of the Inn at *Geneva*, the Calash broke of itself. Had such an Accident happened upon the Road, Mr. *De Chambrun* had been undone, for being not capable either to walk or to stand, he would certainly have been known.

He was received at *Geneva*, as he so justly deserved ; he insisted to acknowledge his Fault publicly, in order to be admitted to the Lord's Supper ; which was done as he desired. At his most earnest Instances he was likewise restored to his Ministerial Functions, by an Assembly of eighteen Ministers, Refugees, tho' they represented unto him, that having never signed any Abjuration, or done any Action that might prejudice his Character, such a

the Princess with the greatest demonstration of Joy and Satisfaction. He came over to *England* with *Queen Mary*, when *King William* had been acknowledged by the Parliament, and a Canonship at *Windſor* becoming vacant, that Princess bestowed it upon him, with this Compliment, *That it was only till a better Preferment ſhould offer*. But he died ſix Months after at *London*, in 1689. *

Besides the Soldiers and Dragoons, the ordinary Ministers of Popish Cruelty, the Spirit of Persecution met every where ſome new Instruments to exerciſe its Cruelty, who delighted exceedingly in forwarding its Deſigns. And it is very obſervable, that a few excepted, in whoſe Breasts Principles of Humanity had a greater Influence than thoſe of their bloody Religion, all the reſt were always devoted to Persecution, and that too in the moſt cruel and barbarous manner. The Ties of Conſanguinity and Friendſhip were eaſily looſed by the neareſt Relations, and the Commonalties were at all times ready to ſupply the place of Dragoons, nay even to exceed them. This I ſhall evince by the following Narration, well attested by ſeveral Witneſſes here in *England*, of an undoubted Veracity.

Mr. *Belly*, Chaplain to the Princess of *Ta-Of Mrs. rente*, having been obliged to depart the King-Bellydom, by virtue of the repealing Edict, which expelled for ever all Miniſters out of *France*, left his Wife with the Princess to ſettle ſome private Affairs. She had a Brother, named *Moiffan*, brought up in the Popiſh Religion, who knew no ſooner that his Brother-in-law was gone for *Guernſey*, but he wrote to the Biſhop of *Rennes*, and to Father *Brian* Superior

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* *Voyez Les Larmes de J. P. de Chambrun.*

rior of the Jesuits in that Town, desiring them to procure for him a Letter of the Signet, with Orders to take away by Force his Sister from the Place where she lived ; (which, on any other Occasion would have been sacred) such a Request was easily granted. As soon as he received the Letter, he sent an Usher of the Parliament of *Rennes*, named *Marcadin*, who went to *Vitré*, with four inferiour Officers of Justice, enter'd the Princess's Castle, and before her Highness's Face, took away Mrs. *Belly*, and brought her to the Usher's House at *Rennes*.

When he had Notice of the Execution, he wrote again to the Bishop and Jesuits, to beseech them, to make use of all the Means they could devise, (the Rape only excepted) to convert his Sister.

The Bishop ordered, that, in Conformity to Mr. *Moissan*'s earnest Request, all means should be made use of to force or persuade that Gentlewoman to renounce her Heresy. To obey the Prelate's Orders, they stretch'd her on her Back, eight Porters relieving each other by Turns, held her in that violent Situation, forcing her to swallow vast quantities of Brandy, 'till they bereft her of her Senses : At another time they oblig'd her to jump from the Table down to the Floor, and from the Floor up to the Table, and to dance for three hours together ; 'till quite spent with such violent Exercise, she fainted away. Thus they abused that venerable Gentlewoman for eight Days and Nights without Intermission.

This Trial proving ineffectual, they took another Course, no less insufferable, though less violent. They sent for Trumpets and Drums, which, for six other Days and Nights together,

together, ceased not to trouble her with their hideous Noise. This also proving unsuccessful, they sent for a Kettle, put it over her Head, the eight Porters beating on it continually. They kept her in that Condition three Days, without being able to overcome her Constancy. Several other indecent Actions they did commit, which Modesty forbids me to mention. At last the Usher, in whose House these Tragedies were acted, being tir'd with so much Cruelty, went to the Attorney-General, and told him, he could bear no longer to see his House made a Place of Torture; whereupon that Magistrate ordered that Mrs. *Belly* should be let out. But it was only a Commutation of Torments; and instead of a private, they inflicted on her a publick one: They ordered, that she should walk bare-footed, all in Rags, through all the Streets of the Town, exposed to the publick View of the Mob; who, being some of the most superstitious of the Kingdom, abused her in the most outrageous manner. All this being done, she was dragg'd to St. *Peter's* Church, where she was forc'd to subscribe a Form of Abjuration; which done, she was set at liberty.

She then returned to the Princess of *Tarente* at *Vitré*, but her unnatural Brother's Anti-christian Zeal suffered him not to let her enjoy long her Liberty; he caused her again to be taken by Force, and by the Bishop's Orders shut her up in a Nunnery of *Benedictines*, whence she found means to escape some time after to *Guernsey*, where she met with her Husband.

'Tis not a new Thing to see People forsaking all natural Affections to gratify a furious Zeal. *Sleidan* speaks of one *Alphonfus Diaz*, who came from *Rome* to *Newburgh*, to assassinate his

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Brother John, which he perpetrated in the most treacherous and inhuman manner. (a)

Varillas relates, that one Robert, the King's Attorney at Troyes in Champaign, caused his own Son to be hang'd, for no other Reason, than his being a Calvinist. (b) And we have related in our first Volume two Instances of the cruel Effects of the blind Zeal of a Father against his own Son, and of a Brother against his own Sister.

Mr. Benoît takes Notice, that in the late Persecution a Gentleman of Picardy, in order to shew his Zeal for Popery, was so base as to let his own Wife down into a Well, holding her by the Hair of the Head, in the midst of Winter.

These Things are more than sufficient to make it appear, that the Spirit of Popery is dipt in Cruelty; and that whoever gives himself up to it, degrades himself from human Nature, and becomes the most fierce, wild and cruel of all other living Creatures.

A R T I C L E II.

Of the cruel Usage the Reformed met with in the several Prisons in which they were confin'd.

ONE would imagine, that no Prisons could be more dreadful than the Reformed's Houses, whilst the Dragoons were quarter'd in them, since (by a Hardship all other Prisons are exempted from) they were altogether Cap-

tives,

(a) *Skidan Comment Lib. 17. ad ann. 1545.* (b) *Varillas Hist. de Charles IX. Liv. 3. pag. 430.*

tives, and continually tormented by those People, destitute of all Humanity. Yet they were shut up close Prisoners in several Goals of different kinds. The strong Holds, Citadels, nay even Convents, were turned into Prisons for them ; and besides those Places, a great Number of Reformed were buried, as one may say, in several frightful Dungeons, which, by their Darkness and their Stench, were sufficient to make Men lose their Senses, or to throw them into Despair. Let us consider a little those various Prisons, and let us see what Usage our Brethren met with in those Places.

Those who had overcome the Dragoon's Fury, were condemn'd to pass the Remainder of their Days in Captivity and Slavery. In that Condition, the Husbands were not allowed to be with their Wives, nor Parents with their Children, nor the nearest Relations to be together, but were all separated one from the other in different Prisons and Cells, so that it was difficult for them to hear from each other ; if they did, it was commonly something to perplex them. The Children were told, that their Parents had acknowledged the Truth of the Catholick Religion, and had publickly abjur'd *Calvin's* Heresy before such Bishops or Curates ; Husbands, Wives, and others, were told the same Thing of their Children or other Relations, in order to shock them. Though these unfortunate Prisoners had reason enough to question the Truth of these Relations, nevertheless, as there was no possibility to find out the Deceit, it must needs grieve them to the Heart.

The Goalers, generally speaking, used them most severely, the Principles of Popery inspiring them with greater Hatred against those

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poor People, than in Honour or Conscience they could have had for the most wicked Criminals under their Care; the Criminals themselves joining with the Goalers, to render these poor People's Confinement more intolerable, by their Outrages, but above all by their scandalous Discourses and Blasphemies.

Of Doctor
Jortin.

Among the many Instances which I might offer my Reader, I shall single out only one, which will be sufficient to justify my Observation. That shall be a Relation of Mr. *Jortin's* (a Doctor of Physick at *Saumur*) Sufferings, written by himself at a Friend's Request, but never before published.

I shall not take notice of many Trials, Perils, Fatigues, and ill Usages which he underwent, before he was brought to Mr. *Foucault*, Intendant of *Poitou*. I shall only give an Abstract of his own Relation of his Prison and ill Usages there, which are as follow.

• Hoque-
tons.

‘ I having been in Confinement in *Poitou*,
‘ Mr. *Foucault* the Intendant discharged me;
‘ but I was kept, contrary to Orders, under a
‘ Guard of two * Wardens, arm'd with Mus-
‘ quetoons, who conducted me through a
‘ Gate, where was a *Corps de Garde*; there we
‘ were stopp'd, but a little after dismiss'd.

‘ Upon the Road from *Poitiers* to *Saumur*,
‘ I could find neither Victuals nor Lodging, as
‘ soon as they knew that I was a *Hugonot*.
‘ When I arrived at *Saumur*, I found my House
‘ laid waste during my Absence, and was
‘ oblig'd to borrow a Bed from one of my
‘ Friends.

‘ Some Days after, I was sent back again to
‘ Jail; when I was brought thither I was
‘ searched as usual. I could not obtain the
‘ King's Bread, though they deny it not even

to Criminals under Sentence of Death. My
 Bed was an Iron Cage full of Lice, Bugs,
 Mice, and several other Vermin, the Door
 thereof was so low, that one must creep into
 it. I desired they would give me some Straw
 to lie on, but was denied.

A Fortnight after, some Friends, who had
 provided Food for me, sent me a little fold-
 ing Bedstead, with a good Feather-Bed and
 Bolster, with some good Blankets. I laid no
 longer in my Cage, but when my Persecu-
 tors were out of humour.

The next Week, Mr. *Foger*, Deputy to
 Mr. *Du Hamel*, Intendant of the Province of
Anjou, came to visit me, who at first used me
 civilly, took me to walk with him in the
 Prison Gardens, was very earnest with me to
 renounce my Religion, though he was un-
 willing to enter into any Dispute about it.

But when he found he could not prevail
 with me, he told me, I am very sorry to
 see you so obstinate, you are utterly undone;
 (for a Paper of my own Hand-writing a-
 gainst the Church of *Rome*, and the *Roman*
 Clergy had been found upon me). Do you
 see that Heap of Stones before you? under
 them lies buried an Attorney of *Loudun*;
 he had been here but a Fortnight; the Death
 which you are to suffer will not be so mild
 as his. (He did not tell me that he was poi-
 son'd, but the Prisoners had acquainted me
 with it before, his Name was Mr. *La Loge*
Guerin.) The Intendant arrived in Town
 two or three Days after, I had notice of it
 by Mr. *Foger's* Care, who let me know
 that I was arraign'd. I sent him my Thanks,
 and inform'd him, that I would die his very
 humble Servant.

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' It is hardly to be believed with what Zeal
 ' my Enemies pursued my Death, they expected
 ' to see me burning alive; my Friends came
 ' from the Country to lament my Fate, and
 ' several Persons of Distinction in the Town
 ' came to the Jayl to see me, and to give me
 ' the same warning. At last, I was so well per-
 ' suaded that I was to suffer that cruel Death,
 ' that I desired some of them to come and be
 ' Witnesses of the Mercies and Blessings Al-
 ' mighty God granted those who suffered Mar-
 ' tyrdom for his sake.

' All this while, the Intendant being not so
 ' bloody-minded, thought not proper to follow
 ' the Opinion of my Persecutors; after he had
 ' examin'd my Papers, finding nothing worthy of
 ' Death, he left me in the same Condition, always
 ' expos'd to the Persecution of my Enemies.

' A little after the Intendant had left *Sau-*
 ' *mur*, a Woman who was a Prisoner in the same
 ' Jayl, came to acquaint me, in private, of a
 ' Plot laid against my Life, by the Jaylor and
 ' his Wife, and at their Instigation, by several
 ' Prisoners. One of them offer'd, one Day, to
 ' burn one of my Fingers, another to burn
 ' some other Part of my Body, each of them
 ' delighting in some way or other to torture
 ' me. Though the Weather was exceeding
 ' cold, they hindered me from Fire, and inter-
 ' rupted me when I pray'd to God, or sung to
 ' his Glory; I was obliged to go into the Green
 ' before the Prison, in the Frost and Snow, to
 ' pray, and was, even there, often interrupted
 ' in my Devotions.

' They brought their Fury to that pitch,
 ' that they one day took the Resolution to crucify
 ' me, which was to be executed in the great
 ' Green; they were first to gag me, then to
 ' nail

• nail me up against the Wall. As that Death
• was very extraordinary in itself, they durst not
• come to the Execution.

• They thought the Iron Cage wherein I was
• shut up close from time to time, would be a
• properer Place, because there are several little
• holes, through which they might put Cords,
• and then he would have published that I had
• strangled myself through Despair.

• I had notice of this Plot by one of their
• Accomplices, who, very happily for me,
• fell out with his Comrades, and discovered
• every thing to me. We went down together,
• to the Place where the Cage stood, and there
• found the Cords tied with running Knots, all
• ready for the Execution; Mr. *Boüesteaux*
• Counsellor, and Mr. *De la Motte* Provost of
• *Saumur*, saw these Things, who being my
• Friends, very much pitied my Fate.

• That Danger being over, I soon found
• myself exposed to another. A Gentleman,
• who had been wounded in the Army, by a
• Shot in the Leg, came to ask my advice about
• his Wound, which was again open'd, when
• he had done with me, he took his leave; I
• went to accompany him to the Gate of the
• Jayl, where a Servant of the Prison was cruelly
• beating a Prisoner, who had been a Collector;
• I intreated the Servant in a few Words to be
• milder; this was enough for the Jayler's
• Wife, who overhearing me, flew into a Pas-
• sion, crying out to the Servant, *Strangle that*
• *Dog, that Hugonot*; DICTUM, FACTUM:
• the Servant took me by the Throat, and en-
• deavoured to execute his Orders; but I not
• thinking fit to let him do it without Opposi-
• tion, though he was stronger than I, yet I
• was happy enough to disentangle myself out
• of

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‘ of his Hands. In the Scuffle I lost my Hat,
 ‘ Wig, and one of my Slippers, and was going
 ‘ down into the Green, which was just by, not
 ‘ perceiving the Servant behind me, holding up
 ‘ a Stick, with which he would certainly have
 ‘ cleft my Skull, had not the Prisoners laid hold
 ‘ of him. I then went into a Room, he still
 ‘ pursuing me with Stones.

‘ That Evening they invented a strange
 ‘ Contrivance to undo me, if possible ; they
 ‘ rubb’d that Man’s Face all over with Blood,
 ‘ and in that Condition they brought him be-
 ‘ fore the Judge Criminal, who, being much
 ‘ surprised at the Sight, ask’d him who had
 ‘ done it ? The *Hugonot*, said they, who will
 ‘ kill us all, if you don’t come and take some
 ‘ Course with him. He came to the Jayl ;
 ‘ they endeavoured all they could to bribe some
 ‘ of the Prisoners to give Evidence against
 ‘ me : But, what is very strange, those very
 ‘ People who had offered to burn me, would
 ‘ not on this occasion speak against their Con-
 ‘ sciences, but chose rather to suffer than to en-
 ‘ ter into my Enemies wicked Measures. They
 ‘ told the Judge, We have nothing to say, but
 ‘ what will turn to Mr. *Jortin*’s Advantage ; he
 ‘ took Compassion of one of our Fellow-Pri-
 ‘ soners, who was cruelly abus’d by the Servant,
 ‘ entreating him to be more mild, for which
 ‘ the Jayler’s Wife ordered him to strangle
 ‘ him, and he was about to do it in our Pre-
 ‘ sence. Mr. *Jortin* stood only in his own De-
 ‘ fence, and who would not do the same ? He
 ‘ is an honest Man ; whom we should not perse-
 ‘ cute were it not for the Orders we have re-
 ‘ ceived.

‘ For all this, the Judge came up to the
 ‘ Room where I was, and finding me without a
 ‘ Wig,

‘ Wig, and but one Slipper, You are, says he, a
 ‘ fine Man indeed in that Dress ! Was not your
 ‘ Case bad enough before, that you must thus
 ‘ make it worse by your Violence in the Prison ?
 ‘ I told him, if I had thought that he would
 ‘ have taken Cognizance of my Affairs, I would
 ‘ have acquainted him with my Case sooner ;
 ‘ that I had addressed myself to the Intendant’s
 ‘ Subdelegate for Justice, but, since he was there,
 ‘ I beseeched him to hear me in my own De-
 ‘ fence. No, Sir, said he, get you down to the
 ‘ Cage. I shall obey, Sir, without Reluctancy ;
 ‘ Cages, Dungeons, or any thing please me,
 ‘ my Conscience bears witness for me : But there
 ‘ is a supreme Judge above, who hears us, and
 ‘ (turning to the Jayler and his Wife) these
 ‘ People shall give him an Account for the
 ‘ Wrongs I have suffered : As for you, Sir, I am
 ‘ your humble Servant. So I went down to the
 ‘ Cage, where I found the two Prisoners, who
 ‘ had refused to give false Evidence against
 ‘ me.

‘ One Day they mix’d human Excrements
 ‘ with the Victuals prepared for my Dinner.
 ‘ One of the Prisoners who us’d to take share
 ‘ of my Dinner, had no sooner tasted of the
 ‘ Sauce, but he complain’d of the ill Taste, and
 ‘ of the Cook. I told him, that I knew not the
 ‘ Cook, my Victuals being always brought
 ‘ ready dress’d from the Tavern. It is true,
 ‘ says I, it is ill tasted, but Prisoners must not
 ‘ be so dainty ; if you are hungry, you may
 ‘ eat some, as I have done. He said, he was
 ‘ half starv’d, and so took some again out of
 ‘ the Dish : Very likely he dipp’d in a Place
 ‘ where the Drug was not spar’d, for he threw
 ‘ the Dish and Sauce upon the Floor, his
 ‘ Heart rising against it ; he vomited : That
 ‘ done,

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done, he began again to curse the Cook, and to swear. We soon after found out the Author of this Piece of Villany.

The Day when the Collector, who was abus'd by the Jayler's Servant as above-said, was brought to the Jail, his Friends came to see him. As they were sitting and drinking at the Fire-side, and often looking towards me, they could not forbear laughing; they told me the Reason of it; Sir, says one of them, you see us laughing, but you don't know how far you are concern'd in it; we sincerely confess, if we had known you to be so honest, as we now find you to be, you should not have fed upon our Excrements as you have done often: for several had plotted to feed you as they do their Hogs; but we do promise you that it shall never be so for the future; which indeed never happened since, and the Cook of the Tavern discharg'd his Duty faithfully.

I was for a long time the only Prisoner in

and Respect for his King, but that his Conscience would not permit him to persist any longer in the State he was in ; that he crav'd Pardon from God for his Unfaithfulness, and that he desired him to consider, 'twas better for him to obey God, than Men. They were deaf to all his Reasons, and condemn'd him to the Gallies. He earnestly desired to suffer Death rather than that, but his Entreaties were not regarded. He was put in Irons, tied with a Chain, and sent to the Gallies, where he died some time after. Before that, he was ordered to undergo a Penance called *Amende Honorable*.

' I have been expos'd to another Trial, on account of a young *German*, a Soldier in the Regiment of *Alsace*, then in Garrison at *Saumur* ; that unfortunate young Man had killed an Inhabitant of the Town, and was sent Prisoner to our Jayl. The Account he gave me of the Insult he received from the Deceas'd, made me think his Crime not unpardonable ; therefore I wrote to Mr. *Riche*, a Gentleman of *Germany*, married in that Town, and one of my Acquaintance, who had three of his Relations Captains in the same Regiment ; he sent me word, he would take as much Care of the young Man, as if he was his own Son. I wrote also to Mr. *De Ris*, the King's Lieutenant in the Castle of *Saumur* ; but Mr. *De Louvois*, who had heard the Cause, had decided it, whereby he was condemned to be shot. The Day of his Execution, a Priest, who came to prepare him for Death, endeavoured to oblige him to renounce his Religion, (he was a *Lutheran*) he was promised Pardon, if he complied. The promised Life had many Charms, but Religion had taken a deep Root in his Heart ;

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Heart ; in this Conflict, he left the Priest, came to me, just as I was at Dinner, to be advised ; I exhorted him to withstand the Temptation, to be faithful to his God, and expect Assistance from him alone. I told him, that all the Promises of this World were suspicious and deceitful. He listen'd to what I said to him, went cheerfully to the Place of Execution, and died faithful in his own Religion.

The Priest having followed him, unperceived, when he came to consult me, heard all our Discourse, and soon after made his Declaration of it, which occasion'd me fresh Troubles. Whilst they were tying that unhappy young Man with Matches, the Major of the Castle came on Horseback into the little Green, and seeing me at the Grate, drew out one of his Pistols several times, and very likely would have shot at me, if I had not avoided the Danger every time he threaten'd me with it.

The next Day I was brought to the Door of the Place where they torture Criminals. As soon as I was come thither, they said unto me, Come in, Sir, you will here find the Attire you deserve : This Attire was a Gibbet, and just by were the Instruments of Torture all ready. I own that my Flesh trembled at that sight. They talk'd as if they designed to shut me up in that frightful Place ; but I laid that Night in my Cage, uncertain whether, or no, they would put their Threats in execution : But in the Morning, I was let out of the Cage, and never more shut in it afterwards.

I have said nothing of our religious Disputes, they were perpetual ; the *Fathers of the Oratory* were those I had most to deal with.

That

• That Society consists of Persons of Quality
 • and others who have received liberal Educa-
 • tion ; they always us'd me civilly, disputed
 • without any Moroseness in their Temper, and
 • perceiving in our Disputes, that they knew
 • the Truth, I several times told them, that I
 • prayed to God to strengthen their Hearts to
 • confess that Truth without Fear. Far from
 • being angry at it, they civilly thank'd me
 • for it, and even desired me to be persuaded,
 • that they and their Society abhorred the Per-
 • secutions to which I was exposed, and that
 • they were carried on against their Consent.

• There was a *Capuchin*, who was not so ci-
 • vil and meek, he had come already fourteen or
 • fifteen times to dispute with me : He preached
 • Controversy, but had no manner of Rule in
 • his Disputes. He begun with an Argument,
 • but never came to a Conclusion upon any Sub-
 • ject whatever.

• 'Tis impossible to give a full Description
 • of all the Miseries and Afflictions which I
 • have undergone in my Imprisonments, which
 • lasted several Years, during which time, I
 • may affirm, in good Conscience, that scarce a
 • Day went over, but that I expected to end
 • my Life by some violent Death or other.'

• This Account of Dr. *Jortin's* Sufferings comes
 • near to the Particulars of all the Miseries and
 • Hardships the poor Reformed were exposed to
 • in their Prisons. I shall add only, that *France*
 • has not been the only Country where Prisons
 • have been made Places of Torture for Prote-
 • stants. In the last Persecution of the Duke of
 • *Savoy's* Reformed Subjects, in the Valleys of
 • *Piémont*, we have an Account of 12000 of
 • those poor People, Men, Women and Chil-
 • dren, dispersed in 14 Prisons, Castles, or Strong-
 • Holds, where they suffered cruel Hardships.

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In some of these Places they had nothing to feed on but the coarsest of Bread bak'd with muddy Water, taken out of the Common-Sewers, in which they often found Pieces of Glass and other Nastiness. In other Places they had nothing to drink but stinking Water ; in others, they were forced to fetch their Water out of a Trough ; and at some Places they had Water only at certain times, being not allowed to drink any without Leave, though they were ready to choak. This occasion'd several poor sick People's Death, for want of a Glass of Water to quench their Thirst. They lay almost every where upon Bricks without Straw ; but if they had Straw, it was not much better than Dung. They were so crouded in some of these Prisons, that they were scarce able to stir ; and when any of them died, which happened almost every day, others were sent to supply their Places, that they might always be crouded and choak'd up. In the Heat of Summer this caus'd a Sickness, which produced a great quantity of Lice in the Rooms. There were some large Worms which gnawed their Skins, and bit them to that degree, that their Skins dropt from them by Pieces ; so that several of the Sick have (as one may say) been the Food of Worms whilst yet alive ; and they were left in this dismal condition, till Death put an end to their Miseries. In the midst of Winter, tho' the Cold is most severe in that Country, they were denied Fire ; they had neither Lamp nor Candle to light them in the Night, though they often petitioned for them, that they might succour the Sick, which occasion'd several to die for want of Help ; a great Number of Women died in Labour in the dark for Want of Assistance, their Infants also dying with them. The Sick, who had been separated from the
• Healthy,

Healthy, were often exposed in the open Air, Rain, or other bad Weather. In some Prisons, Children in the Small-pox have been exposed in wet Yards, and laid under Gutters, where the Rain dropt upon them. These Tygers were not satisfied with refusing those poor People their Assistance, but they also hindered those who were well disposed to afford them any Relief. There was such a quantity of sick among them, that sometimes there were 75 in one Room, at one time. Finally, these poor Prisoners have received such inhuman Usage in their Prisons, as would hardly be believed, were it not well known to what a Pitch of Cruelty the Enemies of the *Waldenses* have carried their Hatred and Fury against them. Out of 12000 sent Prisoners as above, 8000 of them died under these Hardships.

All *Europe* knows what cruel Persecutions the Church of *Rome* hath excited against the Reformed of *Hungary*, *Bobemia*, *Transylvania*, *Sclavonia*, *Croatia*, and other Countries under the Dominion of the House of *Austria* in the last Century. Let us survey *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa* and *America*; let us go from *East* to *West*, and from *North* to *South*, every where, you will find the Spirit of Popery always the same, constantly cruel and unjust. COELUM NON ANIMUM MUTANT, QUI PAPÆ SERVIUNT.

But, to return: The Persecutions in *France* afford us too many Instances of that Spirit of Cruelty and Injustice, without fetching them from other Countries. Transporting Prisoners from one Jail to another, was a Secret the Persecutors found to tire the Persecuted's Patience, whose free Conversation with the Debtors, or other Prisoners sent to those Jails, they thought, might make some Impressions on their

hearts to convert them, or at least to excite in them some Compassion and Esteem ; the Jailors themselves might be moved to Pity, seeing those harmless People's Constancy, and their meek and humble Carriage.

But, to deprive them of that Comfort, they judg'd there was no surer Way than to remove them from one Prison to another ; every fresh Prison being a new Torment to them, the Jailors pretending at least to be unmov'd at the Constancy of those who were gone, strove to expose the new Comers to the severest Trials they could think of ; the Prisoners also, unacquainted with those poor People's Goodness and Virtue in the greatest Misery, and being strongly prejudic'd against their Religion, did their Endeavours to back the Jailors Intentions, either to ingratiate themselves into their Favour, or to gratify their own natural Hatred against them. For these and some other Considerations, the Persecutors joined with the Severity of the Captivity, the Number and Variety of Punishments in their Prisons.

*Of the
Marquis of
Roche-
gude.*

The Marquis of *Roche-gude*, that charitable and zealous Promoter of the poor Reformed's Relief while they suffered in Prisons, Dungeons, or the Galleys, was himself sent Prisoner first to *Landscroon* ; three Months after, he was removed to *Fort St. Andrew*, where he underwent great Hardships, with bad Food and Bedding, being confined in a Place where the Light of the Sun came in only through little Holes, and where, for fourteen Days together, he could not once obtain leave to be shaved. His eldest Brother being banished to *Viviers* in *Vivarais*, as there were several Missionaries in that little Town, who were unable to shake that Gentleman's Faith, they obtained an Order

der from Court to remove him to the *Tower of Constance*. His Relations having heard of the ill Usage he received in that frightful Prison, his Body being all over swell'd, they had Friends enough to have him transported to the Citadel of *Montpelier*; but his Enemies thinking that Place too good for him, had him removed to *Pierre-Cise*, where they commonly confine State-Prisoners. These two illustrious Brothers being thus separated, could not give each other notice of the Place or Condition they were in.

The eldest Brother's Children knew nothing of what happened to their Father; his two Daughters being confin'd in a Nunnery at *Bagnols*, and his two Sons sent to the *Jesuits* at *Beaucaire*. His Lady, who was Grandaughter to the Chancellor *De Calignon*, disguis'd herself in a Shepherdess's Dress to conceal herself from her Persecutors, and went to keep some Sheep, but was soon discovered and brought to *Nismes*, and shut up in a Nunnery, the Abbess of which fearing lest she should communicate her Sentiments to those under her Care, imparted her Fears to the Bishop, who being of the same Opinion, obtained an Order to set her at Liberty; so that her Piety, which occasion'd her Confinement, was also the occasion of her Liberty.

Mr. *James Morineau*, Apothecary of *Vielle Vigne*, and his Wife, having been removed from one Prison to another eleven times, were at last sent, the Husband to *Pierre-Cise*, and his Wife to a Nunnery.

Besides the *Tower of Constance*, where the Reformed Prisoners were treated with Inhumanity, being lodged in dark and damp Places, full of all sorts of Nastiness, suffering Hunger, Thirst and Cold, having from time to time a small Portion of Food and Drink, and that bad, being

being often abused by the Soldiers, and even by the Officers themselves; besides that Place, I say, there was another more frightful, called *La Flasseliere* in *Low Paitu*, kept by one *Jonas*, a cruel Monster, pitch'd upon on purpose to torment the poor Prisoners for Religion who were committed to his Care. This Man, omitting nothing to execute the Commission he was entrusted with, thought a Dungeon which was in that Prison not frightful enough of itself, therefore he made it one of the most intolerable Places one could think of for its Stench and Nastiness. He caus'd all the Filth, Dung, and Excrements of the Shambles to be thrown into it, with all the Carcasses of dead Sheep, Dogs, and Cats that could be found. The noisome Smell of such a Place being sufficient to kill or poison the strongest, or make the most resolute loose their Senses. Not satisfied with shutting up those poor People in that horrid Place, he invented a particular Way to duck them in that stinking Mire, tying their Hands and one of their Feet behind them with small Cords, and by the help of a Pulley, which he had fix'd to the Beams of the Prison, he drew them up with their Faces downward, then let them fall into it, they not being able to stop their Mouths or Noses, or to help themselves any other way; and in this Situation they were kept as long as that merciless Fellow thought they had any Life remaining. *Abraham Bernardin*, *Peter Roy*, *Daniel Roy*, *John Poing*, *James Fradin*, and one *Montasser*, all of the Borough of *Moncaustan*, underwent this dismal Torture; the small Cords which tied their Wrists were sunk so deep into their Flesh, that they were with Difficulty untied. I will not swell up this Article with any more Instances, but shall close it with this Observation. There

There are two Things which plainly shew that this late Persecution exceeded any of the Heathen Persecutions in the first Ages of the Church.

The first is, That under the Reign of the most cruel Tyrants, the Ministers of the Church were admitted to visit those confin'd for Religion's Sake, and to administer to them those Comforts they mostly stood in need of, as it appears by *St. Cyprian* *. We also find in the *Acts of the Antient Martyrs* (published by Father *Ruinart*) that sometimes they administered the Sacrament of Baptism. But the Prisons and Dungeons where our Brethren the Reformed were shut up, have been opened only to the Ministers of the *Popish Religion*, who, by their pernicious Endeavours to seduce them, afflicted their Souls more than the Burden of their Fetters, or any other Hardships their Bodies endur'd. As for their own Pastors they were strictly forbidden, under severe Penalties, even Death, or the Gallies, to approach any of them; which Penalties were immediately inflicted upon those who, not dreading their Enemies Threats, were generous enough to discharge their Duty at the Peril of Life and Liberty.

The second runs upon that rigorous Prohibition of comforting each other, nay even themselves, by singing of Psalms or Canticles. We read in the *Acts of the Apostles*, that at Mid-*Acts* xvi. night those faithful Ministers of *Christ* lifted up²⁵ their Hearts and Voices to God, with Hymns and Prayers. And the *Acts of Ancient Martyrs* afford us many Instances of the same kind.

* D 4

Even

* *St. Cyprian Epist. Lib. iii. Epist. 15.* At least he says plainly, that such Liberty had been formerly allowed to Priests and Deacons, to visit the Prisoners, and to instruct and comfort them.

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Even that Comfort was denied our Brethren the Reformed, by those who call themselves the *Catholick* and *Apostolick Church*. The Jaylors, who never interrupted those who sang profane, wicked. and impious Songs, would never allow these to sing Psalms, and often severely punished those that did it contrary to their Prohibitions.

I shall here put an End to this, and proceed to the third Article.

A R T I C L E III.

Of the Indignities, Hardships, and barbarous Usages offered the Reformed in several Places, commonly known by the Names of the HOUSE OF PROPAGATION at Uzez, the MANUFACTORY at Bourdeaux, and the HOSPITAL of Valence, &c.

I Am now going to offer my Reader an Account of other Barbarities, together with a Scene of such Cruelties, and inhuman Usages, unheard of, even among the *Cannibals*, or *Hottentots*, and which the Eye cannot behold, or the Tongue utter, without Horror ; but shall first begin with the Hardships and Indignities offered the Reformed in the *House of Propagation* at *Uzez*, and the *Manufactory* of *Bourdeaux*.

*The House
of Propagation at
Uzez.*

There was, at *Uzez* in *Languedoc*, a House commonly known by the Name of the PROPAGATION-HOUSE, under the Care and Direction of four Women, who were likewise known by the Names of PROPAGATION-MAIDS. This

was

was the Place where the Women and Maids who withstood the *Dragoonade* were confin'd in, and here they were daily persecuted. It happened that one of these *Propagation-Maids* went one Day to the Intendant, to complain of the rough Answers she received from some poor persecuted Girls, and to let him know how ill-disposed they were to be converted. The Intendant, who was M. *De Baviile*, well known for his Behaviour towards the Reformed of *Languedoc*, ordered immediately that those Maids (the eldest of whom was not above twenty-two Years of Age, and the youngest about twelve) should be whipt like Children; (they were ten in Number :) For the Execution of which Orders, there were Soldiers placed Centinels at the Doors; two Priests came in with the Major of the Regiment of *Vivonne*, and the Judge, whose Name was *Larnac*, Subdelegate to the Intendant. These poor Victims were brought before them, the *Propagation-Maids* turned up their Cloaths, even their Shifts, and whipt them severely with a Cat-of-nine-Tails, with small Bullets tied to the end of the Cords, 'till their Cries were heard in the Streets; nevertheless they encouraged each other in the Name of Christ, to undergo this shameful Punishment with Patience. After this they were all shut up in a dark Dungeon.

Of the MANUFACTORY of Bourdeaux.

This *Manufactory* was another Place where *Of the* Women were shut up, when they could not *Manufac-* be brought to abjure their Religion by any other *tory at* Methods, or those who were taken up as they *Bour-* were making their Escape out of the Kingdom; *deaux.* for in such a Case the Men were all sent to the Gallies, and this Place may properly be called the

the Gallies for Women. Much Work they had here to do, and very little Food; beside other Hardships, the perpetual Endeavour made use of to seduce them to renounce their Religion, was an ordinary Torture to them in itself. Their Labours must needs be very hard and their Troubles and Vexations very great since, to get rid of them, several amongst them attempted Things far above the Weakness of their Constitutions, and Timorousness of their Sex. Sixteen or seventeen of them made their Escape into *England*; some charitable Persons, moved with their sad Conditions, which had lasted already seven Years, furnished them with Ropes and Pullies to let themselves out of the Windows; neither the Darkness of the Night, nor the Height of the Place which they were to come down at, which was fifteen Fathoms deep, nor the Foresight of many Dangers which they must needs expose themselves to, nor the Consequences which might have attended their Escape, were able to deter or dishearten them, so great were the hard Usage and ill Treatment

her Face, Arms and Breast, till she forced herself a Passage through this strong twisted Hedge. She was so overjoyed to see herself at Liberty, that neither the Darkness of the Night, nor the heavy Rains that fell upon her, nor the unknown Ways through which she past, not knowing where she went, nor the deep Ditch, full of Water and Mud wherein she fell, and sunk almost to her Neck, nor the Hunger with which she was tormented, nor the Hard-heartedness of the Papists, who refused her Bread to eat, and a little Straw to lie upon, no, nothing could stop her, or oblige her to return back to the *Manufactory*, out of which she so happily made her Escape, at the Peril of her Life. At last Almighty God afforded her Assistance to get out of *France*. A Gentleman, who had been a Prisoner with her in the City of *Bordeaux* for the same Cause, having Notice of the sad Condition she was in, sent for her to his House, some Leagues distant from the Place where she lodged. When she was arrived, nothing was omitted for her Comfort, and the Recovery of Health, which was much impaired. Three Weeks after, that Gentleman sent her to *Bordeaux*, paid for all the Charges and Expences she was at during the time she was there concealed, and till she found a Ship which brought her over to *England*, where she had the Good Fortune to meet a Sister, who received her with Joy, and took constant Care of her afterwards.

When they were condemned to hard Labour in this Prison, their Food was only Bread and Water, and that too distributed to them sparingly; every day they were treated like Persons who deserved the publick Hatred and utmost Contempt. Mrs. *Martha* and *Rebecca Treu-* *Of several*
peau, and *Isabeau Gorin*, being seized aboard *other Wo-*
men.
a

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a ship, as they were endeavouring to make their Escape, were brought to *Bordeaux*, and refusing to go to Mass, they were there confin'd, with a Child of nine Years old, and separated from each other; from thence they were removed to a Dungeon, then from that Dungeon to another, where they remained, lying upon Straw for two Months; they were afterwards condemned for Life to Hard-Labour in the *Manufactory*. An old Aunt of those two Sisters, notwithstanding her Years, had been condemned to the same Place, after having performed a Penance in the Town of *St. Foy*, only for having said to the Curate of that Place, That she wish'd, and hoped to die in the Communion of the Reformed Church. She soon died after her Confinement.

Mrs. *Mary Lové* of the same Town, was treated in the very same manner, for having spoken the same Words. Mrs. *Jenny Albert* of *La Rochefoucault* in *Xaintonge*, with her Daughter, were both arrested at *Tournay*, as they were endeavouring to escape out of *France*, and sent into a Dungeon, where they were confined for three Months, afterwards condemned to have their Heads shaved by the common Hangman, then to be sent to *Bordeaux* to spend the Remainder of their Days in Hard-Labour at the *Manufactory*. Several other Gentlewomen shared the same Fate.

Tho' these ways of dealing with honest People might seem very strange, and even provoke the Indignation of those who had not quite shaken off all Humanity; yet 'tis but a Trifle compared with the horrible and scandalous Abuses for a long while committed in the HOSPITAL OF VALENCE in *Dauphiné*, where that Monster LA RAPINE, or more properly D'HERA-

PINE,

IN, had the Direction, who was as much
 renowned for Cruelty, as the Tyrant *Pbalaris*.
 He us'd the Reformed committed to his Care
 with such Inhumanity, that his very Name
 fills every one's Mind with Horrour even to
 this very Day.

The HOSPITAL of Valence.

The first Object which presented it self to any *Of the Ho-*
 one, that had the Misfortune to be condemned *spital of*
 to this Place, was that unmerciful Fellow *Valence.*
D'Herapine; his fierce Countenance, incensed
 Looks, threatening Gestures, and passionate Ex-
 pressions, fill'd their very Souls with Horrour,
 and forebode them what they were to expect
 from a Man of such a Temper.

Some Gentlewomen being sent thither from
 different Places, where their Constancy could
 not be shaken, sometimes he spoke to them to
 this Effect: *Ladies, you are to chuse either Death*
or Life; if you will be present at our religious
Exercises, I promise you Life. I do not ask you
to bear Mass, no, no, but only to be present at
our other Exercises, designed for the Edification
of the Poor, for whose Benefit this House was
erected; If you do it willingly (which you
had best do, or you will be forced to do it) you
shall be well us'd; but if you are obstinate, we
shall deal with you as Reprobates, who deserve
neither Pity nor Mercy. There are no Pains
nor Tortures which we shall not inflict upon you,
if you do not comply with our Church.

Mrs. *De La Farrelle*, one of these Ladies, *Of Mrs.*
 answered him, and proved by good Arguments, *La Far-*
 that she nor her Companions could not, with- *relle.*
 out wounding their Consciences, join in any
 part of their religious Worship. Do not, re-
 plied *D'Herapine*, make so many Words, you
 must

must without Delay chuse either Life or Death. The same Lady answered, We do not value our Lives, when our Salvation and the Glory of God lies at stake. Let the Dungeons be open'd, cried *D'Herapine*, and their Clothes stripp'd from off their Backs; you shall be cudgel'd 'till you are cloy'd, said he, calling them a thousand ill Names. He therefore order'd them to be shut up, two by two, in different Dungeons, where they had only a little Straw to lie upon, and a dirty, ragged Quilt to cover them; in these Dungeons were several Bundles of Sticks laid all ready at his hands to beat them. The first Day that *Mrs. De La Ferrelle* and her Companions were confin'd in this Place, they had some Bread and an Apple, with some Raisins; this was good Living, considering how they fared afterwards; for Drink they had only some Dregs, and that sparingly, of which they could not drink. They desired the Woman who waited on them to bring them some Water, which she did; but such as she took up out of the Sink where all the Filth and Nastiness of the House ran into.

The said Lady, whose Memoirs have been graciously communicated to me, says, That one Day, being tormented with hunger, she transgressed, and went beyond her Orders, which were, not to come near the Windows, or speak to any one that Way; being very much pressed with hunger, and regardless of their terrible Threats, she called out to a Boy, who was going by, desiring him to beg a Piece of Bread for her, for which she paid dearly afterwards; one of the Women Attendants in a Passion nailed up the Windows, which deprived them of all means of seeing what sort of Provision was brought them. The Bread was so bad,
that

that it took them more time in cleaning than eating. Their Food was a few Tares, with some Greens, boil'd in Water and Salt, which they eat with this dirty Bread, without Butter, or any thing else. This poor sort of Victuals were carried them by a dirty, lousy Boy of the Hospital, all over scabby, and continually scratching himself whilst he carried it. What Provision could this be for a Lady of Fortune and Quality, who had been us'd to live delicately, and always waited on with Respect.

Let our Condition be never so miserable, the Conversation of good Men our Fellow-Sufferers, and good Examples, are great Helps, not only to allay our Pains, but even to lessen the Sense of them. *D'Herapine* knew this very well; being not contented with separating those who were there confin'd for Religion one from the other, he chose to shut them up with most profligate Wretches, Women, who were condemned to this Place for their Lewdness: By these means the Reformed Prisoners found themselves not only exposed to their scandalous Conversation, and loose Behaviour, but also every Day in Danger of being assaulted by them. *Mrs. De La Farrelle* underwent all these Hardships, an Account of which I shall give you in her own Words.

‘ I was carried, very much dishearten'd, into
‘ a little dirty, muddy Place called the Closet,
‘ there were in it three small Beds, upon which
‘ lay six leud Women, two by two; I ask'd
‘ where I was to lie, but they took to their
‘ Beds without giving me any Answer. *Claudia*,
‘ one of the Servants, call'd to me, in a Passion,
‘ not to disturb them, and to be silent; they
‘ undressed themselves, said their Litany and
‘ lay down; I was obliged to lie upon the
2 Floor,

‘ Floor, without any thing to cover me ; one
 ‘ of these Women, being mov’d with Com-
 ‘ passion, threw me a Quilt to cover me, which
 ‘ was both ragged and nasty, nevertheless, I
 ‘ made use of it, as well as I could. As the
 ‘ Closet was very little, I lay in such a Posture
 ‘ that part of my Body was under the Bed of
 ‘ an old Woman who had been there several
 ‘ Years, who, besides a Quartan-Aguc, was
 ‘ afflicted with the Bloody-Flux, that obliged
 ‘ her to get up very often in the Night; and
 ‘ which was still more disagreeable, her Cham-
 ‘ ber-pot was close to my Nose. This poor
 ‘ Creature’s Weakness and Distemper hinder’d
 ‘ not the Governess, who was another *D’He-*
 ‘ *rapine*, from forcing her to get up to work
 ‘ as early as the rest ; she could not get out of
 ‘ her Bed and Closet without crossing over me,
 ‘ as I lay, the Lice dropping from her upon
 ‘ me in abundance as she mov’d. Over my
 ‘ Head was a continual Noise, and every day
 ‘ I heard somebody reading with a loud Voice,
 ‘ (that I might hear them,) these Words of the
 ‘ Prophet *Jeremiab*, *I intended to cure Babylon,*
 ‘ *but she was unwilling to be cured ; let her alone.*
 ‘ Lord, says I to my self, if they take us to be
 ‘ that *Babylon*, why do they not let us alone,
 ‘ as the *Holy-Ghost* commands them, instead of
 ‘ tormenting us to the utmost ?

‘ They imagin’d that I lay, in this Place, too
 ‘ near my poor Sisters, (I mean in Sufferings,)
 ‘ so they remov’d me from the Closet into the
 ‘ Prison, where I had been before, where they
 ‘ confin’d me with two Lewd Women, which
 ‘ they thought I should reckon a Shame and
 ‘ Dishonour; but far from that, I rejoiced at
 ‘ it, since my dear and glorious Redeemer
 ‘ thought me worthy to partake, for his Name’s
 ‘ sake

‘ sake, of the same Disgrace which he underwent
 ‘ for my Salvation, having been ranked a-
 ‘ mongst Malefactors. The Difference between
 ‘ these poor Wretches and my self was only this;
 ‘ they had Straw for their Beds, and I had only
 ‘ the bare Floor, with a very poor Coverlet;
 ‘ one of these Women having her Head shaved,
 ‘ *D’Herapine* broke four Cudgels upon her
 ‘ Head in my Presence, telling me at the same
 ‘ time, that if for eight Days, I continued ob-
 ‘ stinate, he would serve me in the same Manner,
 ‘ for the Corruption of my Doctrine, as he did
 ‘ her for the Corruption of her Morals. I an-
 ‘ swered, Sir, you may beat me, or kill me, if
 ‘ you please, but ’tis out of your power to alter
 ‘ my Mind, or force me to change my Reli-
 ‘ gion, which I hope, with the Assistance of
 ‘ God Almighty, to preserve pure and undefiled
 ‘ to the last Moment of Life; that I was sur-
 ‘ prized to find Men of Understanding endea-
 ‘ vouring to convert People by such Methods,
 ‘ so very opposite to the Spirit of the Gospel;
 ‘ and that he ought to be persuaded, that, were
 ‘ it not for any other Reason, such a Spirit of
 ‘ Persecution would be always sufficient to breed
 ‘ in every Breast an ill Opinion of the *Roman*
 ‘ Religion. This Answer drew upon me nothing
 ‘ else but ill Names and Threatnings, which
 ‘ he continued daily. One day especially, *Clau-*
 ‘ *dia*, the Servant came to me and said, that
 ‘ they were about bringing me a Pan full of
 ‘ burning Coals to put the Soles of my Feet in,
 ‘ that I might know and feel how pleasant it
 ‘ would be to burn in *Hell*.’

The same Lady relates in her Memoirs,
 that they heard from every side, the Cries of
 those who were tortured for remaining stedfast
 in their Religion.

‘ The very Day we came to this Hospital,
 ‘ *says ſhe*, we heard the Cries of ſeveral Perſons
 ‘ whom they endeavoured to force with Sticks,
 ‘ into the Chapel, and to kneel down before the
 ‘ Hoſt; theſe Perſons were a Gentlewoman of Qua-
 ‘ lity and the Daughters of that glorious Martyr
 ‘ Mr. *Ducros*, an Attorney in the City of *Nîmes*,
 ‘ and four of my own Kinſwomen. If the hearing
 ‘ of their Baſtinadoes and Cries pierc’d our Hearts,
 ‘ when unknown, how great was our Grief when
 ‘ we underſtood who they were and how they
 ‘ ſuffered? Above our Dungeon was a Woman of
 ‘ *Nîmes*, who was moſt inhumanly beat, for only
 ‘ making a wry Mouth at their Maſs, which
 ‘ diſpleaſed them; this poor Woman’s Cries
 ‘ went to my Heart: but theſe things were or-
 ‘ dinary, every day affording ſome new In-
 ‘ ſtances. They did not much mind what Parts
 ‘ of the Body their Blows fell upon, the Face,
 ‘ Noſe, Eyes or any other, always aiming at
 ‘ the tenderſt Parts, which they cruelly bruiſ’d;
 ‘ if any one ſpoke a Word in behalf of our Re-
 ‘ ligion, or did not immediately learn a Cate-
 ‘ chiſm which *D’Herapine* ordered to be learnt
 ‘ by heart, they were ſure to be cudgel’d; or if
 ‘ they had Courage enough to ſay they never
 ‘ would forſake their Religion, or refus’d to
 ‘ go to Chapel, they were ſure to receive the
 ‘ ſame Punishment under which ſeveral of them
 ‘ loſt their Lives.’

The Spirit of Cruelty ſpread itſelf from
 the Director down to all the Servants, Men
 and Women; all Meekneſs or good Uſage,
 nay common Decency was baniſh’d from
 amongſt them; nothing was to be ſeen or
 heard but outrageous Violences. As a poor
 Woman, a Priſoner, was adviſing *Claudia* not

to use Mrs. *De la Farelle* in such a rude Manner, for praying to her God in her own Way : She prays to the Devil, said the Maid ; and at that, ran to the said Lady, and struck her on the Face with a Bunch of Keys ; which Blow, two Days after, occasioned her to lose two of her Teeth. Here is another Particular which plainly shows the Character of *D'Herapine*, and how much those who were put under his Care ought to be upon their guard, to avoid Snares continually laid for them : ‘ I know, says Mrs. *La Farelle*, ‘ he wanted only a Pretence to abuse me ; one ‘ day, as we were disputing, he lifted up his ‘ Hand to box me, but went no further, for ‘ indeed, he did me no other harm, himself, than ‘ pinching me severely ; the Hospital-Boys used ‘ to beat me by his Orders, but they were so ‘ young that I felt it very little. Once he ‘ made me fast for twenty-four Hours, and late ‘ in the Evening, he sent *Claudia* with a bit of ‘ Bread, she stay’d a while with me, abusing ‘ me and thrusting me against the Door ; I was ‘ not at all moved at that ill Usage, but I desired ‘ *Claudia* to tell Mr. *D'Herapine*, that I earnestly ‘ desired him, since he allow’d me no other ‘ Food than Bread, that he would be pleased to ‘ order me some Butter with it ; upon which, ‘ she gave me a volley of ill Language, and ‘ said, *Dost thou think it belongs to thee to eat ‘ white Bread ? thou, who dost not deserve to eat ‘ even of what is given to the Dogs ; if we could ‘ feed thee with Straw, as Mules, we would do ‘ it.* I returned no Answer, nor spoke any ‘ more about the Bread, but desired her to tell ‘ the Governess that she would find in my ‘ Purse some Needles and Thread, which she ‘ gave me to work for her ; she left me in a

‘ Passion, saying, *You may go to the D—l.*
 ‘ When she opened the Door, I saw *D’Herapine*
 ‘ with a Stick in his Hand, and heard him
 ‘ very inquisitive about what I had said, but
 ‘ finding that he had no plausible Pretence for
 ‘ abusing me, he went away.’

Besides all these hard Usages, their Patience was tried likewise by hard Labour, Gentlewomen of Quality not being exempted from it. Among the rest were some young Gentlewomen of *Vivarais*, one of which, was Daughter to the Marquis of *St. Florent*, who were obliged to work from Morning till Night, and to do all the Drudgery of the House ; in the Evening, they were employed in other Works ’till late at Night, without having any time allowed to rest themselves, or scarce to wipe off their Sweat.

They were also obliged to hold Disputes with several Monks and Priests, particularly with an Apostate Minister, who by his Sophistry, endeavoured to make them Followers of his Infidelity. After about six Months Slavery in this Place, she was set at liberty. She underwent these severe Trials in this and five other Prisons, where she had been confined before, without ever doing the least Thing against her own Conscience. Her Son was obliged to pay her Pension to the Bishop of *Valence*, after the rate of ten Crowns per Month, tho’ she had been entertained in the Manner above-mentioned.

I shall subjoin here another Instance of *D’Herapine’s* cruel and inhuman Disposition.

Of Mr. *Menuret*. Mr. *Menuret*, an Attorney at *Montelimar*, had distinguished himself by his exemplary Life, and when the Dragoons were sent into *Dauphiné*, he strengthened his Brethren by his Exhortations

tions and Examples. The Governour of *Montelimar* caused him to be arrested, and shut up for three Months in a Chamber, with only a poor Mattress to lie upon ; then he threw him into a frightful Dungeon, where he went joyfully, comforting his Friends, saying that they ought to rejoice for their being call'd to suffer for God's sake. He was confined in this Dungeon for three Months, 'till his Body was swelled with the Dampness of the Place ; from thence he was removed to the Hospital of *Valence*. He was no sooner arrived, but *D'Herapine*, with a fiery Countenance, told him, that he would soon see whether he should be so obstinate with him as he had been with others ; he shut him up in a little dark Closet over the Sink of the Hospital, with only some Pieces of Board to lie on ; there was in the Closet a Hole that went into the Chapel, thro' which they would force him to hear Mass, but being of an undaunted Resolution, his Tormentor made use of his last Remedies ; he bid him come down in the Yard, he ordered his Clothes and Shirt to be torn off, had him tied by his Arms to a Mulberry-Tree, so high that his Feet could not touch the Ground, then he had him cudgell'd by his Servants with a Bull's Pizzle ; thus he served him every day for a Fortnight, 'till his Blood gush'd out thro' all the Passages of his Body. All this time, in the midst of these dreadful Torments, our blessed Martyr prayed to God, that out of his Mercy, he would forgive his Tormentors, he intreated them to pity his great Sufferings : at last, at the Instance of two Capuchins, *D'Herapine* ceased, for a time, to torment him after that manner, and employ'd him to carry Stones.

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But on the first of *April* the Bishop of *Valence* came to visit him, and being not able to pervert him, either by Promises or Threats, *D'Herapine* was so much enraged at it, that he ordered two of his Servants to cudgel him with the same Instrument, which they did with such Violence, and so long, that he was heard from the Streets adjacent to the Hospital. He was removed into another Dungeon, which was under the Place where *Mrs. De La Farelle* was, and so near, that they could hear one another. About two in the Morning he ask'd her who she was, and of what Province? When his Curiosity was satisfied, he exhorted her to Constancy and Perseverance, acquainted her with his own Sufferings, that he was in such low Condition that he could not live long, and that they were going to carry him into the Infirmary.

It is to be supposed, that *D'Herapine* had ordered his Servants to let him know when this good Man should lie at the Point of Death, for he came about that time with a Crucifix in his Hand, and would oblige him to kiss it; which refusing constantly to do, he, in a Rage, pulled him out of his Bed, dragged him upon the Floor, and threw him against the Wall with such a Violence, that he fractured his Skull, and so expired upon the Spot. Then he had his Corps tied to a Horse's Tail, and dragg'd three times round about the Garden, and threw it away without any Form of Burial. A Person who was an Eye-witness of these Barbarities, and whose Testimony may be depended on, hath certified this.

I shall subjoin here the Case of a Gentlewoman, who was my near Relation; she was about twenty Years of Age, married to an Advocate

Advocate in the Parliament of *Orange* ; she was mistaken for the Reverend Dr. *De Chambrun's* Wife, brought to *Valence*, and put into the Hands of the merciless *D'Herapine*, who, at the first sight, broke all her Teeth with a Stroke of a Bunch of Keys. The next day he stripp'd her stark naked, and hang'd her up by the Arm-pits, then whipt her till she was all over Blood. He continued this cruel Usage for three Weeks together, till she had lost the right Use of her Senses, which she never recovered fully afterwards. She was for six or seven Weeks in that House. When her Husband had found out where she was confined, he solicited for her Deliverance, which he obtained. She was brought back to *Orange*, from which she went out a little after the Peace of *Ryswick*, and retired to *Geneva*, where she died suddenly about eight Years after.

I believe, indeed, that *D'Herapine* went in some respects further than his Commission. I don't think, for Instance, that he had Orders to use the Sex with such Immodesty, as well as Inhumanity. Nevertheless, it was publickly known that he did. The Parliament of *Grenoble*, other inferiour Courts, the Bishop of *Valence*, &c. had at several times received bitter Complaints upon that Subject ; nay, these Complaints were brought to Court, and reached even the Ears of the most Christian King. Why then did they not put a stop to it ? Are we unreasonable or unjust when we conclude, according to the Maxim, *That he who can in any wise stop the Evil, and does not do it, is guilty of the same* ; that the King, the Court, the Parliament, the Bishops, &c. were as much guilty as *D'Herapine* of all the Excesses he committed against those put under

* E 4

his

his Care. This does not require any further Proof: Let us proceed to another Instance of the inhuman and cruel Spirit of Popery.

A R T I C L E IV.

Of the barbarous Usage the Reformed met with in the Gallies.

IF a Man who keeps no Bounds in the Punishments he inflicts, even upon Criminals, deserves to be deemed INHUMAN, what Name shall we bestow upon those who have inflicted the most cruel and barbarous Punishments on Men of Honour and Probity? Men, who have exposed themselves to all manner of Hardships, and forsaken all worldly Advantages, rather than to sin against God, or do any thing against their Conscience.

Criminals who have broke through all the Laws of God and Men, and deserved the severest Punishments the Law can inflict, have sometimes found Mercy from the Tribunals of Justice, but the poor Reformed of *France*, far from receiving either Favour or Mercy from their Judges or Jaylors, or any other that had Power over them, have met with the dreadfulest Effects of Hatred, and of the most bigotted and furious Zeal of their Enemies, who made it their daily Study to invent new Tortures to torment them.

To

* Illos ego crudeles vocabo, qui puniendi causam habent, sicut in *Phalari*, quem aiunt non quidem in homines innocentes, sed super humanum ac probabilem modum sœvisse. *Seneca De Clem. Lib. ii. Cap. 4. Edit. Par. apud Cramoisy.*

To give the Publick some Notion of the Justice of these Complaints, we shall begin with those Persons of Quality, who have been condemned to the cruel and infamous Punishment of the Gallies. It is not without Reason that I call it infamous, since, according to the Laws, none are condemned to it, but such as have rendred themselves unworthy to live in the Society of honest Men. The Supreme Tribunals would not suffer the inferiour Courts to condemn any of another Character to them; those Courts durst not commit an Injustice so contrary, not only to Laws, but also to Decency. But what Laws, Honour or Conscience do not allow, the Catholick Zeal has boldly authoriz'd, justify'd and practis'd.

The Gallies of *France* have not only been fill'd up with honest Commoners, (charg'd with no other Crime, than strictly adhering to Principles they were born and bred up in, and which appeared to them pure and holy, and agreeable to the Word of God) but even with many Persons, distinguished by their Birth, Merit, Character and Station in Society; such were the illustrious Messieurs *De Marolles* and *Le Feure*, the first one of the King's Council, the second an Advocate at *Chatel-Chinon*, both deserving Place among the most glorious Martyrs; the *Baron de Mont-beton*, and Mr. *De Salgas*, &c. whose Quality and Age commanded Respect from every one. Grey Hairs, which ought to have been exempted from such Punishments, were not at all regarded; their Hatred against Truth prevailed above all other Considerations; they loaded with Chains Persons sinking under the Burthen of Years, Men of sixty and seventy Years of Age have been condemned to such Pains and Labours, under which

Isaiah
xlvii. 6.

which the young, healthy, and strong have often sunk. We may indeed say of the new *Babylon*, what *Isaiah* said of the old, *Thou didst shew my People no Mercy; upon the Ancient bast thou very heavily laid thy Yoke.* The Ministers of the Gospel were not exempted from the Gallies, tho' their Education and Profession rendered them incapable of performing the part of Slaves. Mr. *Grimaudet*, formerly Minister in *Vivarais*, was forced to wear the Chain, notwithstanding the Weakness of his Constitution and old Age; and had it not been for his Infirmities, which render'd him incapable of plying the Oar, he had, as well as others, groan'd and died under the unmerciful hands of the Comites.

It was some time before, that all *Europe* saw with Horror a Company of Divines sent from *Hungary* to the Gallies of *Naples*, for preferring the Commands of the *King of Kings* before those of any earthly Prince, and the Generosity of Admiral *Ruyter* in releasing them will always be remembred with Gratitude.

When our Confessors arrived at *Marseilles*, they were stripp'd of their own Clothes, and had others given them, which were called the King's Coats. They are a red Surcoat of coarse Cloath, with a great Coat of the same, two Shirts, and two Pair of Breeches of very bad Linnen, a red Cap, and a Pair of coarse Stockings, the Chain making also a Part of their sad Accoutrements. Their Food was equal to their Dress: When in Port, they had coarse Bread, Water, and a few Beans; but, when on a Cruize, they had better Bread, a small Quantity of Wine in the Morning, and the same at Noon, or in the Evening. To render these blessed Sufferers Condition worse than that of Criminals,

Criminals, they were used with some Severities which others were exempted from; and to expose them the more to the Insults of the Publick, they wore blue Caps, instead of red, as a Mark of Distinction; they were forced to fetch Water for the whole Crew. Thus these Men of Honour were obliged to serve Fellows, whom they hardly would have admitted among their Servants. They were likewise obliged to work daily in the King's Store-houses, chain'd together two and two, but generally a Reformed and a Turk, every one devising new Methods to draw upon them the publick Scorn and Hatred, which succeeded so well, that there were few that did not abuse them one way or other. The wickedest and lewdest of the whole Crew were associated with them; these, by their Cursing, Swearing, Blaspheming, and other Discourse, continually afflicted them. The * *Argousins* * *An Under-Officer of the Galley.* were more averse to them than any of the rest. The † *Comites* looked on them as proper Objects for their Cruelties; a few Captains and † *Another Officer somewhat superior.* Commanders, who had Honour enough not to follow blindly the Church's bloody Maxims, were mov'd with Pity at these guiltless People's sufferings; all the rest took a Delight to incense the Under-Officers Cruelty: The Major himself not being asham'd to do a Comite's Function, and to cane these honest Men. The Missionaries and Chaplains of the Gallies signalized themselves by their inhuman Zeal, by provoking other People's Hatred, and heightning their Cruelty against the Confessors; and by several other Methods which they found out to torture them. Let us hear what one of these blessed Sufferers says upon this Subject.

‘ The Missionaries of *Marseilles*, who, very likely, had received full Power over us from
‘ the

' the King, behaved like Foxes for the first
 ' Year, but soon after took it in their Heads
 ' to fight against us like Lions. To cover their
 ' Malice, they pretended an Order had been
 ' sent them to preach on board several Gallies;
 ' I happened at that time to be on board
 ' a Galley called the *Old Reale*, which had no
 ' Captain; the Missionaries performed the Of-
 ' fice of Chaplains by Turns; they not only
 ' became Captains, but even Commanders by
 ' the Authority they usurped and exercised over
 ' the Reformed Slaves: Their Mission lasted
 ' about a Month. I shall not here relate their
 ' silly Discourses, nor their abusive Language
 ' against the Reformed in general, during which
 ' Time we were us'd civiller than ordinarily,
 ' thinking, to be sure, by their Sophistry, and
 ' feign'd Moderation, to ensnare us; but find-
 ' ing themselves deceived, they fell upon us
 ' like Lions. Among the rest was one *Mi-*
 ' *roair*, who said aloud, he would find Means
 ' to bring us to Compliance; he began with an
 ' Order to put us in Chains, separated one from
 ' another, forbidding to admit any one not be-
 ' longing to the Galley to speak to us. One
 ' Evening whilst we were at Prayers, this Man
 ' walking through the Coursey, looking on
 ' every side, saw me standing in my great Coat
 ' at the 'Oar's Ring, he ask'd, (as if he did
 ' not know me) who is that Man? sure he is
 ' one of the Reformed; ah! how well he de-
 ' serves to be cudgel'd. Not satisfied with
 ' having us all in Chains, in order to vex us
 ' the more, he, of his own Authority, order'd
 ' some of the inferiour Officers to shut us up
 ' every Night in a Place where they kept Sheep
 ' and Turkeys, through which all the Filth and
 ' Nastiness of the Galley run out. This Or-
 ' der was immediately executed, and all our
 ' Fellow-

‘ Fellow-Slaves, old and young, were obliged
‘ to lie in this Filth and Dung.

‘ The same Missionary return’d some Weeks
‘ after, and began to vex and torment us, or-
‘ dering, that if we did not alter our Thoughts,
‘ we should be shut up at Night in some other
‘ like Places. Finally, he, with some other
‘ Missionaries, and the Chaplains of the Gal-
‘ leys, sent their Complaints to Court about our
‘ Obstinacy, and petitioned for an Order to
‘ force us by all means imaginable to do what
‘ they called *our Duty*. The Order was granted,
‘ and sent to Mr. *De Monteaulieu*, chief Flag-
‘ Officer of the Galleys; which run thus, *That*
‘ *all pretended Reformed in the Galleys should*
‘ *be kneeling and uncover’d during Mass, with*
‘ *their Faces turn’d to the Stem, where their Di-*
‘ *vine Service was performed; and if they dis-*
‘ *obeyed, they should be bastinado’d to death.*
‘ This Order was notified to each of us, and
‘ executed by Mr. *De Bombet*, Major of the Gal-
‘ leys, with all imaginable Cruelty and Inhu-
‘ manity; which forc’d several to comply, and
‘ had not God inspired others with an undaun-
‘ ted Courage, as he did in the time of *Sbadrack*,
‘ *Mesbach* and *Abcdnego*, I do not know what
‘ would become of our poor floating Church.
‘ Where is the Man that would not tremble at
‘ the Sight of such a Torture, let him be ever so
‘ steadfast, or resigned to God’s Will, seeing him-
‘ self stark naked in the Hands of four Turks,
‘ who stretch him upon the Canon of the *Cour-*
‘ *sey*, and hold him so fast that he cannot stir,
‘ a mournful Silence being at this time obser-
‘ ved through the whole Galley? the Scene is
‘ so dismal and cruel, that the most profligate,
‘ obdurate Wretches cannot bear the Sight
‘ thereof. The Victim thus prepared, a Turk,
‘ who

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' who is pitch'd upon for the Execution, with
 ' a tough Wand, or a knotted Rope's End dip
 ' in the Sea beats his Body, till the Flesh
 ' swells some Inches, he performing his Of-
 ' fice the more willingly as he thinks it accept-
 ' able to his Prophet *Mabomet*, the Major look-
 ' ing on all the while without the least Con-
 ' cern. The most barbarous of all is, that after
 ' the Skin, and often the Flesh itself is tore
 ' off, the only Remedy they apply, is a little
 ' Vinegar and Salt mix'd together. Criminals
 ' who deserve the utmost Severity of the Law
 ' receive no more than 50 or 60 Lashes at one
 ' time; whereas our poor Confessors have re-
 ' ceived 100, nay 150, which Punishment was
 ' to be repeated every Day, till they were dead,
 ' or had promised to pull off their Cap. Mr. *De*
 ' *Bombet* said, this was the King's Order,
 ' which however was never executed in its full
 ' Extent; I can't tell why, for no body died
 ' under the Punishment, tho' often brought to
 ' the Brink of Death. What a dreadful Mission
 ' was this! Sometimes the Blows which I recei-
 ' ved rais'd a little Scurf on my Back, and
 ' then others fetch'd out the Matter, which
 ' being turned to Corruption, and expos'd to
 ' the scorching Heat of the Sun, run down to
 ' my Thighs, and caus'd a great Number of
 ' large purulent Boils; these often broke thro'
 ' the violent Motion of tugging at the Oar,
 ' which Fatigue must of course be very great;
 ' for one must rise to fetch his Strokes, then
 ' fall back again almost on his Back: So that
 ' in all Seasons, through the continual and vio-
 ' lent Motion of his Body, the Sweat trickling
 ' down his harass'd Limbs; these Boils are
 ' likewise digesting, running down his Legs to
 ' his Feet, and to the Ground on which he
 ' stands

stands. But lest I should be thought to magnify, I shall forbear speaking any further on this Subject. If I am asked, Whether my Sores were bath'd, or otherwise taken care of? I answer, that this is never done, unless it be to those who receive the Bastinado on the Coursey, &c.'

I shall now subjoin to this Account the Names of some of those blessed Confessors who suffered the Bastinado in the Galleys, for refusing to kneel down before *Baal*.

UPON THE DAUPHINE GALLEY.

Messieurs *Anthony Talon*, *Peter Sauset*, *Abel* and *Stephen D'Amoin*, Lord of *Bousquet*, two Brothers, *James Fausset*, *John Bera* a *Piemontese*, *Frederic Bonnet*, and *Thomas Bernard*; some of them underwent that cruel Punishment several Times.

UPON THE AMAZON.

Messieurs *James Dufour* 120 Blows, *James Gagneux*, *Bartbolomew Rossignol*, *John Sesmene*, *John Daudet*, and *John Flosse*.

UPON THE QUEEN.

Messieurs *Bertrand Aurd*, *Peter Tromperan*, *Peter Gay*, *David Vole*, *Peter Richard* twice.

UPON THE GALLEY MADAM.

Messieurs *David Comte* and *Moses Renaud*.

UPON THE PEARL.

Messieurs *Francis Augier*, twice, *James Piedmarin* twice; and they would have undergone a third, had not the Surgeon affirmed, that certainly they would die under the Punishment.

UPON THE HEROINE.

Messieurs *Nicholas Robline* and *Stephen Cros*.

UPON

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UPON THE FAME.

Messieurs *Israël Boucbet*, four times; *Lewis Issoire*, *John Viaud*, and *Peter Sarvet*. This last died of it.

UPON THE MAGNANIME.

Messieurs *Alexander Astier*, *Simon Pineau*, *Peter Rommezon*, *Anthony Capdur*, *John Martin*, *William Bon-bote*, each of them twice in one Day. *Cadpur* and *Astier* underwent it a third time. *Daniel Arfac* and *Gabriel Lauron* underwent the same Punishment.

UPON THE SUPERBE.

Messieurs *James Vignes*, and *Francis Serres*.

UPON THE GALANTE.

Messieurs *John Soulage* twice, *John Durand* and *Elias Picbot*.

UPON THE FAVOURITE.

Messieurs *Elias Francis Le Doux*, twice, *Elias Maurin*, thrice in two Days, whereby his Flesh was quite mangled, and his Strength wholly exhausted.

UPON THE FORTUNE.

Messieurs *Peter Serres*, now living at *Paddington*, *Anthony Grange*, *Andrew Peloquier*, they three twice in two Days; *Michael Chabert*, tho' he lately had one of his Legs broke at the Siege of *Tangier*, underwent a cruel Bastinado before he was cured, and *Clement Patonnier*.

UPON THE WARRIOR.

Messieurs *Peter Carriere*, twice in two Days, *John Cardan*, — *L'Hostalet*, twice in two Days.

UPON THE FAIR.

Messieurs *Peter Quet*, *Abel Commeau*, *John Cazalet*, 110 Blows; *James Rowland*, 120, — *Espaze*, the same.

I may very easily increase this Catalogue ; but I shall end it with the cruel and barbarous Usage Mr. *Sabbatier* met with from Mr. *De Montfort*, Intendant of *Marseilles*. There was a brotherly Correspondence carried on between Messieurs *De Salgas*, *Sabbatier*, *John Serres*, and some other Protestant Slaves, to and from the Hospital of *Marseilles* and the Gallies, they sent to one another Letters of Comfort, Foreign Gazettes, Money, Linnen, &c. which they conveyed sewed up in a Cushion. It happened one Day, that Mr. *Serres* had forgot to take away the Needle ; and as it was hanging to the Cushion, the Secret was thereby discovered. Mr. *De Montfort* being informed thereof, sent for Mr. *Sabbatier*, and threatned him with Death if he did not confess who had written the Letters. *Sabbatier* modestly answered, That he should be very ungrateful did he bring his Friends into trouble by his Confession ; that his Person was at his Disposal, but he desired to be excused as to the rest. Whereupon the Intendant told him, he would find a Way to make him confess ; whereupon he sent for some *Turks*, and having Mr. *Sabbatier* stripp'd stark naked, they beat him unmercifully with Cudgels and Ropes-ends dipt in the Sea ; they continued to torment him in that manner for three Days together, and at last *Montfort* himself turned Executioner, and beat him cruelly with his Cane ; and seeing that he was near expiring, he sent him into a Dungeon ; he served Mr. *De Lansoniere* after the same manner, and upon the same Account, who died soon after of his Bruises, in an Hospital.

I shall end this Article with these four Observations :

*F

1. That

1. That these cruel Usages were quite against all sort of Laws Divine and Human; the Reformed were condemned to the Gallies for refusing to comply with the *Roman Religion*; the Gallies was their Punishment; they ought to have been treated like other Slaves, and not worse, only for Neglect of Duty, or doing any other thing contrary to the Discipline of the Gallies; but it was against all Rules of Equity to abuse them so barbarously for declining to join with them in any part of their idolatrous Worship, since that was the very thing for which they were sent there: Nevertheless they were ordered, on pain of the Bastinado, to bow before the Host, and to hear Mass; so they received a double, treble, &c. Punishment for one and the same Fault, if it had been one; whereas the *Turks* were allowed Liberty whilst Mass was saying, to go into the Caïque or Long-Boat, to divert themselves, and were never molested on account of Religion.

2. That nothing has been done against the Reformed in the Gallies, but what was by the Court's Orders. I don't say that *Lewis XIV.* was personally informed of these things, but I mean his Council, and the Officers of his Court, as appears plainly by Major *Bomber's* own Confession. No doubt but the Disappointments of the *Papists* in *England*, who at that time were always plotting against the Government, being backed by the Court of *France*, (whose Endeavours for King *James's* Restoration are too well known to be here mentioned) were a great Incentive to molest and persecute the poor *Reformed* groaning under their Tyranny.

3. I do not know how it came to pass, but it is certain that, from the Year 1701, the *Reformed* condemned to the Gallies for Religion, have

have not been so severely treated as they were before.

Lastly, We most gratefully remember the gracious Intercession of several Princes and States in behalf of those generous Assertors of the Truth; but more especially of the most Glorious Queen ANNE and Queen CAROLINE; at whose Instances a great Number of them have been set at Liberty from time to time, viz. 136 in 1713, 70 in 1714, and about 120 at several times during the Reign of King GEORGE I. &c.

A R T I C L E V.

Of TRANSPORTATION.

THE ancient *Romans* condemned to Transportation into some Island, or other remote Country, those who had embezzled the publick Treasure, or the Gold of the Temples. Under the Christian Emperors they condemned to the same Punishment the Hereticks, or those that were deemed such. That Custom had been out of Use for several Ages; but our Persecutors renewed it in the last Century, and condemned to Transportation abundance of People, without any regard for their Age, Sex, or Condition, who were guilty of no other Crime but of Steadiness and Perseverance in their Religion, which they thought to be conformable to the Holy Word of God. After having been exposed to a severe Trial, when their Constancy could not be overcome by the Tediousness of a long Captivity, nor by the Tortures of the Dragoons, they were condemned

to be transported to the *French Plantations* in *America*, and accordingly sent to *Marseilles*.

I have observed above, that they had no Regard for Age, Sex, or Condition. Not for Age, for in the Ship called the *CONCORD*, which sailed from *Provence* on the 17th of *September* 1687, Captain *Guigue* Commander, there were Women eighty Years old, one of whom died in the Passage; not for Sex, for in the same Ship the Number of Women was equal to the Men, which made up in all 90 Prisoners; not for Condition or Quality, for, besides several Freemen, there were Attorneys, Gentlemen, and even Noblemen, amongst whom was the Baron of *Verliac*.

They had many great Hardships to undergo in their Voyage. First of all, they were so crowded, that they could hardly stir, and were almost stifled. In the Ship called *OUR LADY OF GOOD HOPE*, there was 100 Reformed Prisoners, as many Popish Slaves out of Service, 35 Men of the Crew, 23 Soldiers, and 6 Passengers, she sailed from *Marseilles* on the 12th of *March* 1687, Captain *Peissonnet* Commander. Secondly, The Voyage was long, which much increased the Nuisance, and the Danger of being so crowded, which could hardly be born for a whole Day on any other Occasion; for this last Ship was ten Weeks before they could put in to *Martinico*, and the *CONCORD* was four Months in her Voyage. Thirdly, Amidst so many Troubles, Fears and Dangers, they were not allowed to comfort themselves with singing of Psalms, for Captain *Guigue* threatned them with Death, if they did not desist.

Deprived of all manner of Comfort, on the 17th of *May*, about two in the Morning, the

LADY OF GOOD HOPE was split against the Rocks, about two Leagues off Land, and 20 Leagues from the Place where they were to land, thro' the Carelessness or Ignorance of the Captain and the Pilot; 120 Persons were drowned, amongst whom there were 37 Reformed, viz. 16 Men and 21 Women that underwent the same Fate. When the rest were landed, the Reformed Captives were brought before the Count of *Blenac* Governour of the Island, they were quartered by his Orders upon the Natives, who entertained them as kindly as they could. Happy would they have been, had they been suffered to live quietly amongst those harmless *Americans*; but the Planters, the Governour and the Officers were *French* Papists, and the Spirit of Popery was no less fierce and furious here than in *Europe*. The *Jesuits* dispersed every where, that they might settle their Tyranny in all Parts of the World, came to visit Messieurs *Serres* of *Montpellier*, *De Lerpiniere* of *Saumur* and *Pellat* of *Sommieres* that were lodged in a Barn; they endeavoured to seduce them, but being not able to prevail, they caused them to be shut up in a Dungeon, which was made as an Oven, wherein they could not enter but by creeping upon their Hands and Feet, and were obliged to lie down in it amidst their own Filth, having no other Place to ease themselves in, the Chimnies of the *Corps de Guard* closing the Bottom of that Oven, the Heat was so excessive, that jointly with the Stench and Infection, it rendered the Place intolerable; so that after two Days, being not able to bear any longer, they yielded to the Temptation, and subscribed a kind of an Abjuration. Few Days after two of them were transported to *St. Domingo*, where

*F 3

they

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they had Liberty to work for their Bread; they improved this Opportunity for making their Escape, which after many Accidents, and great Troubles, they perfected about the latter End of the Year 1687. Several others have had the like good Fortune of making their Escape, but many more have perished in those Countries; so that, out of 3000 that were transported, not above 200 have escaped. It is true, that those who have arrived in those Islands after the three Gentlemen above-named, were not treated so severely as they had been, their Consciences were at Liberty, tho', as to their Bodies, they were obliged to work hard, to till the Ground, &c. to earn their Bread, and had not the Comfort to be together in the same Place, but they parted the Father from his Son, the Husband from his Wife, &c. and sent them into Places far distant one from the other.

A R T I C L E VI.

Of those that have been put to Death.

TH O' it seem'd that at first our Persecutors aimed at the Destruction of our Souls rather than of our Bodies, nevertheless even that kind of Moderation was but of a short Continuance; provok'd at our Steadiness, they carried things to the last Extremities. True it is, there was no general Massacre ordered against us, as in the former Times, * but several private

* What I say here is but a Judgment of Charity, for if we are to credit Father *La Chaize's Biographer*, that profligate Jesuit had so far prevailed with *Lewis XIV.* that he

private ones have been perpetrated in several Places by the Court's Orders, and several Persons of every Age, Sex and Quality, have been condemned to Death, and executed juridically.

Let us begin with the private Massacres. The King's Declaration of the 1st of July 1686, forbidding all Religious Assemblies, besides the *Roman Catholics*, on pain of Death, occasion'd many such ones, especially in *Poitou*, *Languedoc*, *Dauphiné*, and other Southern Provinces; for, tho' that Declaration ordered not to fire upon those who were met assembled, nevertheless the Marquis of *La Trousse*, the Intendant of *Bâville*, and others who were charged to see the King's Edicts and Declarations executed in those Provinces, exceeding their Orders, commanded the Troops which they sent in quest of these Assemblies, to fire upon them, if it was necessary, and to hang upon the spot five or six of the most guilty, and to bring the rest Prisoners. And, lest I should be thought to impose upon the Reader, I shall here insert a Circular Letter of the said *Marquis* to the Officers of the Troops quarter'd in *Languedoc*, dated at *Montpelier*, the 29th of *March* 1686.

‘ Whatever Care has been taken hitherto to
‘ disperse the Assemblies which the Fugitive
*F 4 ‘ Reformed,

he had persuaded him to consent to a general Massacre, which was to be executed on a certain Day of the Year 1684. The Monarch had been so far bewitched by the Villain, that he had already subscribed the necessary Orders for that barbarous Execution, when the Prince of *Condé* having received Information thereof by the Duke of *Montausier*, came Post from *Chantilly*, where he us'd to live, and cast himself at the King's Feet, and by his Remonstrances and Intreaties, obliged that Prince to revoke his bloody Orders. *Hist. du Pere la Chaise, Jesuite & Confesseur du Roy Louis XIV. pag. 228.*

' Reformed, and some new Converts have held
 ' in this Province, it hath not yet been possible
 ' to effect it. And as it is of Consequence for
 ' the King's Service entirely to extirpate them,
 ' I desire you would leave no Stone unturn'd
 ' for that Purpose. You may promise as far as
 ' an hundred Pistoles to whoever will give you
 ' notice of an Assembly, time enough for you
 ' to fall upon them with the Troops under
 ' your Command. One thing you must take
 ' great Notice of is, that they take care to
 ' place Centinels about a League from the
 ' Place of their Meeting; so that it will be pru-
 ' dent for you to take the necessary Precau-
 ' tions to seize those Centinels; and when you
 ' shall have reached the Place of the Assembly,
 ' it will be proper to knock down some of them,
 ' and to apprehend as many as possible, out of
 ' which Number you shall cause five or six of the
 ' guiltiest to be hanged, and the rest you shall
 ' send to Prison. Observe, that you must not
 ' fire without Necessity, &c. Then he promises
 ' 100 Louis²ors for a Preacher, and 200 for a
 ' Minister; he commands them to be strict,
 ' diligent and watchful, lest any Body should
 ' escape, and subscribes himself their most obe-
 ' dient humble Servant,' L. A. TROUSSE.

Tho' they were not to fire without Necessity,
 nevertheless the Officers, to whom these Or-
 ders were directed, were not over-scrupulous to
 stick to the latter, they gave the greatest Ex-
 tension to these Cases of Necessity prescribed
 unto them, and never failed to begin their Exe-
 cution, by firing upon the Assemblies as soon
 as they were at the Musket-Shot's Distance,
 whereby several hundreds were destroyed with-
 out Resistance in a short time: But, if they

were

were so furious before the Court own'd their Proceedings, it is easy to imagine to what Excesses they carried their Rage after the King's Declaration issued out in 1689, whereby he ordered, not only the Troops, but the Peasants, and every one to fire upon them which they should meet assembled for their religious Worship. I dare say, that, by these means, they have massacred, at several Times and Places, from the Year 1685, to the Year 1715, when *Lewis XIV.* died, above 8000 People in that manner: But the greatest Slaughter has been in the Provinces of the high and low *Languedoc*, especially after the Year 1589. Besides those unfortunate Persons who suffered after that Way for their Religion, a great Number of all Ranks, Sex and Age, suffered Death by the Hand of the common Executioner upon the same Account. I shall but just name some of the most remarkable.

Mr. *Chamier*, Advocate at *Montelimar*, was broken alive upon the Wheel before his own House. He was Great-Grandson to the Reverend and Celebrated Dr. *Chamier*, whereof mention has been made under the Reign of *Henry IV.*

The Reverend Mr. *Hamel*, Minister of *Soyon* in *Dauphiné*, was broken alive upon the Wheel, in the 72d Year of his Age at *Tournon*.

Mr. *Teissier*, † Viguiier of *Durfort*, was † *A Magistrate.* hang'd at *La Salle*.

The Reverend Mr. *Rey*, hang'd at *Beaucair*. As the Provincial Synods had been interdicted in low *Languedoc* from the Year 1681, he could not receive in Form the Imposition of Hands. He was but 24 Years of Age when he suffered Martyrdom.

— De

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— *De Tommeirolles*, of the House of *St. Julien* Esq; a young Gentleman of 17 Years of Age, beheaded at *Vigan*.

On the same Day, and at the same Place, Messieurs *Antericu* and *Hilaire*, being not above 17 Years old, *Daudé*, *Portalez* and *Coste*, were hang'd; as were likewise Mistresses *Balzint*, *Delon* and *Gaches*.

Few Months after Messieurs *Barbut* Merchant at *Nimes*, and *Mibassé* his Factor, received the Crown of Martyrdom in that City, where they were hanged.

Messieurs *Meirieu*, and *Sallendre* of *La Salle*, were made Partakers of the same Glory few Days after at *Ledignan*. Mr. *Emmanuel D'Algue* and *Raques De Cardelles* Esq; received the same Crown at *Nimes*.

Mr. *Guizard* of *Nerac*, aged 70 Years, was burnt alive at that Place for having spit out the Host which the Priest had forced into his Mouth. A Woman was condemned to the same Death for the same Fact; but having appealed to the Parliament of *Toulouse*, the Sentence was mitigated, and she was hanged.

Mr. *Guerin*, a Child of about 12 Years old, and no more, born at *Anduze*, was condemned by the Intendant, namely, Mr. *De Basville*, to be hanged and executed, for no other Crime, than for having been to say Prayers from House to House.

— *D'Helis* Esq; a Gentleman of *Trieves* in *Dauphiné*, was taken upon the Road as he endeavoured to make his Escape out of the Kingdom with Mrs. *D'Helis* his own Daughter. Mrs. *De la Chatre*, Mr. *De la Baume*, a young Gentleman, Son to Mr. *De Villette*; Mr. *Pirachon*, Mr. *Galeau*, and an old Woman, Wife to a Farmer of Mr. *Du Collet*. They were brought

brought back to *Grenoble*, Mr. *Perackon* excepted, who had the good Luck to escape. All Means were put in use to oblige them to change; but their Promises and Threats availing not, Mr. *D'Helis* was condemned by the Parliament of *Grenoble* to be beheaded, and was executed in that City. Mr. *De La Baume*, *Galeau* and the Farmer's Wife were condemn'd to be hanged. This last was executed at the same Time and Place with Mr. *D'Helis*, and the two first were brought and executed at *Mens*, a Borough seven Leagues distant from *Grenoble*. The two young Ladies were sentenc'd to be shut up with Mr. *D'Helis's* Daughter in the Nunnery of *St. Ursula*, and Mrs. *De La Chatre* in the Tower called *Dauphine*.

I might record here several hundreds more that were put to Death upon the same account, only from the Year 1683 to 1687, throughout all the Provinces of *France*; for those above-mentioned were only of *Languedoc* and *Dauphiné*, besides thousands of others that were executed for Religion's sake from that time to *Lewis XIV's* Death: And, amongst others, the Reverend Mr. *Brousson* broken alive upon the Wheel at *Montpelier*, in the Year 1698. But these Examples are sufficient for my Purpose, not designing to go much further than the Year of the Revocation of the Edict, and much less to write our own Martyrology. I shall observe only, that all those who suffered Death, were left to their Choice to redeem their Life and Liberty, at the Cost of their Conscience, if they would but renounce their Religion: Nay, great Rewards and Preferments were offered to them, if they would but outwardly renounce their Religion; but they stood unmoveable, esteeming the Reproach *Heb. xi.*
of 26.

of Christ greater Riches than the Treasures in Egypt: For they had Respect unto the Remuneration of the Reward. Another thing much worthy of our Attention, is not only their Constancy, but their Submission and Resignation to the Will of God, *Rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer Shame for his Name,* but their Humility and Meekness towards their Judges and Executioners, which commanded the Admiration even of their Persecutors, and oftentimes drew Tears from their very Eyes; being Imitators of their godly Master, *They were led as Sheep to the Slaughter, and like Lambs dumb before their Shearer, so opened they not their Mouths,* only for praising God, and blessing Men, even their Enemies. True it is, that they were not gagged, as in the former times, to hinder them from speaking, but they devised another means for hindering their Voice from being heard by the People; they caused them to march to the Place of Execution amidst the Drums of a whole Regiment, and sometimes of two; and when they were arrived at the Place, the Drums surrounded the Scaffold or the Gibbet, and were continually beating during the time of the Execution. Must we not own that this Proceeding betrayed in the *Papists* a great Mistrust of the Goodness of their Cause, since they were afraid lest the dying Speeches of those blessed Martyrs should make too deep an Impression upon the Minds of the People?

A R T I C L E VII.

Of the Dragging of Corpses after Death.

WHEN our Persecutors had not been able to overcome the Constancy of our dear Brethren and Sisters during their Life, they revenged themselves upon their Corpses after Death. The Priests, provoked to the highest Degree at the Resistance they had met with in the Habitations of the sick Reformed, when they had been to force them to receive the Sacrament, went to make their Declarations before the Judges or the Magistrates of the Place, who went into the House of the Deceased, seized their Corpse, and had it conveyed to Jail, where they were tried, and sentenced to be drawn upon a Hurdle by the common Executioner, and to be thrown in the Highway, or in a Field, there to be devoured by Dogs or Birds of Prey, in Consequence of the King's Declaration issued out the 29th of *April* 1686.

Accordingly Mr. *Maison-neuve Gobron* was brought into Jail after his Death, with Mrs. *Duval*, and Mrs. *Boisette*, who died about the same time at *Vitré*; their Corpses were open'd, and thrown into the City Ditches, where Dogs and Birds of Prey fed upon them.

— *D^r Rocher Ravenel* Esq; being dead at his Country House, aged 77 Years, was brought in a Cart to *Vitré*, his Corpse was opened and salted, and put into a Dungeon, but for all that it putrified, and the Stench was such, that the Jaylor complained thereof; whereupon a Gentleman, one of his Friends, obtained Leave to bury him in his Garden.

Madam

Madam Du Rouillé, a Gentlewoman of *Alençon*, who had abjured for avoiding Persecution, having sincerely repented on her Death-bed, and refused to receive the Sacrament, her Corpse was thrown out at the Window into the Street stark naked, and put a-cross upon a Horse, and carried in that Condition without the City, amidst the Insults of a brutish Mob, and thrown upon a Dunghill.

Mrs. *Ramé*, an elderly Widow of 60 Years, being dead at *Soubize* in November 1686, her Corpse was seized, and before Sentence had passed upon it, they plucked out the Eyes and Tongue, cut off her Nose, and Fingers off her Hands, and Toes off her Feet, also her Lips and Ears, and committed upon it several other Villanies which cannot be named.

The Lord *Robert D'Ullly*, Viscount of *Nivion*, who had been Lieutenant-General of the King's Armies, being dead in the Profession of the Reformed Religion, was drawn upon a Hurdle by the common Executioners, and

But two of the chief Magistrates of the Province having upbraided the Deceased's Gardener with Ungratefulness to his Master, for that he suffered his Corpse to lie in that Condition, without being buried; he told them he could not do otherwise without exposing himself to some great Mischief, but that, if they would take him under their Protection, and give him a Licence under their Hands, he would perform his duty; whereupon, having consulted together, they granted him his Request, and he went at the Head of about 400 Men which he had gathered together, took away the Corpse and buried it decently, singing the 79th Psalm.

These few Instances which I have pick'd out of a vast Number of others of the like kind, are sufficient to show to what a pitch of Inhumanity, as well as Indecency, the Spirit of Popery may carry Men prepossessed with it. The same Declaration was renewed by another of the same Prince, issued out on the eighth of *March*, 1715. N. S.

Tho' the Facts contained in this Appendix have been called in question, during *Lewis XIV's* Life, by a certain Set of mercenary Scribblers; nay, tho' some of them have carried their Impudence so far as to deny that there had been any Persecution at all in *France* (1), or that any other but fair means had been put

(1) *The Bishop of Meaux, in his Pastoral-Letter of the 24th of March, 1686, to the New Catholics of his Diocese; 'None of you, says he, has suffered any Violence, either in his Person, or in his Goods . . . Far from having suffered any Torture, you were not so much as threatened with it. The other Bishops tell me the same Thing upon that Subject: but as to you, my Brethren, I say nothing but what you know as well as my self. You are come peaceably unto us, you know that.'*

in use to convert the Reformed, (2) Or that any Reformed had suffered on Account of his Religion, but only for being rebellious to the King (3). We have had, since the Death of

(2) Maimbourg. *Hist. of the Pontific. of St. Lann. in the Epist. Dedic.* says to the King, ' That he has the Soul, not only of a great King, but likewise of a great Pontif. And goes on so, ' Who can question that, after having seen with what Ardour, with what Means equally weak and efficacious, you yourself have taken care, with a Zeal worthy the holiest of all the Bishops, to bring back to the Catholick Church, your Reformed Subjects? But is it not what the whole World admire at this Day, when they consider what wonderful Means you have put in use for extirpating Heresy out of the Most Catholick Kingdom, IN SO LITTLE A TIME, WITHOUT NOISE, WITHOUT VIOLENCE, WITHOUT SHEDDING OF BLOOD, tho' it was established and maintained for above 170 Years.

(3) But the Impudence of the most infamous BRUEIS goes beyond all Imagination, he was an Apostate of some Learning, a great deal of Wit, but of bad Morals, and of no Religion. He, in his Answer to the Complaints of the Protestants, published by the reverend Mr. *Claude*, calls in question whether the Reformed of France have undergone any Persecution at all, or no, and boldly asserts the Negative; that is to say, they have not suffered on Account of their Religion, but for not obeying the King's Orders, who commanded them to turn Catholicks. In the first Place, he supposes that the Word *PERSECUTION* includes in itself Tortures and Death, that they, both together, are the only true Characters of a Persecution; for so he speaks, p. 182 of his Answer. ' Let one take the trouble to read all the Places of the Gospel, where mention is made of Persecution, he will find the true Characters which the Holy-Ghost gives us thereof; he will find that it is always represented unto us under the Notion of Death and Tortures, and never under that of Deprivation of Honours, Goods, Estates, Commodities, &c. and p. 185, ' J. Christ, says he, has not included, under the Word Persecution, even Injuries, Reproaches, and the Deprivation of Goods, &c.' Then, having related a Text of the Gospel where J. Christ had foretold that his Disciples should be delivered unto Death, ' Lo! says he, the Character of Persecution. But if we read Mat. v. 11. x. 17. &c. xxiv. 9. Mark xiii. 9, &c. Luke xxi. 12. &c. Heb. xi. 36, &c. and

of that Prince, the Satisfaction to see the Truth of these Matters of Fact fully acknowledged; even by those who had an Interest to deny it. The Duke of Orleans had no sooner taken upon him the Administration of the Government, but the Court's Sentiments were quite altered; and even the Clergy themselves, *who commonly are not the most zealous Assertors of Toleration*, blamed the Conduct of the late Ministry, and owned, *that considering every thing only in a political View, the late Persecution was directly opposite to the true Interest of the State*: and at this time; whoever should deny, even in France; that the late King has violently persecuted, without any just Cause; his Reformed Subjects, would be deemed a Lunatick. Nevertheless, tho' the Court and all the Kingdom were very sensible that the Loss which the said Kingdom had suffered by the last Persecution; was the greatest it could ever sustain; the Duke Regent was no sooner dead, but the Jesuits prevailing in the King's Council, they obliged and 600 other Places, we shall find that the Word is of a much larger Extent than this Man pretends. In the second place, the Author affirms, in p. 103, 104, 153, 154, 180, 181, &c. That the King's Declarations and Edicts inflicted no corporal Punishment, &c. on the Reformed, only on account of their Religion; and that what some of them have suffered were only wholesome Corrections; inflicted on them because of their Rebellion, &c. I vow that it is almost impossible for me to refrain my Indignation against such a profligate Wretch; by the same Rule, *Jeremiab, Dabiel*, and many other Prophets and godly Men under the Old Testament, the Apostles and the first Christians were then so many Rebels against their Sovereigns, and their Martyrdom must be considered as a wholesome and seasonable Correction for restraining others from following their Example. Well and good! But let it be our constant Rule to be their Imitators, and to be, as they have been, *steadfast and unmoveable, always abounding in the Work of the Lord, knowing certainly that our Labour is not in Vain in the Lord.*

History of the Reformation in FRANCE.

that Prince, to issue out a new Declaration; which, under the show of Mitigation, contains in itself whatever was the most severe in all the late King's Edicts, Declarations, &c. It bears Date the 14th of May 1724, and is as follows.

The KING's Declaration concerning Religion.

Given at Versailles, May the 14th, 1724.

LEWIS, by the Grace of GOD, King of France and Navarre; To all who these Presents shall see, Greeting. Of all the great Designs which the late King, our most Honour'd Lord, and Great Grandfather, hath formed during the Course of his Reign, we have had none more at heart, than that which he had form'd entirely to extirpate Heresy throughout his Kingdom, to which he hath indefatigably applied himself to the very last Moment of his Life. That we might be enabled to carry on an Undertaking so worthy his Zeal and Piety, as soon as we have reached the Years of our Majority, our first Care has been to order all the Edicts, Declarations, and Decrees of Council given on this Subject, to be laid before us, to renew all their Dispositions, and to enjoin all our Officers to have them observed with the greatest Punctuality: But we have been informed that the Execution thereof has been neglected, many Years since, especially in the Provinces which have been afflicted with the Plague, and in which are found a greater Number of our Subjects, who have hitherto professed the pretended Reformed Religion, by the false and dangerous Impressions which some
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of them, not sincerely re-united to the *Catbolick, Apostolical* and *Roman Church*, and encouraged by foreign Persuasions, have been willing secretly to insinuate under our Minority; which has obliged us to renew our Attention on so important an Object. We have found out, that the principal Abuses which have crept in, and which require a speedy Remedy, chiefly consist in unlawful Assemblies, the Education of Children, and the Obligation all those are under, who have any publick Employment, to profess the *Catbolick, Apostolical* and *Roman Religion*, the Punishments inflicted on those who relapse, and the Celebration of Marriages, on which we have resolved plainly to declare our Intentions. For which Reasons, by the Advice of our Council, and of our own special Grace, full Power and Regal Authority, we have said and ordained, and by these Presents sign'd with our own Hand, do say and ordain, and such is our Will and Pleasure:

Article 1. That the *Catbolick, Apostolical* and *Roman Religion* be alone professed in our Kingdom, Countries and Territories under our Obedience; forbidding all our Subjects, of what Estate, Quality or Condition soever, to profess any other Religion besides the said *Catbolick*, and to assemble for that purpose in any Place, and under any Pretence whatever, on pain, for Men, of the Gallies for ever; and for Women, of being shorn and shut up for ever in such Places as our Judges shall think proper; with Confiscation of the Goods of either, and even on pain of Death for such as shall meet in Arms.

2. Being inform'd that several Preachers have, and do daily arise in our Kingdom, whose only Employment is to stir up the People

to Rebellion, and to turn them from the Exercise of the *Catbolick, Apostolick* and *Roman* Religion, we order, that all such Preachers, as shall have made Assemblies, as shall have preach'd or discharg'd any other Function therein, shall be punished with Death, as the Declaration of the Month of *July* 1686 orders it, for the Ministers of the pretended Reformed Religion; and the said Penalty of Death shall not for the future be deemed comminatory. We forbid all our Subjects to receive the said Ministers or Preachers, to give them any Retreat, Succour and Assistance, and to have any Communication, either directly or indirectly with them. We order those who shall have any Notice thereof, immediately to discover them to the Officers of those Places; the whole on pain, in case of Failure, of the Gallies for ever for Men; and for Women, on pain of being shorn, and shut up for Life in such Places as our Judges shall think most proper, and the Goods of both to be confiscated.

3. We order all our Subjects, and especially those who have heretofore professed the pretended Reformed Religion, or who were born of Parents who professed it, to have all their Children baptized in the Parish Churches wherein they dwell, within twenty-four Hours after their Birth, unless they obtain Leave from the Archbishops or Bishops of their Diocese to put off the Ceremony of Baptism for Reasons of Consequence. We enjoin the Midwives, and others who assist the Women in their Delivery, to inform the Curates of the Places of the Childrens Birth, and to our Officers, and Justices to take care of this, and to punish the Delinquents with Fines, or greater Penalties, according to the Exigency of the Case.

4. As to the Education of Children of Persons who formerly professed the pretended Reformed Religion, or who were born of Parents professing it, we will, that the Edict of the Month of *January* 1686, and the Declarations of the 13th of *December* 1698, and 16th of *October* 1700, be executed in all their Extent. And adding to them, we forbid all our said Subjects to send their Children to be educated out of the Kingdom, unless they have first receiv'd Leave from us by writing, sign'd by one of our Secretaries of State; which we shall not grant without being sufficiently informed of the Parents being good Catholicks; and in case of Failure in this Article, they shall be subject to a Fine which shall be proportioned to the said Childrens Father and Mother's Abilities: And nevertheless it shall be no less than the Sum of 6000 Livres, and shall be continued yearly during the said Childrens Stay in foreign Countries, notwithstanding our Prohibitions; to which we order our Judges constantly to have an eye.

5. We will, that School-masters and Mistresses, as much as possible, be established in all Parishes where there are none, for the Instruction of the Children of both Sexes in the principal Mysteries and Duties of the *Catholick, Apostolick* and *Roman* Church, to bring them to Mass every working Day as much as possible, giving them all the necessary Instructions on that Subject, and to take care that they be present at Divine Service on *Sundays* and *Holidays*; as also, that they may learn to read, and even to write, to such as shall have occasion for it, the whole as it shall be ordained by the Archbishops and Bishops, conformable to the 25th Article of the Edict of 1695, concerning

Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction. To that End we order, that in those Places where there are no other Funds, the Sum necessary for the said Masters and Mistresses Establishment may be raised on the Inhabitants to the Amount of 150 Livres for the Masters, and 100 Livres for the Mistresses, and that the Letters requisite for that Purpose be delivered out without any Charges, on Notice given us by the Archbishops and Bishops of the Diocese, and the Commissioners stationed in our Provinces for the Execution of our Orders.

6. We command all Fathers, Mothers, Guardians and others, entrusted with the Education of Children, especially of those whose Parents professed the pretended Reformed Religion, or were born of pretended Reformed Parents, to send them to the Schools and Catechisms till the Age of 14 ; and even for those who are above that Age to 20, to the Instructions which are given every *Sunday* and *Holiday*, except it be Persons in a Condition to be able or obliged to have them instructed at home, or send them to the College, or to put them in Monasteries, or regular Commonalties. We enjoin the Curates to watch with the greatest Attention on the said Children's Instruction in their Parishes, even with regard to those who shall not go to the Schools. We exhort and command the Archbishops and Bishops diligently to enquire about it ; ordering the Persons the most remarkable for their Birth or Offices, to present them the Children which they have at their Houses, when the Archbishops and Bishops shall require it in the Course of their Visitations, to give them an account of the Instruction which they shall have received, in matters of Religion. And we enjoin our Judges, Attorneys, and Justices, to make all
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the necessary Diligences, Perquisitions and Ordinances for the Execution of our Will as to this, and to punish those who shall neglect to observe it, or shall be so rash as to fail in it in any manner whatever, by Fines, which shall be executed by *Proviso*, notwithstanding all Appeal, to whatever Sum they amount.

7. For to make the Execution of the foregoing Article more sure, we will, that our Attorneys and Lords Justices cause the Curates, Vicars, School-Masters and Mistresses, or others to whose Care they shall commit it, to give them every month an exact List of all the Children who shall not go to the Schools, or Catechisms and Instructions, of their Names, Ages, and their Parents Names, for to make the necessary Processes against the Fathers and Mothers, Tutors and Guardians, or others entrusted with their Education; and that they take care, at least every six months, to inform our Attorney-General, each in their own Districts, of the Steps they shall have taken on this Subject, to receive the necessary Orders and Instructions from them.

8. Spiritual Assistance being at no time more necessary, especially for such of our Subjects as have been lately re-united to the Church, than in occasions of Sicknes, wherein their Life and Salvation are equally in danger, we will, that the Physicians, and on their Default the Apothecaries, and Chirurgeons, who shall be called to visit the Sick, be obliged to give Notice thereof to the Curates or Vicars of the Parishes in which the said sick People dwell, as soon as they shall find the Distemper dangerous, if they find they have not already been sent for by others, that the said sick People, and especially our Subjects lately re-united to

the Church, may from them receive the Advices and spiritual Comforts which they want, and the Assistance of the Sacraments when the said Curates or Vicars shall find the said sick People in a fit Condition to receive them. We enjoin the Relations, Servants, and others who shall be with the said sick People, to make them come in, and to receive them with all the Regard due to their Character ; and we order, that those of the said Physicians, Surgeons and Apothecaries, who shall have neglected their Duty in this matter, and likewise the Relations, Servants, and others who are near the said sick People, who shall have refused to let the said Curates, or Vicars, or Priests, (by them sent) see the said sick People, be condemned to such a Fine as shall seem good ; even the said Physicians, Apothecaries and Surgeons, shall, in case of Recidivation, be suspended, the whole according to the Exigency of the Case.

9. We also enjoin all Curates, Vicars, and others who have the Care of Souls, carefully to visit the Sick, of what State or Condition soever, especially those who have formerly professed the pretended Reformed Religion, or who were born of Parents who professed it, to exhort them privately, and without Witnesses, to receive the Sacraments of the Church to that purpose ; giving them all the necessary Instructions, with all the Prudence and Charity which becomes their Ministry ; and in case that through Contempt of their salutary Exhortations and Advice, the said sick People should refuse to receive the Sacraments which shall be presented them, and afterwards declare that they will die in the pretended Reformed Religion, and that they persist in the said Decla-

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ration all the time of their Illness, we order, that if they recover their Health, they be tried and examined by our Bailiffs and Seneschals at our Attorney's Suit, and that they be condemned to perpetual Banishment, and their Goods confiscated. And in those Countries where Confiscation does not take place, they shall be condemned to a Fine, which may not be less than half of their Estate. If, on the contrary, they die in that wretched Disposition, we order, that their Memory shall be tried by our said Bailiffs and Seneschals, at the Suit of our Attorneys, in the manner specified by the Articles of the 22d Title of our Ordinance of the Month of *August* 1670, that their said Memory may be condemned, and their Estates confiscated, derogating from the other Penalties prescribed by the Declaration of *April* the 29th 1686, and *March* the 8th 1715, which shall for the rest be executed in every Point not contrary to this Article. And in case there is no Royal Bailywick in the Place where this shall have happened, our Provosts and Royal Judges, and if there be none, the Lords Justices shall inform thereof, and shall send the Informations by them made, to the Register-Offices of our Bailywicks, and Seneschalships, in whose District the said Judges are, or who take Cognizance of the King's Causes within the Extent of the said Jurisdictions, for to proceed to the Instructions and Trial of the Suit, provided there be an Appeal to our Courts of Parliament.

10. We will have the foregoing Article executed without Need of any further Evidence to prove them guilty of relapsing, than their Refusal to receive the Sacraments of the Church offered them by the Curates, Vicars, or others who

who have the Care of Souls, and the Declaration which he shall have made publickly as above; and the Proof of the said Refusal and publick Declaration shall be established by the Depositions of the said Curates, Vicars, or others who shall have been present at the said Declaration; and it shall not be necessary for the Judges of the said Place to go to the said sick People's Houses, to draw out their Report of the Refusal and Declaration; and the said Curates or Vicars, who shall have visited the said sick Persons, shall not be obliged to require that the said Officers transport themselves thither, nor to denounce to them the Refusal and Declaration made to them, in this respect derogating from the Declarations of the 29th of *April* 1686, and 8th of *March* 1715, in what may be contrary to the present Article, and to the foregoing one.

11. And as we are informed, that what contributes most of all to confirm the said sick Persons, or make them fall into their former Errors, is the Presence and Exhortations of some hidden Reformed, who secretly assist them in that Condition, and Abuse of the Preventions of their Childhood, and of the Weakness which they are reduced to by their Illness, to make them die out of the Pale of the Church; we order, that they who are guilty of this Crime, immediately take their Trial before our Bailiffs and Seneschals, as above, of which our Provosts, or Judges Royal may inform, and even the Lords Justices of the Places wherein the Fact was committed, if there be no Bailiwick or Royal Seneschalship in the said Places; provided they send the Informations to the Royal Bailiwick, as above, that the Trial may be continued by our Bailiffs and Seneschals; and
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the Guilty shall be condemned, to wit, the Men to the Gallies for ever, or for a Time, as the Judges shall think fit; and the Women to be shorn and shut up in the Places which our Judges shall order, for ever, or for a Time; which we likewise leave to their Prudence.

12. We order, that according to the ancient Ordinances of the Kings, our Predecessors, and the Custom observed in our Kingdom, none of our Subjects may be admitted into any Place of Judicature in our Courts, Bailiwicks, Seneschalships, Provostships, and Jurisdictions, nor in that of High Justiciary, even in the Places of Mayor and Sheriff, and other Offices of the Town-Houses, whether they be erected in the Title of Office, or whether they be provided for by Election, or otherwise, also in those of Registers, Attorneys, Notaries, Ushers and Serjeants, of whatever Jurisdiction they may be, and generally in any publick Office or Function, whether it be by Title or Commission, even in the Offices of our Royal Palace, and Palaces, without an Affidavit of the Curate, or, in his Absence, of the Vicar of the Parish wherein they dwell, of their good Life and Manners; as likewise that they actually profess the *Catbolick, Apostolical and Roman Religion*.

13. It is also our Pleasure, that no Licences may be granted in the Universities of the Kingdom, to such as shall have studied either in Law or Physick, without the like Affidavits, which the Curates shall give them, and which by them shall be presented to those who are to give them the said Licences; of which Affidavits mention shall be made in the Letters of Licence, given out to them, on pain of Invalidity. We mean
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not, nevertheless, to confine within these Rules the Foreigners who shall come to study and take up their Degrees in the Universities of our Kingdom, provided that according to the Declaration of *February 26. 1680.* and the Edict of *March 1707.* the Degrees by them taken up shall be of no service to them in our Kingdom.

14. The Physicians, Surgeons, Apothecaries, and Midwives, likewise the Booksellers and Printers, may not be admitted to practise their Art and Calling in any Place of our Kingdom without producing a like Affidavit, of which mention shall be made in the Letters which shall be deliver'd to them, and even in the Judge's Sentence, as to those who are to make Oath before them; the whole on Pain of Invalidity.

15. We order also, that all the Ordinances, Edicts and Declarations of the Kings our Predecessors on the Article of Marriages, and especially the Edict of *March 1697,* and the Declaration of the 15th of *June* of the same Year, shall be executed according to their Form, and Contents, by our Subjects lately re-united to the *Catbolick* Faith, as well as by all our other Subjects; we enjoin them to observe in the Marriages which they shall make, all the Solemnities prescribed by the holy Canons received and observ'd in this Kingdom, as well as by the said Ordinances, Edicts and Declarations; the whole under the Penalties therein expressed, and even of exemplary Punishments, according to the Exigency of the Case.

16. The Children under Age, whose Fathers or Mothers, Guardians or Tutors, have left our Kingdom, and have retired into Foreign Countries on account of their Religion, may contract Marriage, without waiting for or requiring

requiring the Consent of their said Fathers and Mothers, Tutors or Guardians then absent, on condition that they shall take the Consent and Advice of their Tutors and Guardians, if they have any in the Kingdom ; if not, they shall have some appointed for that purpose ; and also of their Kindred, if they have any ; if they have none, of their Friends and Neighbours : For that End, we order, that before they proceed to the Contract and Celebration of their Marriage, there shall be called (before the Judge Royal of their Dwelling-place, and in the Presence of our Attorney, and if there be no Judge Royal, before the ordinary Judge of the Place, and in the Presence of the Fiscal Attorney) an Assembly of six of the nearest Relations on the Father and Mother's Side, professing the *Catbolick, Apostolick and Roman Religion*, besides the Pupils' Tutors or Guardians ; and for want of Relations and Kinsfolks, the Assembly shall be of six Friends or Neighbours of the same Quality, to give their Advice or Consent, if it fall out so ; and the Acts requisite for this shall be dispatched without any Charges, as well of Justice, as of Sealing, Registering, Examining, &c. And in case there be only the Father or Mother of the said Pupils out of the Kingdom, it will be sufficient to assemble three Relations or Kinsfolks on the side of that Person that shall be out of the Kingdom ; or, on their Default, three Neighbours or Friends, which, with the Father or Mother then present, and the Tutor or Guardian, if there be any besides the Father or Mother, shall give their Advice or Consent, if the Case so fall out, for the proposed Marriage : of which Consent, in all the Cases above specified, a short mention shall be made

made in the Marriage-Contract, which shall be sign'd by the said Father or Mother, Tutor or Guardian, Relations, Kinsfolks, Neighbours or Friends, as also in the Register of the Parish where the Marriage shall be celebrated; the whole, so that the said Children in the said case may not be liable to the Punishments specified in the Ordinances against the Children of good Descent who marry without their Parents Consent: To which purpose we have derogated, and do derogate for this Regard only from the said Ordinances, which shall be, as to the rest, put in execution according to their Form and Contents.

17. We forbid all our Subjects, of what Quality and Condition soever, to consent or approve that their Children or Pupils marry in Foreign Countries, either by signing the Contracts which may have been passed to obtain the said Marriages, either by a former or latter Act, for any Reason, or any Pretence whatsoever, without our express Leave by Writing, sign'd by one of our Secretaries of State, and of our Commands, on pain of the Gallies for ever for Men, and of perpetual Banishment for Women, and moreover of forfeiting the Estates of either; and where Forfeiture does not take place, they shall be condemned to a Fine, not amounting to less than one half of their Estate.

18. We ordain, that in all Decrees and Judgments which order the Estates of those who are under them to be forfeited, according to the different Dispositions of our present Declaration, our Courts, and other our Judges give Orders, that on the Estates situated in Countries where Forfeitures do not take place, or on those which cannot be forfeited, or shall

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not be forfeited to our Profit, a Fine shall be raised not less than one half of the Value of the said Estates; which Fine, as well as the forfeited Estates, shall fall in the Administration of the Estates of the pretended Reformed who are absent, to be employed with the Revenue of the said Estates for the Subsistence of such of our Subjects lately re-united as shall want that Succour, which shall also take place as to the other Fines, of what Nature soever, which shall be imposed on the Delinquents of this present Declaration; neither may the Receivers or Farmers of our Crown-Lands lay any Claim to them. *And we give Command* to all our trusty and well-beloved Counsellors, the Persons holding our Courts of Parliament, and to all others our Officers and Justiciaries whom it may concern, that they cause these Presents to be read, published and register'd, and their Contents they take care to keep and observe in every Point, according to their Form, and Contents. For such is our Good Pleasure. Given at *Versailles*, May the 4th, 1724, and of our Reign the ninth. Sign'd LEWIS.

And lower, by the KING, *Dauphin, Count of Provence, Phelypeaux*. And sealed with the Great Seal of Yellow Wax.

This Edict is the standing Law whereby the Reformed Regnicoles are tried. The least Transgression against any of the Articles is punished with all the Severity of the Law, and not one Year passes, without some Instances either of some that have been hang'd, or others sent to the Gallies, or others shut up for their Lives in noisome Places, or others that are obliged to pay large Fines for the least Offence; and even last Year we had
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no less than 35 Men and Women, somewhere of were hang'd, others sent to the Gallies, and others shut up in the Tower of *Constance* near *Aiguemortes*, only on account of Religion.

I cannot forbear taking notice here, how the King's Ministers abuse the Credulity of their Master: Thirty-nine Years, or thereabouts, before this Declaration, *Lewis XIV.* was made to say in his Edict of Revocation, that the Reason why he revoked that of *Nantz* was, because it was become useless, the greatest Part of his reformed Subjects having re-united themselves to the *Catholick, Apostolick and Roman Church*; but in this, *Lewis XV.* is made to say, that the Reason why he issues out this his Declaration is, because of the Number of the Reformed, which has increased itself thro' the Non-execution of the Edicts made against them in the last Reign. But this is no Wonder; for we see several Edicts contradictory of *Lewis XIV.* himself.

A Learned and Judicious Author published in 1725 ten Letters, the six first thereof are designed to examine the above-said Declaration Article by Article; and he makes it appear as plain as the Sun at Mid-day, that it not only contains whatever was the most severe against the Reformed in all the Edicts and Declarations issued out under the late King's Reign, but even that in several Articles it exceeds far beyond the Severity of the former Edicts. He begins with the Preamble, and observes, that *Lewis XIV.* never made use of such harsh Words in his Edicts and Declarations as these of his Great Grandson, *Of all the great Designs which the late King, &c. hath formed during the whole Course of his*
Reign;

Reign, we have had none more at heart, than that which he had formed, entirely to extirpate Heresy throughout his Kingdom, &c. Which is indeed to say as much as young Rehoboam saith on another Occasion, My little Finger shall be thicker than my Father's Loins: For whereas my Father put a heavy Yoke upon you, I will put more to your Yoke: My Father chastised you with Whips, but I will chastise you with Scorpions. II. Chron. x. 10, 11.

Then coming down to the Articles themselves, he observes in general, 1. That tho' it seems that there is some Moderation in two Articles, nevertheless, a Spirit of Rigour and Severity is very easily discovered in the whole Body of the said Declaration. 2. That the History of the Church affords us several Instances of Mitigations, which have been usefully practised by the most dangerous Persecutors. III. That *Lewis XIV.* himself has followed the same Method, with great Success, in order to quiet the Minds of his Reformed Subjects, which were put to a terrible Fright, through the Revocation of the Edict of *Nantz*. IV. That if, notwithstanding so many just Occasions for a prudent Mistrust, People have a mind to flatter themselves, at least they ought to be undeceived by the reading of the Preamble of the Declaration; wherein the Council's Intention is so plainly discovered; to wit, to extirpate Heresy out of the Kingdom.

After these general Observations, the Author comes to the Examination of the first Mitigation, which consists in commuting the Punishment of Death into that of the Gallies, for the Reformed who shall make any Exercise of their own Religion; and he shows, 1. That under the former Reign, they had been sensible that it was necessary to moderate the Severity

of the former Declarations, which was done accordingly, tho' certainly it was not out of a Spirit of Meekness. 2. That, considering every thing, the Punishment of the Gallies is worse than Death itself, to those who are thoroughly persuaded that they suffer Death for God's sake. 3. That the Church-History evinces that the long Sufferings have occasioned many more Apostacies than the most dreadful kinds of Death, which the Persecutors having taken notice of, they failed not to improve that Opportunity for increasing the Number of Apostates. 4. Lastly, that as the Persecutors of the first Christians did not design to spare them, whenever they relented from the Severity of the Punishments; so our modern Persecutors aim at nothing else, in their Commutation of Punishments, but the conquering of our Constancy. *We have found*, it is said, in one of the late King's Declarations, *that the Punishment of the Gallies is less severe than*

Goods and Estate includes a Punishment of innocent Children for their Parents Guilt. But let this only be said by the way:] As to the second Mitigation, whereby it is derogated to the former Declarations, which ordained to draw the Corpse of the Recusants upon a Sledge, &c. he shows that that Alteration is but a Consequence of the Method which they were resolved to follow, had *Lewis XIV.* lived any longer, lest the Sufferings of the Reformed should look too much like a Martyrdom. That is all the Mitigation to be found in *Lewis XV's* Declaration; for as to the other Articles, our Author plainly evinces that they are either the Substance of the former Edicts and Declarations, or more severe.

I shall conclude this Article, and my whole Work, with two or three Remarks more.

1. It is plain, that there are many more Reformed in *France* than it is commonly thought, or else, to what purpose would the present King have issued out this Declaration, those of the late King being not revoked? Was it not sufficient to give orders to the Governors and others, to whom it belongs, to put them in execution?

2. Is it not strange, that after 39 Years Persecution, from 1685 to 1724, the Number of the Reformed should be so great as to deserve the King's Attention, and oblige him to issue out a new Declaration against them? Is not that a clear Evidence that Oppression and Violence are of little Use for making sincere Protestants, and that such Means are not sufficient for the Extirpation of a Religion? This has been the Sense of all the soberest and wisest Men, at all times: We have seen what *Marillac*, Archbishop of *Vienne*, and *Montluc*, Bishop of *Valence*,

Valence, said upon that Subject, in the Assembly held at *Fontainebleau* in 1560, under *Francis II.* * and what Chancellor *De l'Hospital* thought upon the same, in his Speech to the States General, held at *Orleans* under *Charles IX.* the 13th of *December* the same Year †. The great *Thuanus* was of the same Mind; he thought that it was in vain to endeavour to repress, by Tortures, the Zeal of those who undertake to introduce Novelties in Religion, &c. ‡ And, if our Reader has only slightly perused this our History, he might be fully convinced of the Truth of those great Men's Assertion. But it is set in the fullest Light by the Events of the last Reign. We have seen what Treatment the Reformed have met with in *France*, since the Year 1685; nothing at all has been omitted in order to compleat their Destruction. Was Persecution a proper Means for extirpating a Religion, certainly the Reformed Religion would have been totally extirpated out of *France*. Nevertheless, in 1724, the King's Council is obliged to renew the former Severities, and even to add some new ones. Is not this a full Evidence that these Conversions, which have been so loudly bragg'd of, were but sham Abjurations, and that those whom they called **PRETENDED REFORMED** would have been more properly named **PRETENDED CONVERTED**?

3. Let us conclude from all this, that had the Reformation of the Church been the Work of Men, it would have come to nought, considering the mighty Oppositions which the Reformers and their Followers have had to with-

* See this Hist. Vol. I. Book ii. Art. 72 and 73.
 † Idem, Book iii. Art. 10. ‡ Thuan. his Epist. Dedicat. to Henry IV.

stand, the cruel and bloody Persecutions which the Enemies of Truth have excited against them, the numberless Plots and Conspiracies laid for their Destruction: but because it was the Work of God, Men have not been able to overthrow it; nay, the very Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. This we may say with Assurance, because we are certain that we profess the same Doctrine with *St. Peter*, and to which our Lord Jesus has made the Promise; we defend the same Cause for which that Apostle was expos'd to the Hatred of the Synagogue. Oh! that the Persecutors of the Church would be mindful lest they should be found even fighting against God! Oh! that all who call themselves Christians would have the Spirit of Wisdom, and the Eyes of their Understanding enlightened, that they henceforth be no more like Children, tossed to and fro and carried about with every Wind of Doctrine, by the Sleight and cunning Craftiness of Men, who lie in wait to deceive; but follow the Truth with Love, and grow up, in all things, into him which is the Head, even Christ, whose Kingdom is not Meat and Drink, but Righteousness and Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghost. Which that God, in his Mercy, would grant unto us all, is the earnest Prayer of all true Lovers of Mankind.

G L O R Y B E T O G O D.





1. The first part of the document is a list of names and dates, arranged in two columns. The names are written in a cursive script, and the dates are written in a simpler, more legible font. The list appears to be a record of some kind, possibly a family tree or a list of events.



